

HISTORY OF THE TAMILS

From the earliest times to 600 A. D.

BY

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M. A.,

Reader in Indian History, Madras University



C. COOMARASAWMY NAIDU & SONS,

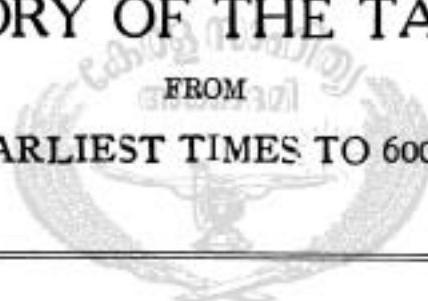
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FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 600 A. D.



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RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

TRICHY - TIRUCHIRAPALAM STATE

BY

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M. A.,

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P R E F A C E

This book is the result of my research work as Reader in Indian History, during the Academic year 1928-29. A part of the subject matter of the book was delivered as University Lectures in July of this year. I render thanks to Mr. A. Appadurai Ayyar for helping to prepare the Indexes.

P. T. S.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE.
Introduction.		
	Scope of the History	1
	Sources of the History	3
	Chronology	5
	Transcription	7
I.	The geographical basis of the ancient culture of the Tamils	1
	The Tamils indigenous to South India	1
	The five regions	3
	The hunter	5
	Hunter women	6
	The desert-dweller	8
	The herdsman	9
	Fisher-folk	11
	Ploughmen	12
	Where the evolution first took place	14
	Early Tamil poetry	15
II.	Intercourse with North India in the early ages (circa 3,000-2,000 B.C.)	17
	The Isolation of South India, a false theory	17
	South India in the Vedas	19
	Pearls	21
	Gold and diamonds	24
	Other articles	26
	Panis	27

CHAP.	viii	PAGE.
The Āryas in Cera	...	29
Ārya kings south of the Vindhya-s	...	30
III. Foreign trade in early times	...	36
South India and Sumeria	...	36
Moheñjo-Daro	...	38
Ancient trade with Babylonia	...	38
Ancient trade with Egypt	...	39
Kennedy on Ancient trade	...	42
Schoff's refutation	...	43
IV. Rama and South India (c. 2,000 B.C.)	...	44
The growth of the Rāmāyana	...	44
Another Rāma story	...	47
References to South India in the Rāmāyana	...	48
Some non-genuine references	...	52
Agastya	...	54
Spread of the Aryan cults in South India	...	55
A rational explanation	...	58
V. The culture of the Tamils during II Millennium B.C.	...	63
Literary conventions and the life of the people	...	63
Literary conventions of love poems derived from actual life conditions	...	65
Conventions of war-poetry based on the conditions of the terrain	...	67
The evolution of literary conventions	...	69
Tribal chiefs as heroes of poems	...	71
Poetic conventions region by region	...	73
Religion	...	74
The five tribes in Northern India	...	83
VI. The Bharata battle	...	85
The rise of Tamil dynasties	...	85
The make up of the Mahābhārata	...	86

CHAP	ix	PAGE
South India and the war	...	88
A digression on the Nāgas	...	91
The Agastyas	...	94
VII. Foreign trade in the II Millennium B. C....	96	
Increase in foreign trade	...	96
Trade with Egypt	...	97
Trade with Palestine	...	100
Trade with China	...	101
VIII. The Rise of the Āgamas	103	
The Āgamas vs. the Vedas	...	103
The Vedānta	...	106
Rivalry between the Vaidikas and the Agamikas	...	109
When the Āgamas arose	...	111
The origin of the Āgamas	...	112
IX. North India and South India 1,000 B.C.— 500 B. C.	116	
Āpastamba and Baudhāyana	...	116
Southern vs. Northern customs of the Āryas...	...	118
Meat-eating of early Brāhmaṇas	...	120
Vargas	...	122
Pāṇini and South India	...	123
The Jātaka Tales and South India	...	125
Sīhabāhu	...	127
X. Foreign trade, 1,000—500 B. C.	129	
Palestine and India	...	129
India and Assyria	...	131
Other articles	...	133
XI. North and South India, 500-1 B. C.	135	
Kātyāyana and Patañjali	...	135
The Empire of Magadha	...	140

CHAP.	x	PAGE.
Trade with Magadha	...	141
Candragupta and South India	...	142
Buddha migrants	...	143
Aśoka and Tamil India	...	145
Kalinga and South India	...	147
XII. Earliest Tamil poetry extant	...	149
The beginnings of poetry	...	149
The literary dialects	...	150
The earliest poetry all lost	...	151
Freedom of early Tamil poetry from Sanskrit influence	...	153
The anthologies	...	155
The Agam four hundred	...	156
The Kūrundogai and Narrinai	...	157
The Puram	...	158
Four other anthologies of later poems	...	159
The Pattuppāṭṭu	...	160
The eighteen minor poems	...	161
XIII. Life of the Tamil people 500 B.C. to 1 B.C.	162	
Love in the hill-country	...	162
Lovers in Mullai	...	165
Pangs of separation in Neydal	...	166
Long parting in Pälai	...	168
Ordinary life of the people	...	169
In the hill-regions	...	169
In the desert country	...	174
In the pastoral tracts	...	175
In the sea-side region	...	177
In the river-valleys	...	178
Village administration	...	180
Rise of Towns	...	186
Chief sea-ports	...	189
Kings	...	189

CHAP.	xi	PAGE.
XIV. Foreign trade from 600 B.C. to 14 A.D ...	192	
Under Darius	... 192	
Greek intermediaries : Consular Rome	... 193	
In the beginning of the Empire	... 195	
Export of living animals	... 196	
Animal products	... 199	
Vegetable products	... 200	
An Indian cult in Armenia	... 202	
XV. The first intrusion of Sanskrit culture into Tamil literature	207	
The first intrusion of Sanskrit	... 207	
Intrusion of Sanskrit ideas in Poruladigāram...	212	
The entry of Sanskrit words into Tamil	... 213	
The Age of Agattiyānār	... 214	
XVI. The Three Tamil Sangams	225	
The phrase Śāngam poetry	... 225	
Where the legend of the three Śāngams is first narrated	... 226	
The legend of the three Śāngams	... 230	
Criticism of the legend	... 232	
Probable historical facts in the legend	... 236	
The three capitals	... 239	
Another Śāngam legend	... 243	
The word Śāngam and its compounds	... 246	
Conclusion	... 250	
XVII. The first half-millennium A.D. Life of the people	253	
The old Tamils ways still going strong	... 253	
Raising of food in the hill-country	... 253	
The life of the hunter	... 255	
In the valleys	... 256	
In the littoral tracts	... 259	

CHAP.	xii	PAGE.
In the sandy desert	... 262	
In the pastoral regions	... 264	
Minor professions	... 267	
Supersitions	... 273	
Religious rites	... 276	
Towns	... 280	
Harlotry in towns	... 285	
Seaports	... 293	
XVIII. Foreign trade in the first half millennium A.D.		... 301
The time of Augustus	... 301	
Trade in living animals	... 301	
Trade in animal products	... 303	
Drain of Roman gold	... 304	
Trade in plant products	... 305	
Trade in mineral products	... 307	
Imports from Rome	... 308	
The Periplus on South Indian ports	... 309	
A Roman colony in Madura	... 311	
Romans in South India	... 312	
Roman military engines in South India	... 313	
Ptolemy's geography and South India	... 317	
Roman trade after the death of Nero	... 320	
XIX. The District of Kāñcipurā		... 322
The city of Kāñcipurā	... 322	
The Āndhras	... 324	
Aryan influence in Kāñcipurā	... 325	
The Āgama cults in Kāñci	... 328	
The Pallavas	... 329	
The early Pallava dynasty of Kāñci	... 330	
XX. Karikāl		... 334
The battle of Venni	... 335	

CHAP.	xiii	PAGE.
Early life of Karikāl		... 338
Early patronage of poets		... 340
Later life		... 343
The new capital		... 347
Aryan culture in the city		... 353
The old Tamil gods also worshipped		... 355
Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite		... 356
Imitation of Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite by later kings		... 357
Brāhmaṇa Tamil poets		... 358
Light thrown by epigraphy on Karikāl's life	...	358
Karikāl and the Kāvīrī		... 360
Karikāl and Trilocanapallava		... 363
Karikāl and Kāñcī		... 364
Karikāl-myths		... 366
The age of Karikāl. False theories of the relationship between Karikāl and Śen- guṭtuvan		... 372
The age of Karikāl. The Gajabāhu synchronism		375
Other objection to the early date		... 382
Probable age of Karikāl		... 383
Was Karikāl a contemporary of Trilocana Pallava? (by K. R. Subrahmania Iyer)	...	383
XXI. Ilāndiraiyan		... 388
On the way to his capital		... 388
The city of Kāñcī		... 391
Ilāndiraiyan		... 396
XXII. Śōja kings after Karikāl		... 406
Scauty historical information from the odes	...	406
Unreliability of the colophons to the Purām odes		... 409
Nalaungilli		... 417

CHAP.	xiv	PAGE.
Tne Šōjan who died at Kuļamurram	...	421
Perunaṛkili	...	432
XXIII. Pāṇḍiya Kings		436
Mudu kuđumi Peru Vađudi	...	436
The victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam	...	443
The Āgama cults in Madura	...	450
A description of Madura	...	453
Patronage of poets	...	459
The latest Pāṇḍiya king of the period	...	460
XXIV. Aryan ideas in Agam and Puram		463
Gods	...	463
Svarga	...	467
Karma	...	468
Vedic sacrifices	...	470
Brāhmaṇas	...	472
Cremation	...	473
Burial	...	475
A curious custom	...	480
Astronomy and astrology	...	483
Fewness of Aryan ideas	...	485
XXV. Śera Kings		486
Peruñjēral Ādan	...	486
Udiyan of the Big Feed	...	489
Other poems on the Big Feed	...	493
Time of the Big Feed	...	494
The Tenfold Ten	...	495
Imayavaramban Neduñjēral Ādan	...	500
Neduñjēral and Vedic sacrifices	...	501
Neduñjēral's military exploits	...	502
Neduñjēral myths	...	505

CHAP.	xv	PAGE.
A digression on the fights of Tamil kings with Āryas		... 507
Kadalēṭṭiya Vēl Keļu Kuṭṭuvan		... 511
Kuṭṭuvan's exploits		... 512
Kuṭṭuvan and Mēgūr		... 516
Kuṭṭuvan myths		... 518
A digression on the "Mauryan invasion" of the Tamil country		... 521
Other Śēra notables		... 526
XXVI. The Eclipse of the early dynasties		... 527
The last Pāṇḍiya and Śōla kings		... 527
The rise to power of the Jaina and Bauddha cults		... 527
Inferences from Buddhadatta's testimony		... 531
Were the Kalabhras Kallar?		... 535
A note on Kalappālar		... 536
XXVII. The Later of the Ten Songs:		... 537
The remaining Songs		... 537
"The long, good winterwind"		... 538
"The song of the pastoral region"		... 541
"The song of the hilly region"		... 544
"The song oozing from the hill"		... 549
"The smaller guide to poets"		... 555
"The guide to Murugan"		... 557
XXVIII. The Kali collection one Hundred and Fifty.		... 565
Kalittogai		... 565
Old imagery long drawn out		... 565
Allegorization of images		... 568
Aryan similes		... 570

CHAP.	xvi	PAGE
Persistence of the old poetical spirit	...	571
"The song of the pestle"	...	575
The Bull fight	...	578
Age of the poems	...	582
XXIX. Remaining Literature of the age before 600 A. D.		
The Five Short Hundred	...	583
The Paripādāl Seventy	...	583
The Eighteen Minor Poems	...	584
The Tirukkups]	...	585
The Indebtedness of the Kural to Sanskrit Literature (by V. R. R. Dikṣitar)	...	589
The Śilappadigāram	...	596
Cantos I and II	...	597
Canto III	...	598
Śeṅguṭṭuvan	...	599
The Kaṇṭagi cult	...	601
Need for further investigation	...	602
XXX. The Welding of the Old and the New	...	607
The Pāṇḍiyas in the VI century	...	607
The Sōla country in the VI century	...	608
Śenṭepān	...	608
Kōpperūñjōlan	...	610
In the Śēra country	...	610
Temples	...	611
The Bhakti cult	...	612
The Jñāna Mārga	...	615

**INDEX OF ORIGINAL TEXTS QUOTED AND
TRANSLATED
TAMIL**

Name of book	St. or ll.	Page.
Agam (Aganānūru)	14, I, 11	181
Do.	15, II, 2—5	521
Do.	24, I, 1	218, 472
Do.	27, II, 9—10	296
Do.	36, II, 13—12	446
Do.	55, II, 10—22	337
Do.	55, II, 10—14	481
Do.	59, II, 5—6	466
Do.	65, II, 5—6	494
Do.	69, II, 10—12	523
Do.	70, II, 13—16	467
Do.	86, II, 1—22	79
Do.	86.	57
Do.	93,	282
Do.	94, II, 1—22	266
Do.	96, II, 3—7	263
Do.	96, I, 8	283
Do.	100, II, 5—13	296
Do.	107, I, 11	197
Do.	114, II, 4—5	485
Do.	116, II, 1—10	258
Do.	116, II, 12—18	444
Do.	118, II, 1—5	278

A

Name of book	St. or II.	Page.
Agam (Aganānūru)	119, II. 5—9	264
Do.	119, I. 8	187
Do.	120.	262
Do.	125, II. 18—21	366
Do.	127, II. 3—8	504
Do.	130, II. 9—11	297
Do.	136, II. 1—18	81
Do.	136, I. 5	483
Do.	141, I. 8	483
Do.	141, II. 21—23	346
Do.	149, II. 7—117	298
Agam	149, II. 9—12	313
Do.	168, II. 5—7	493
Do.	175, II. 10—12	446
Do.	175, II. 14—16	466
Do.	181, II. 11—12	295
Do.	181, II. 15—18	464
Do.	201, II. 3—5	297
Do.	205, II. 11—12	295
Do.	209, II. 3—6	447
Do.	209, II. 11—17	508
Do.	212, II. 16—20	515
Do.	213, II. 1—3	398
Do.	220, II. 5—8	471
Do.	232, II. 6—11	278
Do.	233, II. 7—10	193
Do.	246, II. 8—12	365
Do.	251, I. 8	182
Do.	251, II. 6—14	521
Do.	253, I. 24	276
Do.	281, II. 4—12	523
Do.	296, II. 7—9 -	297

Name of book	St. or ll.	Page.
Agam (Aganānūgu)		
Do.	310, I, 10	187
Do.	313, I, 7	495
Do.	318, II, 13—15	198
Do.	336,	323
Do.	336, II, 19—22.	509
Do.	337, I, 7	218
Do.	337, I, 11	218
Do.	347, II, 3—5	501
Do.	350, II, 10—13	297
Do.	396, II, 16—18	534
Do.	398, II, 18—19	
Kal. (Kalittogai)	ii, II, 1—10	577
Do.	ii, 4, II, 1—10	185
Do.	81, I, 49, II, 11—27	578
Do.	83, I, 45	185
Do.	iv, 3, II, 1—55	582
Do.	104, I, 1—4	240
Kural	34	586
Do.	41	591
Do.	126	591
Do.	248	586
Do.	251	592
Do.	267	586
Do.	338	586
Do.	360	592
Do.	435	587
Do.	470	593
Do.	471	593
Do.	501	593
Do.	520	594
Do.	541	594
Do.	542	587

Name of book	St. or II.	Page.
Kuṇḍal	560	595
Do.	650	667
Do.	731—732	595
Do.	1166	587
Kuṇḍī. (Kuṇḍījipaāṭṭu)	II. 15—18	545
Do.	I. 24	546
Do.	I. 47, 49—50	546
Do.	I. 59—60	547
Do.	II. 128—131	548
Do.	I. 235—228	547
Do.	I. 235	546
Kuṇḍī. (Kuṇḍīdogai)	10, I. 3—4	323
Do.	10, II. 1—3	525
Do.	17	170
Do.	40	163
Do.	54	163
Do.	61, I. 1—3	272
Do.	73, I. 2—5	522
Do.	80	286
Do.	167	176
Do.	182	170
Do.	193	176
Do.	210	274
Do.	238, I. 1—3	272
Do.	263, I. 1—5	275
Do.	321,	164
Do.	326, I. 1—3	272
Do.	335, I. 1—2	271
Do.	381	167
Do.	387	166

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Maduraik. (Maduraik-kāñji).		
Do.	II. 40—42	220
Do.	II. 60—61	237
Do.	II. 87—88	449
Do.	I. 105	450
Do.	II. 119—124	450
Do.	II. 125—129	447
Do.	I. 345	450
Do.	II. 453—460	450
Do.	I. 454	276
Do.	II. 461—467	451
Do.	II. 468—474	451
Do.	II. 475—483 and 487	452
Do.	II. 587—589	526
Mal.(Malaipadukadūm)	II. 1—13	549
Do.	II. 37—38	572
Do.	I. 57	549
Do.	I. 58	544
Do.	II. 73—76	549
Do.	II. 77—80	550
Do.	I. 100	483
Do.	II. 100—105	552
Do.	II. 106—144	553
Do.	II. 238—239	553
Do.	II. 259—261	554
Do.	II. 268—269	554
Do.	II. 280—281	554
Do.	II. 302—304	554
Do.	II. 315—317	554
Do.	I. 361	555

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page
Maṇ. (Maṇimēgalai)		
Padigam.	II. 10—13	222
Do.	i, II, 3—9	223
Do.	xvi, II, 60—61	93
Do.	xix, II, 107—109	316
Do.	xxii, I, 25	471
Do.	xxii, II, 25—27	223
Do.	xxii, II, 35—36	223
Do.	xxiii, II, 11—16	481
Do.	xxiv, II, 29—43	92
Do.	xxv, II, 12—16	431
Do.	xxv, II, 178—	
Mul. (Mullaippāṭṭu)	II. 1—3	542
Do.	II. 7—20	543
Do.	II. 37—38	542
Do.	I, 50	544
Do.	I, 58	544
Do.	II, 59—61	313
Do.	II, 65—66	544
Do.	II, 92—101	544
Nar. (Narrinai.)	3, II, 2—4	273
Do.	14, II, 3—5	428
Do.	18, II, 2—4	428
Do.	23, II, 5—6	296
Do.	24, II, 1—5	175
Do.	30,	299
Do.	32, I, 1—3	203
Do.	33, II, 1—7	174
Do.	43, II, 1—6	263
Do.	44, II, 1—2	272
Do.	49, I, 8	182

Name of Book	St. or ll.	Page.
Nar. (Narrinal)	50.	191
Do.	60, ll. 1—8.	179
Do.	68, l. 1	273
Do.	73, ll. 1—4	183
Do.	74, ll. 1—4	259
Do.	76, ll. 6—10	259
Do.	79, ll. 2—3	273
Do.	80, ll. 1—4	177
Do.	80, l. 7	427
Do.	82, ll. 6—11	198
Do.	84.	168
Do.	90, ll. 2—4	217
Do.	90, ll. 6—7	273
Do.	93, l. 5	255
Do.	94.	403
Do.	99.	404
Do.	106.	404
Do.	110, ll. 1—8	178
Do.	111.	167
Do.	113, ll. 9—11	494
Do.	120.	180
Do.	123.	178
Do.	125.	172
Do.	131, ll. 7—8	296
Do.	142.	265
Do.	155, l. 1	273
Do.	161,	166
Do.	169, ll. 4—10	176
Do.	170, ll. 1—5	287
Do.	170, ll. 6—8	518
Do.	194, ll. 3—4	427

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Nar. (Nārīṇī).		
Do.	215.	260
Do.	220, II. 1—4	171
Do.	220.	270
Do.	241, II. 1—10	263
Do.	242.	265
Do.	255.	173
Do.	258, II. 3—9	277
Do.	259.	174
Do.	266, II. 1—3	175
Do.	271.	169
Do.	293, II. 1—4	270
Do.	320.	288
Do.	320, II. 5—7	509
Do.	336.	256
Do.	340, II. 3—8	258
Do.	350.	289
Do.	367, II. 1—5	267
Do.	370.	290
Do.	380.	291
Do.	390, II. 1—8	287
Do.	391, II. 6—7	521
Do.	396.	165
Ned. (Nedūnālvāḍai)	II. 1—11	540
Do.	II. 13—27	541
Do.	II. 76—78	539
Do.	I. 82	539
Do.	I. 114	539
Do.	I. 115	539
Do.	I. 153	539
Do.	I. 160	539
Do.	I. 176	538
Do.	II. 186—188	538

Name of Book	St. or ll.	Page.
Padig. (Padiggruppattu)	11, ll. 17—25	502
Do.	13, I. 20	497
Do.	14, ll. 1—4	496
Do.	14, I. 11	503
Do.	15, I. 37	497
Do.	16, I. 17	503
Do.	ii, Padigam ll. 4—10	507
Do.	21, ll. 1—2	496
Do.	24, ll. 6—8	497
Do.	30, ll. 33—34	499
Do.	31, ll. 5—9	497
Do.	41, ll. 25—27	513
Do.	43, ll. 6—11	513
Do.	44, ll. 10—23	517
Do.	44, ll. 22—23	498
Do.	45, I. 6	503, 513
Do.	45, I. 11—12	498
Do.	45, ll. 15—23	514
Do.	46, ll. 11—13	514
Do.	48, ll. 3—4	514
Do.	49, ll. 6—17	517
Do.	V, Padigam, ll. 1—3	512
Do.	Do. ll. 4—20	519
Do.	52, I. 14	498
Do.	56, ll. 4—5, and 8	498
Do.	57, I. 4	498
Do.	66, I. 15	499
Do.	73, I.	498
Do.	77, I. 4	498
Palamoji	25.	339
Pat. (Pattinappälai)	ll. 21—448	

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pat. (Pattinappälai)	II, 40—41	348
Do.	II, 53—56	354
Do.	II, 78—79	355
Do.	II, 90—150	352
Do.	II, 154—158	355
Do.	I, 159	355
Do.	I, 184	355
Do.	II, 185—192	353
Do.	II, 220—227	344
Do.	II, 228—231	344
Do.	II, 246—249	356
Do.	II, 274—282	345
Do.	II, 277—280	345
Do.	I, 283	346
Do.	I, 284	360
Do.	II, 285—288	343
Periyatirumoli (Tirumangaiyāvār)	ii, 8—10	401
Do.	iii, 4—10	249
Do.	iii, 9—10	249
Do.	V, 8—9	401
Perumb. (Perumbāñar- ruppadai)	II, 29—30	394
Do.	II, 30—31	92
Do.	I, 126	234
Do.	I, 120	197
Do.	II, 139—140	197
Do.	II, 297—310	389
Do.	II, 311—318	390
Do.	II, 319—324	390
Do.	I, 323	29

Name of Book	St. or Il.	Page.
Perumb. (Permbāñār-		
puppādai)	Il. 325—335	391
Do,	Il. 335	34
Do,	Il. 371—373	391
Do,	Il. 398—420	393, 394
Do,	I. 420	322
Do,	Il. 429—434	395
Do,	Il. 450—453	396
Do,	I. 454	397
Do,	Il. 457—459	395
Do,	I. 455	395
Do,	I. 487	395
Do,	Il. 498—499	396
Per. (Perungadai)	I. 32, I. 76	316
Do,	i. 38, Il. 233—4	317
Do,	i. 38, I. 239	317
Do,	iii. 5, Il. 48—49	317
Do,	iii. 16, Il. 22—23	317
Do,	iii. 22, I. 213	317
Por. (Porunārāppuppa-		
dai	Il. 43—48	336
	Il. 64—100	343
Do,	Il. 76	473
Do,	I. 129—142	339
Do,	I. 159	343
Do,	Il. 163—165	343
Do,	Il. 169—171	354
Do,	Il. 187—188	339
Do,	Il. 200—202	354
Do,	I. 226	346
Do,	Il. 228—229	340
Do,	Il. 240—241	361

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pur. or Puram (Puranā).		
māṇa)	II, 242—247	361
Do.	I, 248	340
Do.	2.	491
Do.	2, II, 23—24	220
Do.	6, I, 1	506
Do.	6, I, 1—4	441
Do.	6, I, 5—7	468
Do.	6, II, 5—8	441
Do.	6, I, 17—18	441
Do.	6, I, 18	462
Do.	6, II, 19—20	440
Do.	7.	491
Do.	14, II, 12—16	121
Do.	14, II, 18—20	191
Do.	15, II, 1—10	443
Do.	15, II, 2—3	471
Do.	15, 16—21	436
Do.	16.	433
Do.	17, I, 1	442, 506
Do.	18, I, 7	323
Do.	21,	460
Do.	22, II, 14—23	279
Do.	22, I, 35,	406
Do.	24, II, 1—16	261
Do.	24, II, 18—23	449
Do.	24, I, 24,	450
Do.	25.	445
Do.	26, II, 1—11	285
Do.	27.	421
Do.	30, II, 10—14	419
Do.	30, II, 11—13	294

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pur. or Purāṇam-31, nūḍu.)	33, I, 1	419 198
Do,	33, I, 17	273
Do,	34, I, 3	217, 431
Do,	34, I, 7	431
Do,	34, I, 8—11	236
Do,	34, I, 12	182
Do,	35, I, 18	276
Do,	36.	422
Do.	36, I, 10	323
Do.	II, 5—61	424
Do.	38, I, 12	467
Do.	39, II, 3—4	183
Do.	40, II, 1—5	428
Do.	42, II, 1—6	191
Do.	43, II, 4—8	425
Do.	45.	409
Do.	46, II, 1—2	425
Do.	47.	415
Do.	50, II, 1—7	284
Do.	52, II, 9—16	183
Do.	53, II, 1—2	24
Do.	55, II, 1—5	462
Do.	55, II, 6—9	187
Do.	56, II, 1—8	465
Do.	56, II, 3—6	203
Do.	56, II, 18—20	312
Do.	57, II, 2—3	465
Do.	58, II, 14—15.	203, 465
Do.	60, II, 1—6.	277
Do.	60, I, 6	484

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pur. or Purām (Purānā-60, II. 10—12 nāgu.)		277
Do.	62, II. 2—4	274
Do.	62, II. 16—18	468
Do.	65, II. 9—10	337
Do.	66,	336
Do.	67, II. 6—8	442
Do.	70, II. 1—10	426
Do.	72,	460
Do.	72, II. 13—16	239
Do.	74,	413
Do.	76,	411
Do.	76, II. 4—6	181
Do.	77,	412
Do.	78, II. 5—6	443
Do.	79, II. 1—2	182
Do.	82,	269
Do.	89, I. 1—2	286
Do.	89, I. 7	182
Do.	91, II. 5—6	464
Do.	93, II. 4—11	480
Do.	98, I. 15	275
Do.	102, II. 1—5	187
Do.	109, II. 3—5	255
Do.	113, II. 1—3	
Do.	116, II. 1—8	188
Do.	117, II. 1—2	184
Do.	120, II. 1—14	254
Do.	122, II. 2—3	470
Do.	125, II. 1—4	268
Do.	126,	284
Do.	126, I. 23	509

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pur. or Purāṇam (Purāṇā-127, I. 7 nūgu.)		271
Do.	128, I. 1	182
Do.	135, I. 11	184
Do.	152, II. 13—18	293
Do.	152, II. 25—29	293
Do.	160, I. 7	471
Do.	164, I. 1—7	267
Do.	166, I. 1—2	464
Do.	166, I. 1—9	473
Do.	170, II. 15—17	268
Do.	173,	416
Do.	174, II. 1—5	465
Do.	175, II. 5—8	524
Do.	176, I. 1	273
Do.	176, II. 1—6	293
Do.	176, I. 20	467
Do.	177, I. 5	314
Do.	181, I. 1	182
Do.	185,	402
Do.	194, II. 6—7	470
Do.	197,	408
Do.	198, I. 9	464
Do.	204, I. 10	274
Do.	205, II. 8—9	198
Do.	209, II. 1—12	257
Do.	214, II. 6—13	469
Do.	215, II. 1—5	269
Do.	220, I. 7	184
Do.	224, II. 1—2	471
Do.	224, II. 2—3	237
Do.	224, II. 4—9	857

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pur. or Purām (Purānā-224, I. 9 nūgu.)		217
Do.	224, II. 9—11	237
Do.	225, II. 7—8	477
Do.	228, I. 11	467
Do.	228, II. 12—15	432, 476
Do.	229, I. 22	467
Do.	231, II. 1—2	475
Do.	234, II. 2—4	478
Do.	236, II. 1—12	469
Do.	238, II. 1—5	477
Do.	238, II. 4—5	274
Do.	240, II. 5—6	468
Do.	240, II. 7—10	475
Do.	245, II. 3—5	475
Do.	246, I. 11	475
Do.	249, II. 12—14	479
Do.	256, II. 5—6	476
Do.	259, II. 5—6	265
Do.	260, II. 16—17	485
Do.	260, I. 21	467
Do.	276, II. 4—5	27
Do.	281, II. 1—6	276
Do.	309, I. 4	181
Do.	325, I. 11	182
Do.	343, II. 7—10	295
Do.	351, I. 11	323
Do.	356, II. 1—4	478
Do.	359, II. 1—8	478
Do.	359, II. 4—5	275
Do.	260, II. 17—20	479

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pūg, or Pugam (Pūgānā-363; II. 4—5 nūgu.)		475
Do.	363, II. 10—14	479
Do.	367, I. 1	217
Do.	367, II. 4—5	434
Do.	367, II. 13—14	434
Do.	367, II. 12—14	471
Do.	374, I. 5	182
Do.	378, I. 1	139
Do.	378, II. 18—21	466
Do.	396, II. 1—9	279
Do.	400, I. 19	470
Sīg. (Sīgupānāgruppū- dai)	II. 41—47	556
Do.	II. 51—63	556
Do.	II. 68—78	557
Do.	II. 116—119	294
Sīl. (Sīlapadigāram)	I. 201	378
Do.	i. II. 65—68	317
Do.	v. II. 71—9	204
Do.	v. II. 89—110	365
Do.	vi. II. 159—160	371
Do.	viii. I. 1	605
Do.	xi. II. 17—22	240
Do.	xi. II. 35—51	604
Do.	xiv. II. 66—67	313
Do.	xv. II. 13—15	222
Do.	xv. II. 907—216	315
Do.	xvi. I. 65	101
Do.	xvi. I. 128	
Do.	xvii. II. 1—5	506

Name of Book	St. or ll.	Page.
Śil. (Śilappadigāram)	i, xxvi, l. 23	503
Do.	xxvii, ll. 116—123	519
Do.	xxviii, ll. 115—119	519
Do.	xxviii, ll. 116—117	429
Do.	xxviii, ll. 118—122	429
Do.	xxviii, ll. 137—138	502
Do.	xxix, <i>sac̄s̄ā s̄āt̄</i> st. 2	492
Do.	xxx, ll. 159—162	380
Do.	xxx, l. 161	503
Do.	xxx, ll. 174—182	374
Śivakāśindāmanī	i, st. 101—104	316
Tir. (Tirumurugāṇḍupadai.)	ll. 47—56	558
Do.	ll. 51—56	292
Do.	ll. 107—119	560
Do.	ll. 150—161	559
Do.	ll. 190—217	562
Do.	l. 226	184
Do.	ll. 228—242	563
Do.	233—234	57
Do.	l. 317	564
Tirunāgaiyūr Padigam (Tirumangaiyā[vār].)		609
Tiruppāvai	xxx, l. 5	249
Tirupputtiūr Tiruttān- dagam.	ii, l. 2	245
Tiruttēvūr Tēvāran	i, 10, l. 2	249
Do.	ii, 10, ll. 3—4	249
Tiruvilaiyādar Purā- nam.	xxi, 6	515
Tolkāppiyam	i, 1—1	210, 214
Do.	i, 2—13	...
Do.	ii, 9—3	150

Name of Book	St. or ll.	Page.
Tolkāppiyam.	iii, 1—5	38
Do.	iii, 1—18	73
Do.	iii, 1—22—24	72
Do.	iii, 1—60	598
Do.	iii, 2—10	314
Do.	iii, 3—44	216
Do.	iii, 7—189, 190, 197	217
Vada Tirumullai Vāyil		
Padigam,	st. 10	401

SANSKRIT

Ait. Āraṇ. (Aitareya Āranyaka).	ii, 1—1	29
Ait. Brāh. (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa)	vii, 18	20
Artha Sāstra (Kauṭilya).	i, 10	594
Do.	i, 15	595
Do.	iii, 1	594
Do.	vi, 1	592
Do.	vi, 4	593
Do.	vii, 12, 30—34	143
Aṣṭādhyāyi (Pāṇini).	iv, 1—168	136
A. V. (Atharava Veda Samhitā).	iv, 10—1	22
Do.	iv, 10—6	23
Do.	xix, 30—5	23
Bhagavad Gītā	ii, 42—45	110
Do.	vii, 5	107
Dharma Sūtras, Āpas- tamba	i, 5, 17—30	120
Do.	xi, 29—11	57

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Do. Baudhāyāna	i. 1, 2, 3 and 6	118
Do.	i. 1, 2, 7	119
Do.	ii. 3—51	595
Dynasties of the Kali Age (Pargiter).	p. 26	140
E. I. (Epigraphia India)	iii. 32, v. 10	333
M. Bh. (Mahābhārata)	i. 189, 7020	89
Do.	ii. 34, 1988	89
Do.	ii. 51, 1843	101
Do.	vii. 28, 1016	89
Do.	xii. 112, 28	595
Mahābhāṣya	p. 27	137
Do. on Pāṇini.	iv. i. 168	136
Do. Do.	iv. i. 175	136
Manu Smṛti	ii. 22—24	21
Do.	ii. 58	591
Do.	ii. 71	592
Do.	iii. 78	591
Do.	v. 52	592
Rāmāyaṇa	ii. 93, 13	52
Do.	iii. 4—20	51
Do.	iii. 13—18	55
Do.	iii. 11—58	50
Do.	iv. 41—2	52
Do.	iv. 41, 17—18	57
Do.	v. 3, 45—47	59
Do.	v. 20—19	51
Do.	v. 41, 15—16	55
Do.	vi. 59—24	60

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page
R. V. (Rg. Veda Samhitā) i. 83—4		22
Do.	i. 126—4	22
Do.	i. 191—14	26
Do.	iii. 34—3	60
Do.	iv. 16—9	60
Do.	v. 31—7	60
Do.	vii. 1—10	61
Do.	vii. 18—23	22
Do.	x. 68—11	22
Śabda Kalpa Druma (Bhūta Śuddhi Tantra)		328
Śadvimśat Brāhmaṇa	v. 6	23
S. I. I. (South Indian Inscriptions.)	iii. p. 395, v. 42	364

PALI AND PRAKRIT

Abhidhammāvatāra (Buddhadatta).	1409—1413	528
Do.	Colophon	529
J. B. O. R. S. (Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society)	iv. 301	148
J. B. B. A. S. (Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Society)	xvii. i. p. 74	247
Mahāvamso	vii. 1	127
Do.	vii. 72	128
Vinayavinicchaya	3168—3179	530

INDEX OF OTHER REFERENCES

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Agam (Aganānūru)	107, I, 1	197
Do.	253, I, 24	276
Do.	340, II, 6—7	400
Agastyapurāṇam	ii, 23	222
Āndhra Historical Journal	iii, 278	385
Āpastamba Dharmas Sūtras	i, 5, 17, 20	120
Do.	ii, 7, 16, 4	121
Do.	ii, 7, 26, 28	121
Do.	ii, 7, 17, 1—3	121
Aravamudan (T. G.) Kāveri and the San- gam Age		383
Archaeological Survey of India, 25—26,	pp. 72—98	38
Do. Do.	p. 79	185
Artha Śāstra	ii, 26, 2	142
Do. Translation	p. 90	142
Do.	vii, 12	26
A. V. (Atharva Veda Samhitā)	i, 56, 2	42
Do.	iii, 15, 4	41
Do.	iv, 7, 6	56
Do.	v, 5, 7	26
Do.	viii, 2, 16	56
Do.	ix, 10, 7	56

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Baudhāyana Dharmasūtras	i, 5, 12, 1—8	120
Baudhāyana Kṛtakōti		616
Bhāgavad Gītā	i, 41—43	122
Bhāgavata Purāṇa	ix, 16, 2 — 37	56
Do.		113
Do.	ix, 1, 2—3	327
Bhandarkar (D. R.)		
Carmichael Lect.		
1918	pp. 4—5	18
Do.	p. 2	33
Do.	pp. 4—7	124
Do.	pp. 9—12	137
Do.	p. 18	219
Do.	1921, pp. 56—57	25
Do.	p. 21	31
Bhimasena jataka	No. 80	126
Bhūridatta jataka		543
Bombay Gazeteer I, ii, p. 287		522
Brooks Adams, Law of Civilization and Decay pp. 25—28		309
Coomāraswāmy, A half hour with Ancient Tamil poets		372
Dikṣitar (V. R. R.)		
Hindu Administrative Institutions		590
Dion Chrysostom, Or. xxxii, 373 (in McOrindle's Ancient India)		320
Dpagbsam ljon bzan p. 121 et. seq.		615

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
E. I. or Ep. Ind. (Epigraphia-India)		
Do.	iii. 48	385
Do.	iv. 34, 38	384
Do.	iv. 34, 48	386
Do.	iv. 44, 239	386
Do.	vi. 147, 155	394
Do.	vi. 351	385
Do.	viii. 143 ff.	365
Do.	x. 58	364
Do.	x. 340	385
Do.	xi. 337	386
Do.	xi. 339	359, 360
Do.	xi. 340	363, 364
Do.	xi. 344	359, 360
Do.	xviii. 291 ff	436, 437
Grul throb brgyad eu-		
rtsa bshibi rnam thar		615
Ezekiel	xvii. 19	131
Do.	xxvii. 22	132
Hall, Ancient History		
of the Near East	pp. 173—174	38
Hattipāla jātaka	No. 509	125
Herodotus	iii. 106	132
Janāśrayī		616
Journal of Indian His-		
tory, I	xiii. pp. 107—113	616
J. R. A. S. (Journal of		
the Royal Asiatic		
Society)	1885, p. 209	325
Do.	1898, pp. 248—297	42
Do.	1904, pp. 234—247	205
Do.	do. pp. 593—594	194

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
J. R. A. S. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society)	1904, p. 608	321
Do.	1906, p. 610	311
Do.	1910, p. 403	132
Do.	do. pp. 625—629	94
Do.	1914, p. 285	30
Do.	1917, p. 237	192
Kalavalji Nāppadu		609
Kalingattupparani	st. 184	361
Do.	st. 185	369
Do.		383
Kanakasabhai (V). The Tamil Eighteen hundred years ago	p. 68	362, 367
Do.	p. 72	373
Do.	p. 77	431
I. Kings	x. 10	129
Do.	x. 11—12	129
Do.	x. 14—17 and 21	129
Do.	x. 18, 22	129
Koyilojugu		608
Krishnaswami Ayyan- gar. Ancient India p. 350		376
Do. Beginnings of South Indian History	p. 85	524
Do.	p. 87	524, 525
Kuppuswāmi Śāstri (in Journal of Oriental Research), I	i. pp. 5—15	616
Do.	ii. pp. 190—203	606

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Kurundogai	156	218
Law (N.N.) Ancient Indian Polity, quoting Hemacandra	pp. x, xi.	326
Leyden grant		434
Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index	i. 337	19
Do.	ii. 304	24
Do.	ii. 504—5	25
Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature	p. 20	150
M.E.R.(Madras Epigraphist's Reports) 1893, pp. 109—110,	p. 251	384
Do.	1897, p. 146, p. 147, p. 261	384
Do.	1899, No. 123, 205	397
Do.	1900, p. 17	359, 364
Do.	do. p. 106	360
Do.	1908, pp. 82—93	364, 383, 385
Do.	1909, p. 112	319
Do.	1916, p. 136	349
Do.	1920 pp. 111—117	386
Maduraikkāñji	i. 454	276
Do.	ii. 476—488	247
MBh. (Mahābhārata)	i. 21, 217	95
Do.	i. 21, 646	95
Do.	i. 21, 7877	95
Do.	i. 214, 7810	
Do.	ii. 31, 1121	89
Do.	ii. 31, 1173—4	89
Do.	ii. 34, 1271	328
Do.	ii. 1860	25

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
MBh. (Mahābhārata)	ii. 50, 18321	96
Do.	ii. 52, 1893	89
Do.	iii. 51, 1988	328
Do.	iii. 88, 8339	95
Do.	iii. 88, 8344	54
Do.	iii. 99, 8632	95
Do.	iii. 103	54
Do.	iii. 114, 24	31
Do.	iii. 118, 10267	95
Do.	iii. 276, 15986	49
Do.	v. 18, 584	96
Do.	v. 19, 576	90
Do.	v. 22, 656	328
Do.	vi. 1, 64	
Do.	vi. 9, 36	241
Do.	vi. 23, 1019	90
Do.	vi. 50, 2084	90
Do.	vii. 11, 321	89
Do.	vii. 11, 398	89
Do.	vii. 11, 3986	90
Do.	vii. 59, 2226	49
Do.	viii. 11, 454	328
Do.	viii. 21, 81	
Do.	viii. 22, 455	90
Do.	viii. 22, 1893	90
Mahāvamso (Turnour)	p. 21	325
Do.	Ch. xxix	332
Maṇimēgalai	iii. II, 55—56	222
Do.	ix. 1. 52	222
Megasthenes, Indika, (in McCrindle, Ancient India)	p. 95	26

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Megasthenes, Indika, (in McCrindle, Ancient India)	p. 144	138
Do.	p. 159	135
Mūgapakkajātaka	No. 538	125
Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts.	pp. 164—182	47
Do.	pp. 441—491	47
Nambiāndār Nambi, Tiruttōḍar Tiru-		
vandādi	st. 44, 47	536
Nannūl, Maiyilainādar		
Urai	p. 189	209
Nappinai	49, I. 8	182
Do.	68, I. 1	273
Do.	155, I. 1	273
Neđunalvāđai	I. 63	539
Nellore Inscriptions	69, K. G. 24	383
Nellore Manual	436, 637	383
Nīti dvi Śaśikā (Pra- bhākara Śāstri, V.)		616
Obe yase khar e(D),		
Sketches of Ceylon		
History	p. 26	370
Padippappattu	13 L 5	498
Do.	57, I. 4	498
Padma Purāṇa	vi. 250, 1-2 (Pargiter)	425
Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition	p. 148—149	86
Do.	pp. 265—266	30
Do.	p. 267	31

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page
Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition	p. 269	34
Do.	p. 277	49
Do.	p. 242	51
Do.	p. 168, 169	54
Do.	p. 235	56
Do.	p. 148—149	86
Do.		87
Do.	p. 330	116
Do.	p. 299	124
Do.	p. 108	425
Paripādal	47	276
Peraśiriyar on Tol. Por. ix. 94		230
Periplus	36	306
Do.	41	132, 303
Do.	56	304, 307, 308
Do.	58	309
Do.	59	310
Do.	60	311
Periyapurānam (Sēk- kejär.)		5366, 08, 609
Periyatirumoli (Tiru- maṅgai Ālvār)		407
Pliny, Natural History vi. 26		305, 307
Proceedings and Tran- sactions of the third Oriental Conference (T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri)	p. 205	219
Psalms XLV	8	130
Ptolemy, Geography		317, 318, 319, 330

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Pur. (Purānāñūpa)	2, I. 32	217
Do.	6, I. 20	217
Do.	9, I. 1	217
Do.	26, I. 3	217
Pur. (Purānāñūpa)	31, I. 33	233
Do.	93, I. 7	217
Do.	126, I. 11	217
Do.	200, I. 14	217
Do.	214,	610
Do.	224, I. 9	217
Do.	361, I. 4	217
Do.	362, I. 8	217
Raghava Iyengar (M) (Sendamil)		239, 520
Ramadas (G.) on the Rāmāyaṇa		54
Rām. (Rāmāyaṇa)	ii. 116, 11	49
Do.	iii. 11, 81	54
Do.	iii. 11, 86	54
Do.	iii. 18, 25	49
Do.	iv. 42, 13	53
Do.	v. 6, 36	59
Do.	vi. 177, 14	54
Do.	vii. 33, 1	56
Rangaswami Ayyangar (K. V.), Ancient Indian Polity pp. 87—88		326
R. V. (Rg. Veda Sam. hitā	i. 33—11	28
Do.	i. 48—3	42
Do.	i. 83—4	28
Do.	i. 93—4	29

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
R. V. (Rg. Veda Samhitā)		
Do.	i. 116—5	42
Do.	i. 174—2	50
Do.	i. 191—14	26
Do.	ii. 24—6	28
Do.	ii. 24—9	28
Do.	iv. 32—23	27
Do.	iv. 58—4	28
Do.	v. 29—30	50
Do.	v. 32—8	50
Do.	vi. 61—7	25
Do.	vii. 83—1	56
Do.	viii. 5—37	34
Do.	viii. 26—18	25
Do.	x. 67—6	29
Do.	x. 75—8	25
Do.	x. 102—34	34
Sabatier, Monnaies		
Byzantines	i. 51—2	309
Sacred Text-Books of		
the East II	pp. xxxvii—xlvi	116
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa		
(Yājñavalkya)	ii. 1—1—5	25
Do.	iii. 1—2—21	121
Sayee, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 136—138		35
Schoff's Periplus	p. 3	40
Do.	p. 5	195
Do.	p. 61	97
Do.	p. 82	98
Do.	p. 121	41
Do.	pp. 121—122	97
Do.	p. 153	100, 131

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Schoff's Periplus	p. 154	202
Do.	p. 168	133
Do.	p. 171	96
Do.	p. 177	303
Do.	p. 213	240
Do.	pp. 213—214	206
Do.	p. 219—220	309
Do.	p. 228	49
Do.	p. 246	131
Do.	p. 264	193
Do.	pp. 264—265	200
Śendamil	vii. pp. 303—314	229
Do.	xii. p. 268	536
Śrivānya Jātaka	No. 3	127
Śesagiri Śāstri, Essay on Tamil Literature	p. 30	372
S. I. I. (South Indian Inscriptions III)	iii. p. 373	373
Do.	p. 378	372, 375
Do.	p. 386	360
Do.	iv. p. 927	386
Śil. (Śilappadigāram)	xxvi. I. 23	503
Do.	xxviii. II. 115—119	519
Do.	xxviii. II. 137—138	502
Do.	xxx. I. 101	503
Sitā Nāth Pradhān, Chronology of Ancient India, Chapters I, XII and XVII		35
Do.	p. 109	83
Smith, (V. A.), Early History of India	pp. 217—215	325
Do.	p. 481	362

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Smith, (V. A.), Oxford History of India	pp. i—iii	170
Do.	p. 14	18
Somasundara Dēśikar (S), an inscription		516
Srinivas Iyengar (M), Tamil Studies	p. 287	512
Srinivas Iyengar (P.T.), in Indian Historical Quarterly I	p. 695	28
Do. Life		
in Ancient India	16.	28
Do. Palla-		
vas (Tamil)		158, 333
Do. Pre-		
Aryan Tamil culture		3 32
Do.	p. 21—31	275
Do.	p. 80	28
Do. Stone		
Age in India		3, 34
Strabo (in McGindle, Ancient Indis)	p. 6	195
Sundaram Pillai (P.) in Xian College Maga- zine	1901, pp. 120-124	459
Swaminatha Iyer (V), on Puṇam	9	516
Tacitus, Annals,	iii, 53	304
Taittiriya Samhitā	vi, 1, 7—1	25
Tamil Nāvalar Śāridaip.	57	414
Do.	p. 56	532
Taylor, Catalogue of MSS.	p. 456	383

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Tirunannilam Tēvāram (Sundaramūrti)		610
Tirunāraiyyur Tevāram		
Sundaramūrti Swāmigal		610
Tiruvaigan Mādakkoil Tiruñānasambandar)		610
Tiruvalluva Mālai		589
Tiruvambar Tēvāram (Tiruñānasambandar)		610
Tiruvilaiyādag Purāṇam (Tiruvilavāyudiyār)		608
Tolkāppiyam	70, 72, 82, 217	473
Turnour, Mahāwanso p. 21		325
Vāda Tirumullai Väyil, Padigam st. 60		401
Valīhassa jataka No. 196		125
Vedānta Sūtras, I iii. 34—38		108
Do. II ii. 37—41		111
Do.		616
Venkatesaramanaiya (N.) in Xian College Magazine, January 1923		347
Do. April, May, and July 1927		383
Venkatesvara (S. V.), in Ind. Ant. for 1919		327
Welleser (M), Life of Nāgärjuna p. 3		616
Warmington, Com- merce between the Roman Empire and India p. 4		195

Name of Book	St. or II.	Page.
Warmington, Commerce between the Roman Empire and India	p. 35	195
Do.	p. 37	195
Do.	p. 38	196
Do.	pp. 114—5	318
Do.	p. 139	196
Do.	p. 140	321
Do.	p. 147	132, 301
Do.	p. 147—148	196
Do.	pp. 149—150	132
Do.	p. 149	197
Do.	p. 151	197
Do.	p. 157	199
Do.	p. 159	133
Do.	p. 163	199, 304
Do.	pp. 166—167	304
Do.	p. 167	242
Do.	pp. 168—169	199
Do.	p. 178	199
Do.	pp. 180—187	133
Do.	p. 182	201
Do.	p. 184	201
Do.	pp. 192—3	99, 305
Do.	p. 206	201
Do.	p. 209	306
Do.	p. 212	200, 306
Do.	p. 213	41
Do.	pp. 213—4	202
Do.	p. 217	201
Do.	p. 219	201
Do.	p. 236	307
Do.	p. 246	307
Do.	pp. 257—258	308

INTRODUCTION

Scope of the History:

If by history is meant the story of the rise and fall of royal dynasties consequent on the slaughter of an immense number of human beings on the field of battle in the name of heroism, the tale of the displacement on the map of the world of large masses of humanity, eager to plunder the wealth accumulated by the patient toil of peaceful people, the narrative of the rape of royal maidens and the shedding of innocent blood in revenge for the outrage, then Tamil India is the happy country which has had no history to recount upto 600 A. D. On the other hand if history means the account of the slow evolution of the social and religious life of a people under the stimulus of the geographical conditions of the environment and the influence of contact with peoples who have developed different kinds of culture, the description of the slow change in the ways in which they ate and drank, played and loved, sang and danced, paid court to kings and to gods, the relation of the story of the development of their internal trade and commerce with foreign countries, far and near, the narration of the evolution of their literature from humble beginnings till a complicated scheme of literary convention was established, there are ample materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Tamils from the earliest times upto 600 A. D. This story is attempted to be recounted in this book.

The stone tools of the different stages of the palaeolithic and neolithic periods of human culture have been collected, though unsystematically, by various people and lodged in Indian museums. An account of the kind of life led by the Tamil people in those far off ages, based on the silent testimony of stone artifacts has been given by me in the Stone Age in India.¹ Their social, religious, political and industrial life as revealed to a small extent by the artifacts of the early iron age and to a very large extent by a consideration of the vocabulary they possessed before they came in touch with the civilization of the Āryas of North India, has been described by me in my Pre-Aryan Tamil culture.² The present work is an attempt to recount the history of the Tamils such as can be derived from what has been saved, from the jealous hands of time, of their own ancient literature and from references to them in Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, Latin and other early records, literary and otherwise.

Sources of the History:

The Vedic literature, by which I mean, the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas (which together are the Vedas), and the Sūtras which contain the early concepts of the Āryas with regard to the objects and the conduct of individual and social life, as well as the Itihāsas (the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata) and the Puranas, besides the early Pali, Buddhist and the Arddha Māgadhi Jaina works i.e., all the available Aryan sources have been ransacked for information. It goes without saying that the kind of information obtainable from such sources will deal only with

¹ Published by the University of Madras, 1926.

² Published 1929.

the intercourse of the Āryas with the Tamils. In using the Ancient North Indian tradition, and especially that which is recorded in the Puranas, I have almost entirely followed Pargiter's critical method and his conclusions. One most illuminating suggestion of his is that the Agastyas, Vasishthas, and Vigvāmitras mentioned in the Sanskrit works, were not each one man who baffles the reader by appearing and reappearing in every age from that of Ikṣvāku to that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but were a series of men, their names being family names and not personal names. This idea has reduced chaos to order and enabled Pargiter to frame fairly accurate lists of the sequences of kings in various ancient North Indian provinces, which I generally follow. These lists have enabled me to trace the gradual spread of Aryan cults in South India in the Vedic epoch.

Non-Indian sources of information, such as the Mesopotamian and Egyptian inscriptions, and Greek and Latin works, necessarily deal only with India's ancient commercial intercourse with countries to her west. These have been very thoroughly studied and utilized by Schöff in his edition of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and Warmington in his *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. These two books I have analysed and rearranged the well-documented information given in them, epoch by epoch, correlating it to what little information is available from the Indian side.

But the staple crop I have garnered for the purpose of this book is the Tamil literature of the period before 600 A.D. Practically the earliest book I have based much of my deductions on, is the *Poruṇḍigāram* of *Tolkāppiyam*. That book directly aims at describing the literary conventions of the literature that preceded

its composition, and I have treated those conventions as representing the actual customs and manners of the people who lived for a millennium or two preceding its date. Much more direct is the evidence of the many poems of different ages, collected in the *Togainūrkal*, the anthologies, which have preserved a small percentage of the immense literature of the early Tamils. These poems have been to a small extent already utilized by two scholars. V. Kanakasabhai first ploughed the virgin soil and produced his *Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago*, which deals mainly with the stories of ancient Tamil Kings and incidentally with the life of the people. Great Tamil scholar as he was, he was suffering from a disability; in his time many of these ancient books had not been printed; so he was responsible for many errors which have led to the formation of some historical myths. The ripe scholar, S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Professor of Indian history and Archaeology, Madras University, has ferreted out all the references to the names of kings and chieftains of ancient times, contained in the old Tamil poems, and discussed them in his several works; but he has not discussed the social history of the early ages or its evolution, and it is about the actual life of the people age by age that the early literature is extremely rich in information. In fact the embarrass de riches is very great and I fear I have not worked up even one fourth of the matter that could be mined from the early literature alone. As the information I have culled is mostly absolutely new, I have done what previous writers have not done, and what may almost vex those of my readers who do not know Tamil, i.e., covered nearly one-third of every chapter based on Tamil literature with original texts in support of every one of my statements.

It is almost unnecessary to add that the Tamil extracts which I have translated for this purpose abound in old words and antiquated grammatical forms. As even the commentators sometimes, though rarely, go astray in interpreting them, I have not hesitated to differ from them, when I, perhaps somewhat presumptuously, thought them wrong. Even if the texts were plain, it would be difficult to translate them, as Tamil and English are so far apart from each other in structure. Added to this, the fact that Tamil poets, especially of the later periods (V and VI century A. D.) indulged in lavishly heaping phrase on phrase, epithet on epithet, makes a straight translation almost impossible. But as the translations are for a historical purpose, I have attempted in every case a literal translation, even defying English idiom occasionally. But yet I hope the translations will prove readable. I request that Tamil scholars will kindly bring to my notice all cases where they think my translations are wrong. However I do not think I have misrepresented the text anywhere.

Chronology :

If chronology is the eye of History, Ancient Indian History will have to be always blind. But students of the evolution of the life of people may well be contented with a knowledge of the sequence of events, actual, i.e. arithmetically correct dates, being scarcely necessary for the purpose. Ancient Indian chronology is and will continue to be in an unsettled condition, and so afford ample room for patriotic megalomania and prejudiced micromania. The date of the beginning of the Vedic period was fixed to

be 1200 B. C. at a time when, on account of the dominance of Archbishop Usher's chronology the world was believed to have been created in 4004 B.C. Though since that time, geologists have demanded that at least a hundred thousand years should be allotted to the past history of man and though the traces of the Saindhava culture have been unearthed at Harappa and Mohefijo Daro, going back to 3,000 B. C. and more, where the influence of Ārya ideas is not imperceptible, the inertia which the incredibly low date for the beginning of the Vedic period has acquired during the last hundred years, prevents European scholars from reconsidering the decision. From Pargiter's lists we learn that about 90 generations of kings ruled before the Bhārata battle; and if, as many considerations tend to prove, that battle took place in the XV century B.C., the Vedic period must have begun long before the third millennium B. C. An Ārya one-fire cult must have flourished for a long time before the Vedic three-fire cult was evolved. Thus we reach 3,000 B. C. for the beginnings of the Ārya worship of fire. The problem cannot be discussed here, but I shall content myself with saying that I assume the Vedic period to have begun circa 3,000 B. C., that that period extended over three yugas of five centuries each. Rūmacandra lived at the end of the second third part of the vedic age; hence I assume his date to be 2,000 B.C. This date has the one virtue of being confirmed by the tradition that when he was born five 'stars' were in the ascendant. Five hundred years is a fair estimate for the length of time that elapsed between Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa. This brings us to the end of the Vedic period, the traditional beginning of the Kali age with the death of Sri Kṛṣṇa and the severance

of the long line of mantra-composers. Indian chronology becomes easier, though not necessarily correct after the Bhārata battle. But we are chiefly concerned with the sequence of events and not actual dates which it is hopeless to try to attain.

With regard to South Indian dates, even these cloudy conceptions are beyond reach. Kanakasabhai imagined that he could get reliable dates for certain persons. But this has proved to be mūḍha. The utmost we can get is some vague sequences of events till we reach 600 A. D. after which time a few inscriptions have helped us to get a few reliable dates.

Transcription :

The transliteration of Sanskrit into Romic is the same as that adopted by most Sanskrit scholars. For the sake of Tamil words I have adopted a few more, namely, h for ḥ, ē, for ဧ, ܵ, ܶ, ꝑ for Ꝕ, and l for ꝕ. I have not used a special symbol for Ꝕ, for in modern pronunciation it cannot be distinguished from n. The writing of Tamil in Romic presents a special difficulty. In the Tamil alphabet many consonant-symbols do duty for two sounds and if Romic transliteration is not also phonetic, it loses its meaning. I have therefore rendered my pronunciation of Tamil words in the Romic script and I think my pronunciation is fairly "correct :" at least every Tamil man can follow it. Another difficulty I had to face, that caused by the fact that when the same words appear both in the Sanskrit and the Tamil garb, a contradiction in transliteration appears. I have spelt these words in the Sanskrit form, when the context required one to think in Sanskrit and in the Tamil form, when the context required the Tamil one. This may perplex readers who do not know one of the two languages, but I do not see that it would be possible to avoid this contradiction.

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OCT 1931

THE HISTORY OF THE TAMILS
FROM
The Earliest Times to 600 A.D.

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS OF THE ANCIENT
CULTURE OF THE TAMILS

The Tamils, indigenous to South India:

If the culture of a people is indigenous to the soil on which they live, if it appears to have grown in situ before they came in contact with other people, it must be solely due to the influence of their physical surroundings. A culture that has grown as the reaction of a people to their milieu is due to geographical and not historical causes, like the influence of foreign people who have come in touch with them by conquest or trade or other forms of peaceful intercourse. We are in a position to trace the growth of human culture in Tamil India, from stage to stage, in ancient times, to the action of the physical environment on the human organism. Several writers of Indian History seem to hold it as a necessary axiom that the fertile lands of India, with her wonderful wealth of minerals underground and her infinitely various fauna and flora over-ground, and with her climate, insular in some parts and

continental in others, pre-eminently fitted to nurture men, especially in the early stages of their evolution, should yet depend on importations from the arid countries beyond her borders for her human inhabitants and for the various cultures that adorn the pages of her history. Some writers conduct the ancient "Dravidians" with the self-confidence of a Cook's guide through the North-western or North-eastern mountain passes of India and drop them with a ready-made foreign culture on the banks of the Kāvi-i or the Vaigai. The slender evidence on which they rely for this elaborate theorizing is the fact that Brāhui, a dialect spoken in the northern corner of India, possesses a few words allied to Tamil words. The only legitimate inference from this is that the Tamil language or a language allied to it prevailed up to the North-west provinces in ancient times. This inference is supported by another fact, viz., that the modern dialects of Northern India, now called Sanskritic or Gaudian, have a fundamental grammatical framework and a scheme of syntax, the same as that of the Dravidian dialects, so much so that sentences from the one set of dialects can be translated into any one of the other set of dialects by the substitution of word for word, without causing any breach of idiom. These facts can only prove that people speaking dialects allied to Tamil once inhabited the whole of India and not that these people must necessarily have come into India from outside the country. No single fact has yet been adduced that compels us to believe that the ancient people of India were not autochthonous.

Moreover the artefacts and other relics of ancient times discovered so far in Southern India form an unbroken series, showing that there has been in this country

a regular evolution of culture, which was never rendered discontinuous by any catastrophe, from the lowest paleolithic stage to the latest age of metals.¹ The Tamil language existed in South India during the course of this evolution. The words necessary for the linguistic expression of every stage of this culture, are found in the earliest strata of Tamil, and the customs of these early ages continued sufficiently long to be enshrined in the earliest extant specimens of Tamil literature.² It may therefore be taken as fairly certain that the Tamils were indigenous to South India.

The five regions:

The ancient Tamils noted that the habitable parts of the earth's surface were divisible into five natural regions; they named each region a *tinai*. *Tinai* seems to be derived from a root *tin* or *tit*, which means a stretch of land. The word *tinai* is also used in the sense of the earth in general. The ancient Tamils observed not only that the land surface of the earth consisted of five natural regions, but that the manifestation of human life corresponded to the characteristics of the milieu in which each tribe has grown. The five regions were called (1) *Kuriñji*, the hilly country, (2) *Pälai*, the dry waterless region, (3) *Mullai*, the wooded land between the highlands and the lowlands, (4) *Marudam*, the lower courses of rivers, and (5) *Neydal*, the littoral tract, that which skirts the sea. All these five kinds of natural regions are found in the

¹ For the evidences for this statement, vide my Stone Age in India, published by the Madras University.

² For an elaborate proof of this, vide my Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

Tamil country, though on a small scale and, as the South Indian spread from region to region, he developed the stages of culture which each region was calculated to produce.

Anthropologists have noted three great regions as the three great areas of characterization of three different kinds of human culture. These kinds of culture have been called the Mediterranean, the Alpine and the Nordic, the first two being so named, because the action of the milieu on the evolution of human culture was first understood when the culture of the regions round the Mediterranean Sea and the lands on both sides of the Alps were studied and the last, because the third area of characterization was in the north of Eurasia. The Mediterranean culture, to use Tamil terms, is that of Neydal, the Alpine, that of Kupiñji, and the Nordic, that of Mullai. The most important, the culture of Marudam, or the lower valleys of rivers, was neglected because Western Europe having become thoroughly industrialized in the XIX century, the influence of river-valleys on European peoples in ancient days has become masked. Nor is there any desert in Europe, as there is a belt of it in Africa and Asia; the desert is the area of characterization of Bedouin life and this, too, has but received scant attention on the part of students of ethnology. The stages of culture through which man has passed are then five, the hunter, the nomad, the pastoral, the littoral and the agricultural, the last including the industrial stage; and these correspond to the Kupiñji, the Palai, the Mullai, the Neydal and the Marudam regions. The physical characteristics of each region provided the stimulus for the development of the special culture of that region.

The hunter:

The earliest region inhabited by South Indian man was the Kuriñji, the tracts where stand the low hills resulting from the age-long erosion of the Deccan plateau by the never-failing yearly monsoon rains. Below the hilly regions was the thickly wooded tropical forest, named after the king Dandaka, in which abounded the rivals of early man in the struggle for existence, his big-limbed foes, the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the wild buffalo, the python, as well as the minute insect pests which are even more destructive of human life than the larger animals. In the Kuriñji, early man could easily find shelter from the sun and the rain and from his animal foes, behind boulders and within natural caves. He had not then invented pots for storing water, but when the natural spring failed him, he found reservoirs of water in the rocky pits which abounded in the hilly region. The pebble that he could pick up from under his feet served him as a primitive tool; the abundant supply of flints of various shapes stimulated his inventiveness and he learnt to shape the axe-heads, and the spears, the choppers and the scrapers that he needed. Hence was evolved in this region the earliest stage of human culture, that called paleolithic; the artefacts belonging to this stage are chiefly found in the Kuriñji regions which abound in the Cuddapah, Nellore, North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

Early man in Kuriñji land at first subsisted on fruits, nuts and tubers. But the variations in the supply of these articles of food due to seasonal changes soon impelled him to add the flesh of animals to his dietary. This fact, more than the necessity for guarding himself

against his animal foes, made him an expert huntsman. Hence man's first profession was that of the hunter. Palaeolithic implements all the world over are of the same patterns and this proves that the early hunter was a great wanderer over the surface of the earth.

This environment in the Kupiñji regions also led to two other very great inventions of the hunter-stage of human culture, namely the bow and arrow, and the process of making fire. The bamboo grows abundantly in the Kupiñji regions of Southern India and the Kuravar, as the inhabitants of that land were called, shrewdly noted the elasticity of the split trunks of the bamboo, bent them, tied long bits of dried creeper to them and learnt to shoot thence long thorns. This was the origin of the bow, in the use of which the Indian hillman has always been an expert, as is proved by the facts that the Indian Bowman was a much prized component of the armies of Darius and Xerxes, and the Indian shikari to-day can kill a tiger by discharging a single arrow from his bow.

The other invention of the early Kuravar, the greatest of human inventions, was the making of fire. Early in the palaeolithic age, the inhabitants of the Kupiñji land noted the origin of forest fires by the violent friction of bamboo stems against one another during the fierce monsoon blow and learnt therefrom that he could start a fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood. The first use to which fire was put was the roasting of the meat of the animals which he hunted.

Hunter women:

While the males of the settlement were out hunting, the women were engaged in picking fruits

digging for roots, and garnering the seeds of the cereals that grew of their own accord around their place of abode, especially wild rice, bamboo-rice, and panicum.

The other duty of women was to look after their children. Man at this stage of culture did not learn to build houses. They were scarcely necessary, for the South Indian climate was so beneficent that no shelter other than the covert afforded by trees or big boulders or natural caves was needed for protection from sun and rain. Houses were first built by man not so much for shelter as for the storage of primitive wealth in the form of food-stuffs and the early palaeolithic man had not yet felt the need for storing provisions. The necessities of a nomad life and the want of permanent homes did not encourage the free development of domestic instincts on the part of the men; hence the matriarchal form of tribal life was first developed.

Another circumstance encouraged the formation of this type of life. Primitive man was not encumbered with elaborate forms of the marriage-rite. Love at first sight and its immediate consummation, followed perhaps very leisurely by a tribal feast, constituted the wedding ceremony. The marriage tie we may take it, was not always of a very permanent character. This cause, and more especially the want of development of personal property and the lack of attachment to a permanent abode, encouraged the persistence of the matriarchate for very long ages.

Love of personal adornment has always characterised men and more especially women. The Kuravar women, then as now, spent their leisure moments in picking shells and stringing them together for the purpose

of making garlands of them for decorating their persons. Their lovers presented them with trophies of the hunt, like the teeth of the tiger which they shot, and these, worn round the neck, became in much later times the prototype of the tali, the pendant attached to a string or a necklace, which is to-day much prized in South India as the symbol of a wedded woman whose spouse is alive. Another kind of personal adornment was the leaf-garment, a number of leaves tied together with a bit of dried creeper and worn round the waist, a custom which still prevails among the most primitive of the hill tribes of South India.

The desert dweller:

The Pālai, the dry sandy desert, can scarcely be considered as one of the habitable regions of the earth's surface. When drawn by the chase of the wild animals, the sturdy hunter would be compelled to make a temporary abode in the Pālai region. But the call of the desert finds an echo in the bosoms of those who are born with a love of adventure, and wander-lust is the main motive power that inspires the lives of many men who possess strong sinews and a stout heart. The men who lived in the desert region either for a short time or all their lives were Maravar, men of Maram, heroism, and Kalvar, the strong men, (from kal, strength, whence kalīru, the elephant, the strong animal par excellence, also the shark, and kal, liquor, the strength-giver, and kalam, the field of battle). The Pālai region being infertile and its men being noted for prowess in arms, the Maravar and the Kalvar took in later times to the profession of soldiering and of preying on the rich, but weakly, inhabitants of other regions and Maram has come to mean cruelty, and Kalvar, thieves. But in

early times men took to the Fālai regions chiefly on account of their love of adventure. Life in these regions must have accentuated the matriarchal organisation of tribal life, for while the men were roving through the desert, the women and children were thrown into each other's company to enjoy whatever domestic amenities were available.

The herdsman :

When human beings multiplied in the Kuriñji regions and the available food supply began to shrink, they migrated to the next region, the Mullai or forest land. By that time they had taken the next great step in the advancement of human culture, the domestication of animals like the buffalo, the cow, the sheep and the goat, the dog, so useful to the hunter, having already been domesticated in the Kuravar stage. This led to the second rung in the ladder of human progress, the pastoral culture. Cattle breed fast, especially in the Mullai, and hence arose the institution of private property, the possession of which facilitated the fission of tribes into families.

The primitive form of what may be called natural marriage, the union of lovers at first sight, unimpeded by the observance of marriage rites and formalized merely by the presentation of a tāli of tiger's teeth and a garment of strung leaves for the waist, was called Kaļavu in early Tamil literature, and was, in the pastoral regions, slowly replaced by Kaṛpu in which the marriage-ritual preceded the consummation of love. The essential portion of this ceremony was the feasting of the men and women of the tribe underneath a pandal, the ordinary tenement of pastoral men, decorated with flowers and

leaves, before the consummation of marriage took place. The institution of the Karpu form of marriage and the development of private property led to the evolution of the patriarchal form of society : for the father of the family, being the possessor of a large, growing herd of cattle, acquired the great influence which the possession of wealth gives. The joint family system now arose, because pasture lands, parcelled out into tiny bits, would become too small to maintain a flock : and the family which resulted from the sub-division of the tribe, could maintain itself against competition, only if its members held together and constituted a growing unit. The patriarchal head of a large family developed into a king. That the institution of kingship in the Tamil country first arose among the pastoral tribes in Mullai land, is registered in the Tamil language by the fact that the word for a king, *kōn*, also means a herdsman, and that for a queen, *āycci*, means a herdswoman¹.

Pastoral life outside India, as in the steppes of Central Asia, differed from the life of the men of Mullai, the South Indian herdsman, in two respects : (1) the use of tents, (2) the constant shifting of the herdsman tribes from one patch of grass land to another. The invention of tents was needless in South India on account of the equability of the climate all the year round. A few fan-like palmyra leaves thrown on a frame of dried sticks propped up by a few bamboo pillars and topped by a broken pot proved enough to

¹ The word *kōn* seems to be derived from *kōl*, rod, the badge of the herdsman. The royal sceptre was but the rod of the tender of cattle and sheep which became the symbol of authority.

afford shelter to man and beast; and the fertility of the soil and the periodicity of the monsoon ensured the growth of pasture on the same spot year after year. So that it was not necessary as in the Northern steppes to break tent when the grass round a settlement was eaten up by the herd or parched up by the summer sun, and to seek pastures new. The pastoral life of South India hence was not semi-nomad but a settled life capable of developing the amenities of civilisation.

The life of ease made possible by the leisurely tendance of cattle in the forest led to the invention of the flute, the kujal. The flute was a bit of bamboo with a few holes drilled along its length and from it was produced mellifluous music which relieved the cowherd from the ennui due to the long hours of waiting while the cattle grazed.

One section of the pastoral people formed the Kurumbar who tended the short-legged well-fleeced variety of sheep called the kurumbādu. They learned to weave kambalji from the wool of their sheep and even to-day these Kurumbar inhabit the Mullai regions of the Madras Presidency and follow their traditional occupation of kambalji-weaving, though the irrepressible steam-engine has now established itself in Mullai tracts and the weaving of wool with the power-loom is depriving the Kurumbar, as also other kinds of handicraftsmen, of their age-long means of earning their daily bread.

Fisher-folk :

The next region to be occupied was the Neydal, the sea-board. The broad bosom of the sea, heaving and falling as if animated, invited the adventure-loving men with broad chests and finely-chiselled muscles to court

its dangers and venture forth to obtain its inexhaustible wealth of tasty fish. From fishing near the coast, they went on to fish in deeper waters. Hence the environment turned the Paradavar, as the inhabitants of the littoral tracts were called, into boat-builders and fishermen. The first boats were primitive canoes made of two logs bound together to form a float; and the *tēṇi*, wicker-work basket covered with hide, or coracle, followed next. The chief produce of this region was fish and salt. The Paradavar had to take them into the interior and barter them for other forms of food-stuff. Their environment made the Paradavar into merchants. Placing their wares in double bags on the backs of oxen as their modern-day descendants, the Balijis, do to day, they trudged along the marshy paths and exchanged their goods for the produce of the riverine plains. From the Paradavar also rose the race of ancient Indian sailors who, later, carried Indian goods in boats to Africa and Arabia in the West and to Malaya and China in the East.

Ploughmen:

The last region to be occupied was the Marudam, the low-lying plains between the Mullai and the Neydal, and that was at the close of the paleolithic period. With the neolithic age began modern civilization. The domestication of plants, especially the rice, the plantain, the sugar-cane and the mango, which probably began in the relatively settled life of the pastoral stage was completed in this.

The arability of the land in this region taught the Uļavar, the ploughmen of the Marudam, the method of raising cereals after ploughing the ground, and the easy slope of the land in the margin of the rivers taught the

Vellālar, the rulers of the flood, the method of conveying the life-giving water to their fields. Beyond the trough of the river-bed lived the Kārālar, the rulers of the clouds, those who stored rain-water in tanks and conveyed them to fields through irrigation-channels or lifted the water from wells and springs by water-lifts and irrigated the plots they cultivated. Thus were the arts of agriculture developed to such perfection in early days that modern science can add but little to the traditional wisdom of the South Indian farmer. Beyond the river-valleys lay the land whose soil was made by the mixture of the rain-washed detritus of the trap rock of the Western Ghats and the decaying vegetation of the Dandaka forest. This was the birth-place of the cotton plant and neolithic man learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread and weave the thread into cotton cloth.

Men now began to build houses of timber wherein to stock their superfluous store of food grain and cotton cloth. The barter of superfluous articles for things which were not easily available in the Marudam region, like the salt and the sea-fish, with the Paradavar, and milk and milk-products, especially ghee, with the Idaiyar, and stones and stone tools (and after the discovery of iron, iron-tools) with the Kuravar, led to the development of carts for transport by land, and the circle of the evolution of civilisation was complete. The perfection of neolithic culture and the arts and industries of the Marudam region represent the last really great step in human civilisation; for, since neolithic times, no new food-producing plants have been domesticated and no new process of making cloth to cover the body has been invented. The discovery of metals, from iron in ancient times to aluminium in our own times, and the invention

of steam and oil-gas engines and electrically propelled machines, have but rendered, quick and easy, ancient methods of agriculture and manufacture and speeded up transport, but they have not produced either new food-stuffs or new means of shielding the skin from the sun and rain and changes of atmospheric temperature.

Where this evolution first took place:

The five sub-divisions of the habitable regions occur contiguous to each other and in a small fraction of the earth's surface in India south of the Vindhyas. It is therefore easy to understand how increase of population and alterations in the natural supply of food-stuffs brought about here at different periods the migration of men from region to region and the consequent development of the different stages of human culture, the hunter, the nomad, the pastoral, the coastal and the agricultural, due to the differing stimuli provided by the changing milieu; in other words, the geographical control of the growth of human civilisation can be worked out and set forth clear as on a map by a study of man's progress in this restricted portion of the surface of the earth. Outside India, these five natural regions occur on a vast scale, e.g., the Mullai, the vast steppe land extending from the Carpathians to the foot hills of the Altais, the Kuriñji or the great mountain chain from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas and beyond, forming a grand girdle round the waist of mother earth, the Neydal, the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and the Indian and the Atlantic oceans, and the Pälai, the great desert of Sahara and its continuation in Arabia, Persia and Mongolia. Did the the passage from stage to stage of civilization first occur in the restricted region of South India and thence spread

to the vaster tracts beyond or vice-versa? The problem is almost insoluble at present. But it may be pointed out that the migration of population from region to region and the consequent development of higher and higher forms of culture is more likely to have taken place in a restricted portion of the earth's surface where such migration is easy, than in tracts of immense extent. It will help us to understand the ancient history of man if we imagine that nature's laboratory was, and her first experiments in human culture with the geographic forces available to her were conducted in, Dakṣināpatha, India south of the Vindhya, and not in the great physiographic divisions of Eurasia and Africa. It is more likely that these different cultures of ancient times sent out offshoots to appropriate regions outside India so that Nature might reproduce on a larger scale what she had succeeded in achieving on a smaller scale in India, than that she produced these cultures on a magnificent scale outside India and then squeezed minified copies of each stage of civilization into Southern India so as to make it a complete anthropological museum. This is of course but speculation. After all it may turn out that Nature produced similar cultures independently of each other in different places where the same geographical causes operated.

Early Tamil Poetry:

Besides cooking and clothing, another great invention of man is speech. Speech may be either rhythmic or arhythmic. Whether prose preceded poetry in speech as is assumed by most people, or whether, as is more probable, poetry and prose were later differentiations of an original method of speech which was partly rhythmic and partly arhythmic,

it is difficult to determine: but it is certain that in the development of literature, poetry preceded prose by long ages. The words *pāṇ* and *pāñ*, meaning a piece of music, (whence *pādu*, to sing, *pāttu*, a song) belong to the earliest stratum of Tamil, proving that singing was one of the earliest recreations of the Tamils. The *Pāṇar*, originally singers and after the institution of kingship in the pastoral stage of culture, royal bards and panegyrists, followed an ancient and honoured, though ill-rewarded, profession among the Tamils. The ancient *Pāṇars* were the friends and counsellors of kings during the long ages when pure Tamil culture flourished; but when Aryan culture from North India mingled with that of South India during historic times, the persistence of the *Pāṇar* in the over-indulgences in meat-food, especially beef, and the drinking of ardent spirits brought about their social degradation into one of the lowest and most untouchable castes of South India.

Thus grew, without a history, the Tamils of the earliest ages. Their gradual rise in the scale of civilization can be traced from their language and from the discoveries of the students of their prehistoric culture. They first emerge into history, when traces of their trade with Northern India and beyond are noticed in the earliest of the literatures of the world—the Vedas—and the earliest historical documents of the world—the inscriptions of the Mesopotamian valley.

CHAPTER II

INTERCOURSE WITH NORTH INDIA IN THE EARLY AGES (CIRCA 3000—2000 B.C.)

The isolation of South India, a false theory:

V. A. Smith says, "Geographical conditions divided Indian History, until the nineteenth century, into three well-marked territorial compartments . . . (1) the northern plains forming the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, (2) the Deccan plateau lying to the South of the Narbadā, and to the north of the Krishnā and Tungabhadrā rivers, and (3) the far-south, beyond those rivers, comprising the group of Tamil states. Ordinarily, each of these geographical compartments had a distinct, highly complex story of its own. The points of contact between the three histories are not very numerous." Thus does this author justify the fact that in his Oxford History of India he gives "only a secondary place to the story of the Deccan plateau and the far south."¹ To explain this attitude further he says that the South "was shut off by the wide and almost impenetrable barrier of hill and forest, represented by the Narbadā, the Vindhya and the Sātpura ranges. It is worth while to dwell upon the natural separation of the north from the south even in the most remote ages, because the roots of the present go down into the past to a depth far beyond any measurement." He adds that the penetration of the Deccan by Indo-Aryan emissaries "was a peaceful one

¹ Oxf. Hist. of India, pp. i-iii.

and "the chief line of communication was always along the eastern coast."² D. R. Bhandarkar has challenged the correctness of the line of communication suggested by V. A. Smith. He has quoted a story from the *Suttanipāta*, which describes the itinerary of the pupils of a Brāhmaṇa teacher called Bāvāri. Bāvāri was "settled near a village on the Godhāvāri in the Assaka (Āśmaka) country" in the Dakṣināpatha. He "sent his sixteen pupils to pay their homage to Buddha" and they travelled north to *Patitthāna* of the Muṭṭaka country (now Paṭṭhaṇ in the Nizam's Dominions), then Māhissatī (Māhiṣmatī, identified with Māndhāta on the Narmadā on the borders of the Indore State), Ujjenī, and Sūketa and beyond³. From this D. R. Bhandarkar rightly infers that from Māhissatī the pupils must have crossed to the other side of the Vindhya through the Vidarbha country. He concludes that the route taken by the Aryans when they went south "seems to have lain through the Avanti country, the southernmost town of which was Māhissatī or Māndhāta on the Narmadā, from where the Aryans crossed the Vindhya and penetrated South India."⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar mentions also another route "by which the Aryans seem to have gone to South India" and that was by the sea. "They appear to have sailed from the Indus to Kacheha, and from there by sea-coast to Surāṣṭra or Kāṭhiawār, from Kāṭhiawār to Bharukachcha or modern Broach, from Bharukachcha to Sappuraka or Sopārī in the Thāna district of the Bombay Presidency."⁵

² Ib. p. 14.

³ Carm. Lec. 1918, pp. 4-5.

⁴ Ib. p. 22.

⁵ Ib. p. 23.

* Thus the theory that the Vindhya and the Dandakāranya forest formed an insurmountable barrier between North and South India, is not true. And, if we consider certain facts attested to by the Vedic mantras, we have to conclude that there must have been extensive commercial intercourse between Āryāvartta and Dakṣināpatha from the beginning of the Vedic Age, and Smith's theory of the isolation of India South of the Vindhya is baseless.

South India in the Vedas:

The earliest reference to Southern India in Sanskrit literature is supposed to occur in the very obscure verse, Rg Veda x. 61.8, which says, saratpadā na dākṣiṇī parāvṛṇi na tū nu me prānyo jagṛbhre. Sayana interprets the word dākṣiṇī here as a fee paid in cattle, following a legend narrated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. But European scholars translate it as South, and Macdonell and Keith remark that dākṣiṇī padā, "with Southward foot" refers "to the place where the exile (parāvṛi) goes on being expelled."⁴

That the interpretation of the passage by Macdonell and Keith is correct and that Dakṣināpatha was regarded as a place of exile during the early Vedic Age when the Ārya cult had not penetrated beyond the Vindhya is proved by the story of Viśvāmitra and his sons. The story is narrated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but this does not mean that the events narrated in the story were contemporaneous with that Brāhmaṇa. It is an ancient story relating to the age of the first Viśvāmitra, the Rsi of the Gāyatrī mantra, who lived

⁴ Vedic Index, Vol. i, p. 337.

about 2500 B.C. This Viśvāmitra, when he rescued his grand-nephew Śunahsepa from being immolated as a victim in a human sacrifice performed at the instance of Rohita, son of Harischandra, adopted the released victim as his son and gave him the name of Devarāta. Fifty of Viśvāmitra's natural sons protested against Śunahsepa's elevation to the place of the eldest son of the family and Viśvāmitra, never noted for much self-restraint, cursed them, saying *antān vah prajā bhaksīṣṭa*. This is rendered by Keith, 'Your offspring shall inherit the ends of the earth,' but Sayana interprets 'antān bhaksīṣṭa' as 'candūlādi rāpam nicajāti visesam bhajatām,' 'they shall become Anāryas (Dasyus).' Sayana's is much the better interpretation, for the Brāhmaṇa adds 'ta etendhrāḥ pundrāḥ sabarāḥ pulindā mātibā ityudantyā bahavo vaisvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyisthāḥ,' 'these are the (people) Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mātibas, who live in large numbers beyond the borders; most of the Dasyus are the descendants of Viśvāmitra'.¹

The outcaste went South because the Vindhya mountains were the Southern boundary of the holy land (*punyabhūmiḥ*) of Āryāvarta and he who was bereft of the benefit of the Arya rites had necessarily to go south. Long after the period when the composition of the Vedic Mantras ceased, the Vindhya mountains were still held to shut in the Aryan world, for the Kausitaki Upaniṣad says that both the mountains—the Southern and the Northern, (i.e., the Himalayas and the Vindhya) by rolling themselves desiring to lay him low cannot destroy one who knows the relations between Prāṇa (cosmic and indivi-

¹ Ait. Brāh. vii. 18.

dual) and the manifested powers". In the Manu Smṛti the tradition is repeated that the tract between these two mountains where the black antelope naturally roams, the wise call Āryāvarita (i.e., it is an ancient tradition), and the tract different from it is the country of the mleechas ; twice-born men ought to live only there⁸. Thus even in the age when the Manu Smṛti, as we now have it, was compiled (and that must have been a time when Brāhmaṇas had spread over the whole of India), the tradition about the limits of Āryāvarita within whose boundaries alone Brāhmaṇas could reside, was being repeated as authoritative on account of the antiquity of the idea.

Pearls :

Notwithstanding the fact that, for religious purposes, the Rsis confined the Āryas to Āryāvarita, there must have been, from the earliest times, much commercial intercourse between Āryāvarita and Dakṣināpatha⁹, as they

⁸ Kausītaki Upaniṣad, II. 12, 13.

⁹ Taylor evāntaro giryor Āryāvaritam vidur budhīḥ
kr̥ṣṇū sūrastu carati mṛgo yatra svabhāvataḥ.....etān
dvijātayo desān. Manu, II. 22,24.

¹⁰ Dakṣināpatha was contracted into daksina, the south. This word, in Prakrit dakkhiṇa, later became dakkhin, which was the name of India south of the Vindhya-s. The English people, perhaps following the lead of Mussulman historians, have turned it into the Decean and changed its meaning. They have excluded the southernmost portion of South India, the country South of the Kr̥ṣṇā which the Rsis generally thought of when they talked of South India, from the connotation of the word Deccan, and restricted it to the plateau and

called South India, for one of the articles much used for decoration in the Vedic Age was the product of the extremest south, viz.: the pearl. Here are a few extracts from some of the mantras, which refer to the wide use of pearls in the Vedic Age. 'The car (of Savitā) was decked with pearl of various colours'¹¹. The decoration of divine cars was an imitation of that of royal chariots which were decorated with pearls. The horses that dragged them were also decked with pearls; kṛṣanebhiraśvan¹². The steeds were kṛṣanavataḥ¹³, kṛṣaninah¹⁴. The use of the pearl and the mother of pearl was so great that the small supply of inferior pearls from the Ganges could scarcely have met the demand and hence pearls must have been carried from South India to the North. One whole sūkta of the Atharva Veda Samhita called the Saṅkhamani sūkta, recited when wearing an amulet of mother of pearl, thus eulogises the pearl. 'Born out of the atmosphere, out from the light of the lightning, let this golden shell, of pearl, protect us¹⁵.' 'Thou art conspicuous on the chariot, lustrous on the

invented the phrase 'far south' to represent the Southernmost part of the peninsula.

¹¹ Abbivrttam kṛṣanair viśvarūpam.. ratham. R.V. i. 33. 4

¹² R. V. x. 68. 11.

¹³ R. V. i. 126. 4.

¹⁴ R. V. vii. 18. 23.

¹⁵ Vātājjāto antoriksād vidyuto jyotisaspari sa no hironyayā saṅkhah kṛṣanah pātvambasah. A. V. iv. 10. 1.

quiver, thou¹⁶. 'When the ocean roared against Parjanya with lightning, therefrom was born the golden drop'¹⁷. Whitney has pointed out that the last of the mantras quoted as well as the first of the Śaṅkhamāṇī sūkta allude to the belief that pearls originated by the transformation of rain drops falling into the sea. This is a bit of folk-biology which originated in the extreme south of India where the pearl oysters have been gathered from the bed of the sea from time immemorial. We can easily understand that there must have been considerable intercourse between North India and South India to enable pearls to have been carried in the large quantities needed for decorating not only the persons of men and women, but their cars, horses, quivers and other articles, and for folk-lore to accompany that article to the land of the Rsis.

The derivation of the word Krśana is worth considering. It is apparently derived from krś, 'to become lean and emaciated'; possibly the name was given to it because if exposed to the atmosphere for a very long period of time, pearl gradually wastes away, unlike other gems. If this is correct etymology, krśana is a very poetical name for the pearl and must have been given to it after a long experience of its use. Another Sanskrit name for it is muktā. This word occurs in the form vimuktā once in the Vedic literature.¹⁸ Vimuktā is explained as 'secreted' (in the

¹⁶ Rathe tvamasi darsata iṣudhau rocanas tvam. Ib. 6.

¹⁷ Yat samudro abhyakrandat parjanyo vidyutā saḥ tato hiranyayo bindustato garbho ajāyata. Ib. xix 30, 5. Saḍvimśa Brāhmaṇa v. 6.

oyster) by Macdonell and Keith¹⁸ and muktā, as 'released' from the oyster, by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary, but I am sure that muktā is but the Tamil word muttam, pearl, borrowed and Sanskritised.

It is interesting to compare the Vedic references to the pearl by people who had but seen the pearl as a means of decoration and who had heard vague tales of rain drops turning into pearls in the interior of the oyster, with the following image from a poem composed by a poet familiar with the pearl in its native state within the oyster. He describes 'gems emitting rays while lying on bright, long layers of sand which were like the pearls in a mature long shell'.¹⁹

Gold and Diamonds:

Besides pearls, other South Indian articles were in demand in Āryāvartta. They were gold and diamonds, besides other things. Much gold was used in the Vedic times both for making ornaments and for coining. In the Vedic Index by Macdonell and Keith it is said, "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the value attached to gold by the Vedic Indians Golden treasures (hiranyāni) are mentioned as given by patrons... Gold was used for ornaments for neck and breast (niṣka), for ear-rings (karnśobhana) and even for cups... A gold currency was evidently beginning to be known in so

Vedic Index, II p. 304.

¹⁸ ग्रीष्मेर मूलं ग्रीष्मे विद्युतेष्व
स्त्रियोः वस्त्रं, Puram, 63. II. 1—2.

Puram 377 speaks of अङ्गे उमिरे एव ग्रीष्मे (l. 17), 'the many-rayed pearl born from the sea.' and the Perumbānār̥rūppadai has ग्रीष्मे वस्त्रे (l. 335), 'sand spread like pearls.'

far as definite weights of gold are mentioned; thus a weight, *astāprād*, occurs in the Samhitas and the golden *śatamīna*, weight of a hundred *kṛṣṇalas* is found in the same texts.²⁰ D. R. Bhandarkar has conclusively proved that there were two types of metallic currency, stamped and unstamped, called respectively *hiranya pīḍa* and *nīṣka* in the age of the Rsis²¹. Hence the gold dust which the North Indians got from the washing of the sands of the Indus²² could not have sufficed for their purposes. This gold was called *pīḍilika*, ant-like, from the size of the gold particles²³. North Indians therefore had to import it

²⁰ Vedic Index, II, 504-5, where the Vedic references are all given.

²¹ Carm. Lec 193, pp. 56-75.

²² Washing for gold is recorded in Tait. Samh. vi.1.7.1, S'at. Brūh. ii.1.1.5. The Indus is called 'golden' and 'of golden stream.' R.V. x. 75.8, vi. 61.7, viii. 26.18. (Ved. Ind. op. cit.)

²³ Mahābhārata ii. 1860, says that gold raised from underneath the earth by ants, and therefore called after these creatures, was brought as tribute to Yudhiṣṭhīra. The Greek writer, Megasthenes, turned this mild myth into the story that "on the eastern borders there is an elevated plateau about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter. They throw heaps of earth, as moles do, at the mouths of the mines. The gold dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of

also from gold mines. So far the chief ancient gold diggings known are those of South India. Hence it is probable that South Indian gold was used in Āryāvartta.

We have the authority of Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra for the fact that in the IV century B.C. there flourished a trade between South India and North India in shells of all kinds including mother of pearl, diamonds and other precious stones, pearls and gold, which were available in plenty in Dakṣināpatha²⁴. We can easily believe that this was no special mercantile development of the Maurya epoch, but a continuation of the trade of the Vedic times, for the men of the earlier epoch could not have got the articles from any other quarter of the globe.

Other articles :

Of the unguents and drugs so frequently referred to in the Atharva Veda, those with South Indian names must have also gone from Dakṣināpatha. Besides these, one plant, lāksā²⁵ and one bird, mayūra²⁶ have names which, I suspect, are derived from Tamil. But even without these etymological speculations there is ample evidence that there was considerable commercial intercourse between the Āryas of North India and the the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off". McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.* p. 95.

The boiling spoken of by Megasthenes perhaps refers to the extraction of gold by heating the sālagrāma, still being done in Tibet.

²⁴ Artha Śāstra vii. 12.

²⁵ A.V. v. 5-7.

²⁶ R.V. i. 191, 14

Dasyus of South India in the age of the Rsis. The elephant is frequently mentioned in the Vedas, as the beast with the hand. They were probably got from the Vindhyan regions or from the regions further south²⁷. There is no mention, so far as I know, of ivory carving in the Vedas. But carving is mentioned among decorations, e.g. 'Like two slight images of girls, unrobed, upon a new-wrought pillar.'²⁸ These images might have been of wood or gold or ivory. If the northerners did not practise ivory carving, it is impossible to guess what they made of the plentiful supply of ivory from the many elephants which were kept by kings. Ivory carving existed in the early stone age, many thousands of years before the Vedic times and could not have died out with the advance of civilization. In later times 'ivory worked into divers forms and shapes' is mentioned as the occupation of people in Benares, in the Silavanāga Jātaka, No. 72. This was certainly no new industry in the V or VI century B.C., when the story must have been current, before being absorbed in the Jātaka tales. Ivory then, was probably another article of export from the South to the North of India.

Panis:

In several places I have argued that the Panis mentioned in the Vedic hymns were the traders who

²⁷ In the II century B.C. elephants were sent from the Pāṇḍya country to Khāravela of Kalinga, and this was but a continuation of the trade in this animal, of more ancient times.

²⁸ R.V. iv. 32. 23.

supplied these articles to the Āryas.²⁰ In this I find I was mistaken, having been misled by European scholars, such as Griffith, Macdonell, etc. On a careful re-perusal of the mantras where the word Panī occurs, I find that they were neither traders nor atmospheric demons who stole the clouds and prevented rainfall as they have been explained to be, but that they were one of the several clans of Dasyus who were opposed to the Āryas. They were neither traders nor demons, but agriculturists who hoarded wealth²¹ consisting in horse and cattle. Their wealth of kine was kept in caves.²² This has been misinterpreted as fiends secreting rays of light. This misinterpretation is due to the ignorance of a well-known custom of ancient India, both Aryan and Dravidian. We learn from the *Tolkāppiyam*, a work that contains references to very old Indian customs, that lifting the enemy's cattle was the ancient method of beginning hostilities and this was called *vēṭci*, and *vēṭci* in war poems had the hill-country as its terrain.

The Panis were a tribe rich in cattle which they kept in caves; and they were the enemies of certain Āryas and these two began war with each other by the time-honoured method of lifting cattle. In one such war not a war of invasion as European scholars would have it, Agni and Soma, i.e. worshippers, who relied

²⁰ Life in Ancient India, pp. 16, Indian Hist. Quarterly, Vol. I, p. 695, Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture, p. 80.

²¹ R. V. i. 83. 4, i. 32. 11, ii. 24.9

²² R. V. ii. 24.6, iv. 58.4.

on these Gods for help, stole the kine from the Panis.³² Indra, or acting on his behalf, Brhaspati, stole the kine of the Panis³³. Thus the Panis seem to have been a tribe of Dasyus, who were rich in cattle, and not traders at all. South Indian trade in Vedic times was in the hands of merchants who lived on the sea-coast and were called Paradar from very early times.³⁴

The Aryas in Cera :

There is a verse in R. V. VII. 101. 14 which says, *prajā ha tisro atyāyam īyuh*, 'three people transgressed.' Commenting on this the Taittiriya Āranyaka says, '*yū valītā imāḥ prajāḥ tisro atyāyam īyan tāni imāni vayām si vangāvagadhus cerapādah*'³⁵; the three peoples who transgressed are the Vāyasas, Vāngāvagadhas and Cerapādas'. Sayana renders the last three words as birds, trees, plants and snakes, Ānandatirtha as Piśacas, Rūkṣasas and Asuras. Keith regards Vāyasas as people with bird-totems (as Matsyas, Ajas, etc., had other animal totems) the Vāngāvagadhas as possibly Vāngas and Magadhas, and Cerapādas as Ceras. Their transgression was the neglect of worshipping fire, as the context shows. I think that Keith's explanation is the right one. The Aryan culture reached the Cera country in early times in the wake of the migrations of Parasurāma, as I shall show later on.

³² R. V. i. 93.4

³³ R. V. x. 67.6

³⁴ Perumbāñārruppadai (1.323) has வெள்ள வெள்ள, 'mansions full of merchants.'

³⁵ Ait. Ārap. ii. 1.1 (Anechota Oxoniensa, Keith)

Arya Kings South of the Vindhya:

Now I shall discuss the extension of the power of Arya kings early in the Vedic Age into India south of the Vindhya. From the Puranas we learn that Arjuna Kārtavīrya was a contemporary of Trāyīrūna, grandfather of Harīcandra. He lived about thirty generations after the foundation of the Solar line and about thirty generations before Rāmacandra i. e. at the end of the first third part of the Vedic epoch; Arjuna was a great conqueror, and was called both a Samrāṭ and a Cakravartī. He raised the Haihaya power to pre-eminence during a long reign. In addition to bringing the whole of North India under his sway, he captured Māhiṣmatī³⁶ from the Kārkotaka Nāgas, a great Dasyu tribe of the Dakṣināpatha, and made it his fortress capital. Among others he defeated a Rāvanya, king of Laṅka, and imprisoned him in Māhiṣmatī³⁷. This Rāvanya was certainly not the enemy of Rāmacandra who lived at least five hundred years later. Hence the Rāvanya who was imprisoned by Kārtavīrya must have been an earlier Rāja of that name or perhaps the guess of Dr. Sten Konow is true, that the name, Rāvana, was but the result of the Sanskritization of Tamil īraivan³⁸ and merely meant a Tamil king.

³⁶ The town of Māhiṣmatī was built long before this age by Mahiṣmān who lived about a hundred years before Viśvāmitra. It was probably taken by the Nāgas and Arjuna captured it from them.

³⁷ Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, pp. 265-266. The Puranic references are given fully in Pargiter's footnotes.

³⁸ J. R. A. S. 1914, p. 285. There was a still earlier Rāvana who fought with Anaranya, king of Ayodhyā. Vide Pargiter, op. cit. p. 263,

This Arjuna or his sons raided the hermitage of Jamadagni, the Bhārgava R̄si, ill-treated him and carried off his calf; Jamadagni's son, the redoubtable Rāma, declared war against them and slew many of them and the Haihayas. Rāma and the Bhārgavas were supported by the princes of Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja, who were allied to them by marriage³⁹. Rāma Jāmadagnya, later called Parāśurāma, to distinguish him from Rāma Dāśarathi, killed Arjuna and many Haihayas. After his military exploits Rāma retired to the West Coast where the sea retired a few miles to provide him with a bit of territory;⁴⁰ possibly the advent of Rāma to the Konkan and the Malabar coast took place at a time when the Western sea retreated a few miles, exposing the narrow strip of land between itself and the Western Ghats; and hence arose the persistent association of Parāśurāma's name with the recovery of Konkan and Malabar in numerous legends. Parāśurāma was probably the first R̄si that carried the Vedic fire-cult to the South of India.

Contemporary with Parāśurāma was Viśvāmitra of Kānyakubja. The story of his banishing fifty of his sons to the regions beyond the Vindhya has already been referred to. The Vaiśvāmitras spread the Ārya cult in the Dakṣināpatha. D. R. Bhandarkar makes a curious statement about the banished sons of Viśvāmitra. He says that they "married and mixed freely with the aborigines, with the object of diffusion of Aryan culture amongst them"⁴¹. That the Vaiśvāmitras married Dasyu wives is probably true, because they were unmarried

³⁹ Pargiter, op. cit. p. 267.

⁴⁰ Ib. op. cit. pp. 190-200.

⁴¹ *Germinal Lectures*, 1928, p. 21.

when they were cursed by their irate parent, but that they did so for the purpose of civilizing the Dasyus is an absolutely unwarranted inference. Nor were the Dasyus uncivilized aborigines. Many scholars, on account of their ignorance of the great civilization reached by the Indians in the pre-Aryan epoch, evidence of which is found in the artefacts of the neolithic period and in early Tamil vocabulary and echoes of which are found in later Tamil literature^{**}, and on account of their disregarding the Vedic references to Dasyu culture, have invented the legend of the savage Dasyu. The traditional holiness of Āryāvartia and the exaggerated tales of Rāksasa cruelty which abound in the ancient legends have helped to confirm this wrong view. When the Rsis speak of the Dasyus, we should remember that they speak of their enemies and hence we should make allowance for exaggeration due to animosity. We should also not forget that both in the Vedic mantras and in the Epic and Puranic legends, side by side with denunciations of the savagery of the Dasyus and Rāksasas, there are innumerable passages referring to their high civilization, their castles, their gold ornaments, their wealth, etc. Hence they were not barbarous aborigines waiting to be civilized by Aryan exiles or stray Aryan immigrants.

The holiness of Āryāvarta has also misled investigators into the wrong notion that the Dakṣinā country was rigidly isolated from the North and that the early Aryan Rājas confined their ambition to the land north of the Vindhya throughout the long ages when

^{**} Vide my Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

the Rsis of the Vedic mantras flourished, i.e., from the time of Ikṣvāku to that of the Mahābhārata war (from 3000 B.C. to 1400 B.C. according to my scheme of ancient Indian chronology). Says D. R. Bhandarkar, "It was in the Brāhmaṇa period, however, that they (i. e. the Āryas) for the first time seem to have crossed the Vindhya range which separates the South from the North half of India. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, e.g., a prince named Bhīma is designated Vaidarbha, prince of Vidarbha. This shows that the Aryans had come down below the Vindhyas and settled in Vidarbha or Western Berars immediately to the south of this mountain range" **. This is a specimen of the wrong application of the critical method of historical investigation.

Because the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the name Bhīma Vaidarbha and the Rg Veda mantras do not, the Aryan Rājas had just then crossed the Vindhyas. Bhīma might have lived one thousand years before the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa was composed, but yet he had just crossed the Vindhyas when it mentions him. The Brāhmaṇas record traditions which had been floating down the river of time during the ninety to hundred royal generations that elapsed from the age when Ikṣvāku and Purūravas founded the Solar and Lunar dynasties respectively and the mention of a person in those books does not mean that he was a contemporary of the authors of those books. As a matter of fact Bhīma or Bhīmaratha of Vidarbha was contemporary of Ayutāyus of Ayodhyā who was older than Rāma by about fifteen generations and Bṛhadbala of the age of the Mahābhārata by more than forty generations. The bulk of the Aitareya

**. Carm. Lect. 1918, p. 2

and other early Brāhmaṇas was composed sometime after Veda Vyāsa who belonged to the Mahābhārata epoch had closed the Vedic canon by compiling the Samhitās. Thus Bhīma lived more than a thousand years before the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Vindhya had been crossed and Vidarbha founded about ten generations before Bhīma. Jyūmagha, a Yādava prince was expelled by his elder brother and sought his fortune southward in the hilly upper region of the Narmadā inhabited by Nāgas and other Dasyus. He led a predatory life there. He or his son Vidarbha moved south and carved a kingdom on the Taptī and the country and its capital were called after him Vidarbha⁴⁵. Long after him reigned Bhīmaratha.

Not only Vidarbha but other Aryan states had been established in early times in the Vindhya regions. Dakṣina Kosala, Cedi, Daśārṇa, Niṣadha, besides Vidarbha, all at the foot of the Vindhya, were Aryan settlements in the middle of the Vedic period. Kaśu, Rāja of Cedi, is mentioned in the Rg Veda⁴⁶; there is an interesting description of the kings of Cedi, Daśārṇa, Vidarbha, Southern Kosala etc., in the Naṭopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, and the Caidya kings are mentioned in the Puranas. Indrasena, the wife of Mudgala, drove her husband's chariot in a fight with the Dasyus⁴⁷. It is no wonder she did so, for she was the daughter of Nala, famous for his skill in driving chariots⁴⁸. Rūparāṇa, Nala's friend, was king of Dakṣina Kosala. Vidarbha was a contiguous province. Hence

⁴⁵ Pargiter, op. cit. p. 269.

⁴⁶ R.V. viii, 5.37.

⁴⁷ R.V. x. 102.2.

⁴⁸ MbB. III, 114.24.

a portion of the Dakṣināpatha was acquired by Aryan Rājas⁴⁹, long before Rāma's time. All the while the people of Tamil India were pursuing their lives, each in their own region, as described in the last chapter; they traded with the peoples of the North, but their culture, called Dasyu by the Northerners, was not influenced by the fire-cult of Aryāvartta, though this culture slowly crept in this period across the Vindhya-s.

⁴⁹ Vide Sitanath Pradhan, Chronology of Ancient India, Chapters I, XII and XVII.



CHAPTER III

FOREIGN TRADE IN EARLY TIMES.

South India and Sumeria:

It was pointed out in Chapter I that trade began as a matter of necessity in the Neydal or coast region. A large part of the Tamil country is near the sea and the inhabitants of the coastal districts have been called from early times Paradavar or sailors. The Paradavar of the coasts of South India must have early discovered the periodicity of the monsoons; indeed it is impossible to live in the Malabar country for a year without understanding this phenomenon and the possibilities of sea-travel it implies. Even when advantage was not taken of the monsoons, sailors could go along hugging the shore up to the coasts of Afghanistan and Persia. Extensive travels by land and sea in very early times can alone have made possible the colonization of the Mesopotamian valley by the Tamils, which, according to a recent theory, gave birth to the ancient Sumerian civilization of that region. Says H. R. Hall, "the ethnic type of the Sumerians, so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites, Aryans or others; they were decidedly Indian in type. The face-type of the average Indian of to-day is no doubt much the same as that of his Dravidian race-ancestors thousands of years ago. Among the modern Indians as amongst the

modern Greeks or Italians the ancient pre-Aryan type of the head has survived (as the primitive type of the head has always done), while that of the Aryan conqueror died out long ago. And it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian tribe which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. [In his footnotes to the words 'land' and 'sea' in this sentence, he says, 'we have at the present day a Dravidian population in Baluchistan, the Brabuis; the Dravidian type has been noted in Southern Persia; and there can be little doubt that the non-Aryan peoples of Ancient Persia (the Anariakoi of the Greeks) were of the same race, forming a connecting link between Babylonia and India.' 'The legend of Cannes, the man-Fish quoted by Berossus, argues an early maritime connection with a civilized land over sea. Cannes swam up the Persian gulf to the earliest Sumerian cities (Eridu and the rest), bringing with him the arts of civilization.] It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose that their culture was developed. There their writing may have been invented, and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar 'cuneiform' (wedge-shaped) appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stylus on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam. This seems a plausible theory of Sumerian origins and it must be clearly understood

that it is offered by the present writer merely as a theory, which has no direct evidence to back it, but seems possible."¹

Moheñjo-Daro :

Within twelve years of the publication of Hall's book, the "direct evidence to back" his theory was furnished by the excavations of Harappa and Moheñjo Daro and what was "possible" in his view has become probable. Specimens of the writing he spoke of have been found and ample relies of the advanced civilization of the Indus valley have been recovered. The "trenches revealed the presence of successive layers of buildings of the chalcolithic" period. Certain figures have been found in Moheñjo Daro of crude workmanship and archaic appearance; but "the very prominent nose and the use of flattened pellets of clay for the eyes is a feature of very similar figures of early date from Mesopotamia."² Notwithstanding these and many other discoveries, the definite proof of Sumerian culture being an outflow of the ancient culture of the Indus valley can be obtained only when the writings discovered at Moheñjo Daro have been finally read and deciphered.

Ancient Trade with Babylonia :

If there was intercourse between the Indus valley and Sumeria, there must have been greater intercourse between these two districts and South India. Evidence of this is found in two facts mentioned by Sayee. One is that Indian teak was found in the ruins of Ur (Mugheir), which was the capital of the Sumerian kings

¹ H. R. Hall. *The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 173-4.

² Archaeological Survey of India, Annual report, 1925-26, pp. 72-38.

in the JV millennium B.C. and the other is that the word sindhu or muslin is mentioned in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing.* The occurrence of 's' in the word proves that this muslin did not go to Mesopotamia via Persia, for then 's' would have become 'h' in Persian mouths, as the name of this country, derived from the name of the river Sind, became Hind. I therefore conclude that muslin went direct by sea from the Tamil Coast to the Persian Coast and the Babylonian word sindu for muslin is not derived from the name of the river (as has been supposed) but from the old Dravidian word, 'sindi', which is still found in Tulu and Canarese, and means 'a piece of cloth' and is represented by the Tamil word 'sindu', a flag.

Ancient trade with Egypt:

Not only was there commercial intercourse between the Tamil country and the Mesopotamian valley, but there is some evidence that the trade of South India extended to Egypt in the III millennium B.C. Says W. H. Schoff, "thousands of years before the emergence of the Greeks from savagery. . . . Egypt and the nations of Ancient India came into being, and a commercial system was developed for the interchange of products within those limits, having its centre of exchange near the head of the Persian gulf. The peoples of that region, the various Arab tribes and more especially those ancestors of the Phoenicians, the mysterious Red Men, were the active carriers or intermediaries. The growth of civilization in India created an active merchant marine, trading to the Euphrates and Africa, and eastwards we know not whither. The

* Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 136-138.

Arab merchants, apparently, tolerated the presence of Indian traders in Africa, but reserved for themselves the commerce within the Red Sea, that lucrative commerce which supplied precious stones and spices and incense to the ever increasing service of the gods of Egypt. This was their prerogative, jealously guarded, and upon this they lived and prospered according to the prosperity of the Pharaohs. The muslins and spices of India they fetched themselves or received from the Indian traders in their ports on either side of the gulf of Aden; carrying them in turn over the highlands to the upper Nile, or through the Red Sea and across the desert to Thebes or Memphis."⁴ It may be added that the articles taken to Egypt by the Arab intermediaries were South Indian ones and that South Indian *Paradavur* took them in their boats to Aden and the East African coast.

"In the inscriptions of Harkhuf, an Assuan noble under [the Egyptian] king Mernere of the VI Dynasty (B.C. 2,600) occurs the following:—'I descended (from country of Yam, Southern Nubia) with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, grain, panthers, ivory, throw-sticks and every good product.' The ebony referred to may be African ebony; but it may also have been Indian ebony, which was superior to the African one and was in ancient times taken from India to the Persian gulf, whence the Arabians took it to the coast of Africa, and from there it was taken via the Upper Nile to Egypt, as it was in later times, i.e. 1,500 B.C.; and after this date Indian ebony was so popular that Theophrastus (IV century B.C.) ascribes the wood to India only and Virgil (*Georgics* ii, 116,7) speaks of it as peculiar to

⁴ *Periplus*, p. 3.

India.⁵ In a later chapter it will be shown that grain and panthers were exported to Africa in later times. These two articles here mentioned may also have gone from South India.

In the VI dynasty, under Pepi II (XXVI century B.C.), a royal officer, Sebni sent to the Tigre highlands, records how he descended to Wawat and Uthek, and sent on the royal attendant Iri, with two others, bearing incense, clothing (probably cotton), one tusk and one hide."⁶ Now the Deccan was the only part of the world where cotton cloth was woven in those far off days.

The ivory mentioned above was African but may also have been Indian. From early times Indian ivory was in demand, partly because it was finer than any other. Moreover it was easier to kill elephants in Indian forests than in the wilder, thicker, and more unhealthy African forests. The elephant-hunters of Abyssinia and Somaliland who supplied African ivory to the Egyptian Kings used adzes, axes and swords; and India was the only country whence iron implements could have been imported in those times. In exchange for these, India imported from Africa incense and sweet-smelling gums, largely used in this country in the Vedic Age. There is record of the export of iron from India in the next age and we may well believe that this commerce existed in the earlier age.

The Vedic mantras refer to men who went to far off lands for "interchange of merchandise."⁷ Traders

⁵ Schöff's Periplus, p. 61, 153, Warmington, Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, p. 213.

⁶ Schöff's Periplus, p. 121.

⁷ A. V. iii, 15.4.

"desiring wealth sent ships to sea;"⁸ parties of merchants went on the ocean in ships with a hundred oars⁹ to distant lands for sale and barter¹⁰. This of course does not refer to Tamil trade but if the Northern Arya people traded to distant countries, the South Indian sailors must have been their teachers of the art of sailing: for the latter had developed from early times extensive sea-trade and the former were not sailors in early days.

Kennedy on Ancient trade:

Some writers, however, have argued against the existence of this trade. The chief of them is Kennedy. In his article on this subject¹¹ he has spent all the resources of his vast learning in trying to disprove that there was any Indian trade either with Egypt or Assyria before the VII century B. C. He ignores completely the passages of the Rg Veda and Atharva Veda mantras referring to merchants, sea-voyages and shipwrecks. He admits that the Indian people, especially of the coastal districts "were accustomed to the sea." He cannot deny that India produced in abundance hard timber necessary for building purposes and sweet-smelling woods useful for the preparation of the unguents so widely employed in ancient times for ritual purposes. It is well-known that the Egyptians and Assyrians eagerly sought after the spices, pearls and other gems which India could supply in plenty. Indians from the neolithic age wove cotton cloth in abundance and dyed it, as is proved from the various kinds of stone tools for

⁸ R. V. i. 48.3.

⁹ A. V. i. 56.2.

¹⁰ A. V. iii. 15.4.

¹¹ R. V. i. 116.5.

¹² J. R. A. S. 1898, pp. 248-297

weaving, including slick-stones for polishing cloth, discovered so far. Yet Kennedy shuts his eyes to all the available evidence of ancient commercial intercourse between India on the one hand and Egypt and Assyria on the other. He attempts to discount the value of the evidence of the names of articles of trade borrowed from Sanskrit and Tamil by the Accadian, Hebrew and Arabic languages. He tries to whittle down the Vedic evidence of the contact of Aryas with Assyria adduced by German scholars, magnifies the difficulties in the way of an extensive development of commerce by barter and concludes that "there is no valid proof of it."

Schoff's refutation:

Schoff, the American editor of the *Periplus*, thus conclusively refutes Kennedy's arguments. "Kennedy minimizes the importance of the early Egyptian trading voyages, considering them purely local, while the numerous references to articles and routes of early trade in the Hebrew scriptures he passes by with the assertion that they are due to the revision following the return of Ezra. But whatever may have been Ezra's revision of the Hebrew books, substantially the same articles of trade are described in the records of Egypt at corresponding dates, and they indicate a trade in articles of Indian origin to the Somali coast and overland to the Nile, centuries before Ezra's day. Such opinions presume a continuous trading journey without exchange of cargoes at common meeting-points. But primitive trade passed from tribe to tribe and port to port¹²."

¹² Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 228.

CHAPTER IV

RAMA AND SOUTH INDIA (C. 2000 B. C.)

The Growth of the Rāmāyaṇa:

The story of Rāma brings the whole of South India into view definitely for the first time. This story is narrated most fully in the Rāmāyaṇa, though almost independent accounts of it also occur in the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvamśa and other works. The evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa has to be taken with care on account of various reasons. It professes to be the work of Vālmīki, a Rṣi who was a contemporary of Rāma, and came to the help of Sītā when her husband, in a peevish mood, banished her, and educated her sons and taught them his great poem, from which they recited some slokas to their father, when he visited the hermitage where they were reared. On the one hand, there is absolutely no reason which compels us to disbelieve this circumstantial account. On the contrary we cannot believe that the Rāmāyaṇa, as we have it, is exactly the same work as that which Vālmīki composed. For one thing Rāma lived at the end of the second third of the Vedic epoch. The hymns composed in that age, like the earlier and the later ones, are in the Vedic dialect; hence the Rāmāyaṇa of Rāma's days must have been in the Vedic dialect ('Candas' as Pāṇini calls it) or in the Prakrit which was then current. The Rāmāyaṇa as we have it now is in the classical dialect ('Bhāṣā' as Pāṇini calls it), which certainly did not exist before the X century B. C. The Candas dialect disappeared at

about the time of the war of the Mahābhārata, after which the line of mantra-composers died out. The dialect that succeeded the Candas dialect is that used in the Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas, which is intermediate between Candas and Bhāṣā. Another reason why the Rāmāyaṇa as we have it now cannot be taken as the work of Vālmīki, the contemporary of Rāma, is the occurrence in it of the view that Rāma was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Supreme Deity. Viṣṇu was not the Supreme Being in the Vedic cult, and the doctrine of His Avatāras is foreign to the Vedic theology. The name of Rāma occurs in Rg Veda x. 93. 14 in a list of Maghavans or lords who instituted sacrifices and gave heavy daksīṇa to priests. Here he is mentioned as a human person without any claims to divinity. It is difficult to believe that Vālmīki endowed Rāma with divine status in the latter's life time. Moreover the doctrine of divine incarnations was evolved in the schools of the Āgamas, which were opposed to the Vedic cult in the earlier ages, so much so that even in the X century A. D. Yāmunācārya had to write a book called Āgamaprātmāṇya to prove that the Vaisnava Āgamas were as authoritative as the Vedas to the Vaisnavas. On the decline of the Vedic sacrificial cult after the war of Mahābhārata, the Āgama cults attained to prominence in Northern India. Hence the conception that Rāma was one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu could have got into the story of Rāma, only after the X century B. C. Therefore I conclude that the story of Rāma, as narrated in his life-time by Vālmīki was rewritten after the X century B. C. in the language which Pāṇini called Bhāṣā, and that the concept of Rāma's being an Avatāra, besides other extraneous matter.

got into the story then. In a list of Gotra-founders given in a South Indian edition in Grantha characters of the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra occur the names of Vālmīki and Pāṇini together, as Gotra founders'; this gives one the impression that a certain Vālmīki and Pāṇini were contemporaries. Probably this Vālmīki of the VII century B. C. revised the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki Prācetasa in classical Sanskrit and worked into it the concept of Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Lassen after a critical study of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, has remarked, 'It is true that in the epic poems Rāma and Kṛṣṇa appear as incarnations of Viṣṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Viṣṇu. It is impossible to read either of these poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of these sections, and of the unskillful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress.'¹²

The style of the Rāmāyaṇa does not at all give one the impression of a double authorship of the poem. But

¹². I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Subrahmanyam Sastri, Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, for this information.

this need be no formidable objection if we remember that the second Vālmīki must have written the poem *de novo*, if he wanted to render it in the Bhāṣā prevalent in his time.²

Another Rāma story:

The story of Rāma is known to the bulk of the Hindus of India to-day in all its details; because it is being expounded almost daily in all villages by pandits or improvisatores. But that it was not so in the VII century B.C. and that versions of the Rāma story, different in essential particulars from Vālmīki's poem, existed as folk-tales at that time, is proved by the Daśaratha Jātaka, No. 461 of the (Buddha) Jātaka.³ This tale says that Daśaratha, King of Benares, had sixteen thousand wives and that Rāma pandita, i.e., Rāma the wise, Lakkhanakumāra and Sītādevī were born to his chief queen. After this queen died, Daśaratha set up another lady as chief queen; to her was born Bharata. This queen began to worry him to give the kingdom to her son. Daśaratha refused to do so but bade Rāma and Lakkhana and Sītādevī live in the forest for twelve years, lest the new queen should encompass their destruction and to claim the kingdom after twelve years when the soothsayer (nimitṭah) said he would die. They retired to the Himalayas where they lived in a hermitage. Nine years after this the

² For a very careful study of this question, vide Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts vol. iv. pp. 161-182, whence the above quotation from Lassen has been taken; pp. 441-491 of the same work may also be consulted.

³ Whatever was the date when this Jātaka was written, the tale must have existed long before it.

king died of sorrow and Bharata repaired to the hermitage and begged Rama to return and rule the kingdom. Rāma refused to return before the period of twelve years ordained by his father expired, and gave Bharata his slippers (*pūduka*) and told him that the slippers would govern the kingdom for three years. Then Bharata, Lakkhaṇa and Sītādevī returned to the capital with the slippers. When the three years were over, Rāma went to Benares, was crowned king with Sītā as his queen and reigned in righteousness (*dhammena rajjan karetva*) for 16,000 years and entered Svarga. The fact that this tale prevailed among the common people and was pressed into service by the Buddhas, who made Rāma a Bodhisattva who after many births was born as Gautama, proves that Vālmiki's version was not known to a section of the common people at that date. Probably the recombination of the epic in delightfully beautiful, and at the same time simple Sanskrit by the Vālmiki who was a contemporary of Pāṇini, incorporating the Āgama doctrine of Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, made the poem widely popular after the VII century B.C., when Bhakti cults became popular in North India. Of course, all this is mere theory, but it is the only theory that will fit in with the facts,

References to South India in the Rāmāyaṇa:

Taking the above as a working hypothesis we have a means of separating the references in the Rāmāyaṇa to South India which form vital portions of the story as belonging to Rama's time, from those which were introduced in the first millennium B.C. by the later Vālmiki who knew something about the South India of his time and anachronistically introduced them into the

version. Thus we may take it that in Rāma's days the rule of the Rāksasas extended to the south of the Godāvāri, near which river was situated the Rāksasa outpost of Janasthāna⁴. North of the Godāvāri a number of Aryan kingdoms had been established, but they were not powerful enough to check the incursions of Yaksas and Rāksasas into the regions beyond the Vindhya. For when Rāma visited those regions along with Viśvāmitra, to guard the latter's sacrifices from being disturbed by Rāksasas, he had to fight with the Yaksini, Tātaka, Mārīca, her son, who had become a Rāksasa, and Subāhu, who three had strayed north of the Vindhya. It was near the banks of the Godāvāri up to which river the Rsi settlements had gone in Rāma's days, that large numbers of Rāksasas roamed, for it was near the borders of Rāvana's realm and they could count on his help. There Rāvana's brother, gigantic Khara, persecuted the Aryas who lived in Janasthāna. The Rsis who met Rāma in the forest near bitterly complained about the atrocities committed by them :—"Anāryas stand in front of other sages and soon spoil (their rites) with impure and unclean things. Those small-minded men take delight in ruining from behind (the austerities) of the ascetics in their hermitages. When oblations are (about) to be offered in the holy Agni, they throw away the sacrificial vessels, pour water over the fires and break the pots."⁵

⁴ The following references for this statement are given by Pargiter op. cit. p. 277, viz., M. Bh. iii. 2, 76, 15986, vii. 59, 2226; Rām. ii. 116. 11, iii. 1825.

⁵ Aprāśastair aśucibhiḥ samprayojyaca tūpasān |
pratighnanti aparāṇ kṣipram anāryāḥ puratāḥ sthitāḥ ||
tesu teṣvāśrama sthānesu abuddham avaliya ca | ramante
tūpasāmstatra nāśayanto alpacetasah || .

This passage vividly brings home to us the contempt of the Anāryas for the Ārya rites in Rāma's days. These Anāryas did not speak Sanskrit. In the Veda they are called mridhra vāca ⁶, of injurious speech, and anāsa ⁷, mouthless, devoid of (good) speech, a phrase misinterpreted by European scholars to mean 'noseless' and supposed by them to refer to the flat noses of the Dasyus. The words refer to the fact that the Rāksasas spoke an idiom, different from the Āryan; and the Rāmāyaṇa confirms this when it says that Ilvala, the Rāksasa, tried to deceive Brāhmaṇas by disguising himself as a Brāhmaṇa and speaking Sanskrit, which apparently was not his mother tongue ⁸. Another such significant remark in this poem refers to the characteristic difference of funeral customs between the Āryas and the Dasyus. Throughout the world till the Ārya fire-cult arose, burial was the normal form of disposal of the dead, except where the still older custom of exposing the corpses to the destructive forces of natural agencies prevailed. The fire-cult gave birth to the custom of cremation—the offering of the dead man to the Gods through fire. In India and elsewhere the introduction of cremation is a sure sign of the spread of the Ārya cult. The Rāksasas being Anāryas

avakṣipanti srug bhāndan agnīn sīcanti vāriṇā | kala-
śūmsca pramṛdnanti havane samupastito. |

Ram. ii. 116.15-17.

⁶ R.V.I. 174. 2, v. 32. 8

⁷ R.V.v. 29. 10

⁸ dhārayan brāhmaṇam rūpam ilvalah samskṛtam
vadan. Rām. iii. 11. 58.

buried their dead. So Virādha, when he was killed by Rāma, exhorts him to bury his corpse for that was the old law of the Rākṣasas¹⁰. These casual references to non-Aryan customs cannot at all be regarded as later interpolations, but help to throw light on the fact that in Rāma's time Aryan customs had begun to spread but slowly south of the Godāvari. The compelling influence of Aryan civilization made a few Rākṣasas learn Sanskrit. Ilvala was not the only Anārya who learnt that language. Rāvana is described to have become an expert in it. So much so that when Hanumān, discussing with himself in what language he ought to converse with Sītā, remarks that if he spoke Sanskrit she would mistake him for Rāvaṇa¹¹ Hanumān himself is said to have been the eighth great Sanskrit grammarian but this perhaps refers to a much later Hanumān. Moreover many Rākṣasas became great Brāhmaṇas, expert students of the Veda and performers of austerities. They were called Brahmarākṣasas. The Agastyas and Viśvāmitras belonged to this class. The Pañcastyas, of whom Rāvana was one, and the Nairṛtas were also Brahmarākṣasas.¹²

When Bharata marched in the wake of Rāma to induce him to return to Ayodhyā, he remarked that his

" avate cāpi mām rāma prakṣipya kuśalivrajā |
rākṣasām gatasattvānām eṣa dharmah sanātanaḥ | Rām.
iii. 4. 20.

¹⁰ Yadi vācam pradāsyāmi dvijātiriva samskr-
tām | rāvanam manyamānū mām sītā bhīta bhavisyati ||
vānarasya viśesena katham syād abhibhūṣanam |
avaśyam eva vaktavyam mānusam vākyam arthavat |
Rām. v. 20. 19.

¹¹ For references vide Pargiter op.cit., p. 242

warriors bore shields black like the clouds and wore flowers on their heads like the southerners.¹² The people of ancient South India grew a whole head of hair, since the profession of the barber was unknown to them, as is proved by the fact that there is no genuine Tamil word for the barber, the existing words being either borrowed from Sanskrit or late compound names. The Tamils loved to decorate their hair with all kinds of flowers one for each region they inhabited and one for each separate incident in love and war. In fact the science of the language of flowers was highly developed among them: so much so that there is no improbability in this fact being known to Northerners even in early days.

Some non-genuine references:

The references to South India by the Rāmāyaṇa given above certainly belong to the earlier layer of the poem, but the following reference to Tamil kingdoms equally certainly does not. When Sugrīva was organising the search for Sītā in all directions he sent a band of followers to the South. In giving an account of this, the poet gives a list of the kingdoms that lay to the south of the Vindhya and not merely South of Kiśkindhā and includes in that list the kingdoms of the Āndhras, the Pūṇḍras, the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas with the Keralas¹³. In giving directions to the army which he sent to the west he mentions Muracīpattanam which perhaps is Muṣṭī,

¹² Kurvanti kusumāṇḍā śirassu surabhinami |
meghaprakāśaiḥ galakair dākṣinātyāḥ yathānarūḥ |
Ayodh. Kāṇḍ. 93. 13.

¹³ Tathāiv āndhrāṁśca pūṇḍrāṁśca colān pāṇḍyān
sakeralān. Kiś. Kāṇḍ. 41.2

the great ancient sea-port of the Malabar coast¹⁴. These two references if they belong to the Rāmāyana at all, cannot belong to the earlier draft of the poem. Nor again, the other reference to the Pāndyas which is found in all recensions, where Sugrīva bids his monkey-host behold on the shore of the ocean the Pāndya's golden gates decked with pearl and gold¹⁵. The general run of the story of the Rāmāyana has the implication that all India south of the Godāvarī was under the sway of Rāvana, except the districts in the most thickly wooded interior of Dāyakāranya which belonged to the Vānaras who had chiefs of their own. The jealous and all powerful Rāvana would not have brooked for a moment the prevalence of the Pāndyas near his own doors. Moreover, if the Pāndyas had been rulers at the time, it is impossible to believe that they joined neither side in the great war between Rāvana and Rāma. Moreover these districts not even that of the Pāndyas,

¹⁴ Kiś. Kāṇḍ. 42.13. This and the above passage are not translated in Griffith's Rāmāyana; hence I take it that they are not found in the northern recensions of the poem.

¹⁵ tato hemamayam divyam muktī mani vibhūṣitam | yuktam kavīṭam pāndyānām gatidraksyata vānarājī. || Govindarāja, a Tamil man, commentating on this passage explains kavīṭam here as referring to a town of that name. Probably Govindarāja had heard of the Tamil tradition that Kavīṭapuram was an ancient capital of the Pāndyas and imports this knowledge into his commentaries. The Tamil tradition itself belongs only to a late period of Tamil literature and may have been invented on account of a misunderstanding of this very passage of the Rāmāyana.

from whose coast Rāma crossed to Ceylon, are not mentioned when describing Rāma's march in the southernmost part of India. He started his famous bridge from the Pāndya country and if the Pāndyas had existed in his time, it would have been mentioned in this part of the poem.

I therefore hold that the three ancient powers of Sōla, Sera and Pāndya rose, probably as a result of the extinction of Rāvana's rule, after the age of the Rāmāyana. The reference to the Pāndyas or all the three in the Rāmāyana must have been put into the story in the second draft of the poem in the first millennium B.C.

Agastya :

One more point connected with the Rāmāyana has to be discussed here. The first Agastya, husband of Lopāmudrā, a princess of Vidarbha, was a contemporary of Alarka, king of Kāsi, who lived a little more than twenty generations before Rāma¹⁶. Thus the earliest Agastya lived in the region immediately south of the Vindhya. This is perhaps the meaning of the fable, that he crushed down the Vindhya and ordered the mountain to remain low till he returned from the south¹⁷. His Āśrama was "apparently near Mount Vaiḍurya (the western part of the Sātpura Ranges)." ¹⁸ He made the southern region perfectly safe by means of his austerities¹⁹. But the Agastya whom Rāma met

¹⁶ Pargiter op. cit. pp. 168, 169.

¹⁷ MBh. iii. 103, Rām. iii. 11.84.

¹⁸ MBh. iii. 88, 8344. Pargiter op. cit. p. 240.

¹⁹ Rām. iii. 11, 81, vi. 177, 14.

'two yojanas' from Pañcavati could²⁰ not have been the first Agastya, who lived about four centuries before Rāma's time, but must have been one of the later Agastyas; for this Agastya of Rāma's days lived near the Godāvari, near which in his āśrama Rāma stayed on his way south. It continued to be his āśrama on his way north when he returned along with Sītā on his car, Puspaka. Hence Agastya's āśrama during the whole period of the wanderings of Rāma was two yojanas from Pañcavati. Yet, when Sugriva sent his Vānaras to the South to search for Sītā, he told them that they would see Kāveri's stream whose waters were holy, benign and bright and frequented by apsarasa girls: near by they would see, seated on the top of Malaya hill (Coorg), brilliant as the sun, Agastya, the excellent Rsi²¹. Here we see Agastya spirited away, by the poet, as Sītā was by Rāvaṇa, from Pañcavati and dropped on the top of the Malaya hill. Hence this must have been inserted by the later poet who lived after the Agastyas had proceeded further south than the Agastya of Rāma's time and settled in the Tamil country.

Spread of the Aryan cults in South India:

Great must have been the consequences of Rama's victory and the extinction of Rāvaṇa's power in South India. The Aryans who had been pushing south of Janasthāna even before Rāma's time now spread in

²⁰ Rām. iii, 13.13.

²¹ tatastām īpagām divyām prasanna salilām
śivām | tatra drakṣyatha kāverim vihitām apsaraganaiḥ ||
tasvāśinām nagasyāgre malayasya mahaujasām |
drakṣathāditya saṅkūśam agastyam rsiruttamam. Rām.
v. 41, 15—16.

larger numbers further south. The number of Brahmarākṣasas increased. This word, *brahmarākṣasa*, has acquired unsavoury associations in later usage. Absurd fables have been invented about their activities. But it originally meant either the progeny of Brāhmaṇas who had allied themselves with the Dasyus and the Rakshasas, like the sons of Viśvāmitra, who naturally became Brāhmaṇas and formed the Visvāmitras or Kauśikas²² or those who became the disciples of the Agastyas and were affiliated to their gotra. Even before these, the Bhārgavas and their spiritual descendants had begun to spread in South India. These families constituted the nucleus of the brahmindom of South India. The Brāhmaṇas of this part of the country have this peculiarity, that in some respects they preserve the customs of the Vedic age intact and in others they have adopted South Indian customs unknown to Āryāvartta. On the one hand they shave their heads so as to display a top-knot quite as prominently as the ancient Vāsiṣṭhas;²³ they wear two clothes, called, in old days, the pavasta and vavri²⁴ or the parodhāśam and nivī²⁵ and whenever possible, avoid stitched cloths. In this latter respect women are more particular than men.

²² The Bhāgavata Purāṇa ix, 16, 29-37 says that Maddhucchandas and the other younger sons who obeyed Viśvāmitra became Kauśikas and the elder sons who disobeyed him belonged to the Visvāmitra gotra. Pargiter, op. cit. p. 235.

²³ R.V. vii. 33.1.

²⁴ A.V. iv. 7. 6.

²⁵ A.V. ix. 10.7.

²⁶ A.V. viii. 2. 16.

But, on the other hand, some anārya customs are very dear to Southern ladies, such as the tying of the tāli as the most important act of the marriage-rite²⁷ and the wearing round the neck a bit of thread dyed in turmeric. Again the way in which the husband that is to be is welcomed by the mother of the bride and the bridesmaids is a relic of old Dasyu rites. He and his bride are made to stand beneath the marriage-pandal, their feet symbolically washed in milk and balls of rice dyed in red thrown in all directions²⁸. These customs must have been introduced into the Ārya rite of vivāha by the Dasyu ladies whom the early Ārya immigrants married. Such old Dasyu rites were regarded as so sacred by these Dasyu wives that Apastamba, the law-giver of the South Indian Āryas and one of the latest of the Sūtrakāras, has said that 'the knowledge which Sūdras and woman possess is the completion of all study'²⁹. South Indian women follow religiously an-

²⁷ This is a pure Tamil custom, absolutely unknown to the Gṛhya Sutras, which consider pānigrahanam, the taking of the hand, and the saptapadī, the taking of the seven steps, as the vital act of the sacrament of marriage.

²⁸ Reception of the bride and the bridegroom under a pandal put up for the occasion is described in Agam 86, சௌநார்த்தங்களுக்கும் உத்தர். The balls of red rice are a brahminical substitute for balls of rice mixed with blood such as is described in Tirumurugēṭṭuppadai as being offered to Murugan in worshipping him, சுந்தரேஷ்வரா மார்த்தங்கள் என்பது செல்ல, II, 237-4 'pure white rice mixed with blood offered as minor offering';

²⁹ Sāniṣṭhā yāvidyā strīsu sūdresuca. Dharma Sutras II, xi, 29. II,

other custom unknown to their northern sisters—that of crossing their skirts between the legs, i. e. wearing a kaccha. This is clearly not a Dasyu custom, because it is not followed by ladies of other than the Brāhmaṇa caste. Probably because their Ārya husbands attached a special holiness to the kaccha, the wives in early days imitated it, so as to distinguish them from their unaryanised, unregenerate, Dasyu sisters.

A rational explanation:

G. Ramadas Pantulu of Jeypore (Vizagapatam agency) has sent me a note offering some proofs to justify the theory that Rāvana's followers were primitive Dravidians. The most primitive Dravidian dialect we have is the Kui (sometimes wrongly called Khond) spoken in the hill tracts between the Central Provinces and the Northern Circars. The speakers of this dialect preserve ancient customs which the more civilized of the Dravidians have outgrown. The author of the note has lived among the Kui for many years and his information is first hand. He says, "Every Kui village has, at its entrance, a goddess by name 'Nisūn Pennu.' It is represented by a round oval-shaped stone of about 6 to 9 inches in height and it is installed under a tree at the gate. That it may not be interfered with by men or animals, it is covered by a heap of stones. It is believed that, if this stone is broken or removed from its place, or in any way injured, some evil would befall the village. The villagers make offerings of fowls, goats, buffaloes, cows or pigs to this goddess, on every festive occasion." This fact is discernible behind Vālmīki's poetic account of Hanumān's encounter with Lankā the guardian goddess of Rāvana's capital, when she

was vanquished by him. She was the invincible protectress of the city and the self-existent lord had told her, 'when thou shalt be vanquished by the valiant monkey, know that danger will overtake the Rāksasas' ³⁰. Even today every South Indian village possesses a border-goddess, ellaiyamman, worshipped chiefly by the lower orders but treated by the higher castes as one of the innumerable manifestations of Durgā, the supreme mother-goddess.

Entering the city Hanumān found among pleasure-spots a 'dāru-parvatam,' 'a hillock of felled trees'. Ramdas Pantulu says, "in the Agency tracts of the Vizagapatam districts, dāru is understood to mean 'fuel'. Fuel stacked in the form of hillocks or towers is a common sight in this Agency. As the rains pour so abundantly in these hills such stacks become a necessity as a provision against the season, when it is not possible to secure a piece of dry wood. As it was after the rains that Hanumān went to Lankā, it is no wonder that the Vānara spy saw such structures, within the precincts of Rāvana's abode" ³¹.

Another point mentioned by Ramdas Pantulu may be noted. "When Rāvana went to battle he was followed by beings who had faces of tigers, horses,

³⁰ abam tu nagari lankā svayameva plavangama |
nirjitatāham tvayā vīra vikramena mahibala || idam ca
tathyam śrunu me bruvāntyā vai harisvara | svyam
svayambhūnā datta varadānam yathā mama ||

yadā tvām vānarah kāscid vikramād vaśam ānayet |
tadā tvayā vijñeyam rāksasūm bhayamāgatam || Rām.
V. 3. 45-47.

³¹ Rām. V. 6. 36.

camels, stags etc.³² These bhūtas were Rākṣasa soldiers wearing masks resembling the faces of animals. This was one of the several means the Rākṣasas are said to have used to terrify the peaceful settlers of the Dandaka forest, or their enemies in battle." No doubt the northern Dasyus who fought with the Āryas also used similar devices and earned the reputation of employing magic practices."³³ The Kui tribesmen also have the custom of wearing masks of the head of wild animals or wearing bison or stag horns on their heads. This custom which was originally intended for wars, is now adopted in times of amusements such as dances. 'The war dress of the Khonds [i.e. Kuis] is elaborate, and consists of a leather cuirass in front and a flowing red cloak, which with an arrangement of bison horns and peacock's feathers is supposed to strike awe into the beholder's minds.' (Thurston's Castes and Tribes, III p. 364). 'For dances,.....stag and bison-horns are also worn on the heads of some' (Central Provinces Gazeteer, Chatisgarh Feudatory States, (p. 51)."

Ramadas Pantulu has also an illuminating note on the ten heads of Rāvava. It has been long guessed that

³² Yascaiva nānā vidha ghora rūpair vyāghrostra
nāgendra mygāśva vakraṭaiḥ | bhūtaivṛto bhāti vivṛfta
netraih sōsau surānāmapi darpahantā | . Rām. vi. 59. 24.

³³ pra māyinām aminād varpaṇitih, 'weak grew the
wily leader of enchanters', (Griffith), R.V. iii. 34. 3.

māyāvān abrahmā dasyuh, "the sorcerer, prayerless
Dasyu", R.V. iv. 16. 9.

Susnasya māyā, 'Susna's magic', R.V. v. 31. 7.

Rāvana's ten heads are due to a misunderstanding of the words *daśasya* and *daśagrīva*. Ramdas Pantulu gives a plausible explanation of the origin of these two words.

" *Daśasya* is a name applied to Rāvana ; it and its cognate forms *Daśagrīva*, *Daśānana* are understood to signify ten heads. Consequently, Rāvana has ever been pictured as a demon with ten heads. But Vālmīki, nowhere in his book, describes him so ; and in every place he presents him with one head and two arms. Such being the case, how can the interpretation given by the commentators to these other names of the Rāksasa lord be justified ? The significance of these words must be quite different. So *Daśasya* and *Daśagrīva* considered from their usage in the epic seem to expose a particular character of the person to whom they are applied. In the expressions 'Rāvanoñūma bhadraante daśagrīvah pratāpavān' (III. 48. 2), 'Seetayāḥ vacanam śrutva daśagrīvah pratāpavān' the construction of 'pratāpavān' is similar to that in *Rāksasendrah* *pratāpavān*. In the three quotations the *pratāpa* or glory possessed by Rāvana is illustrated by the words preceding it. The meaning of the last is clear because it means that Rāvana had the glory of being the king of the Rāksasas. But the meaning of the first two cannot be understood unless we first know for what Rāvana was famous. That fame of the Rāksasa lord is revealed in

Rāvano = Loka- rāvānah.

Rāvano = śatru-rāvānah.

shirmāyasya 'of one who knew the viles of serpents', vi. 20. 7.

adevih māyāb, 'godless arts of magic,' R.V. vii. 1. 10.

Yena vitrasita = loka = ssadēv = īsura pannagāḥ
 loka-kṣobhayitāramca nādairbhūta virāvinam.
 He vexed the worlds; he vexed his enemies; he struck
 terror to the worlds of the gods, the asuras and the
 pannagas; he vexed the worlds and terrified the beings
 by his voice.

These show that his main glory consisted in causing vexation to every one. 'Daśagrīvah pratāpavān' meant originally that he had the glory of causing vexation or affliction. So must Dūṣasya mean also the same. 'Sa' or 'asi' is a termination of personal nouns in Kūi. The original word Daśāsi or Daśāsa can easily become 'daśāsyā' in Sanskrit. Rāvana was a daśāsi or an afflicting man.

In Kūi 'giva' is a verbal termination; daśa-giva means to afflict, dia-giva, to irritate; vēpa-giva, to kill or to knock; oba-giva, to take; bandi-giva, to cheat, are other examples of Kūi infinitives formed by adding 'giva' to nouns. 'Daśa-giva' easily becomes 'daśagrīva'. The expression 'daśa-grīvah pratāpavān' intimates that all his prowess or glory was to afflict. This meaning is more consistent with the character of Rāvana than the one which places ten necks on his shoulders."

CHAPTER V.

THE CULTURE OF THE TAMILS DURING II MILLENNIUM B. C.

Literary conventions and the life of the people:

From the Rāmāyaṇa we can but get a very meagre idea of the life and culture of the early Tamils. We ought to remember that the Rāmāyaṇa can but be a highly prejudiced witness with regard to this question. The Rākṣasas, being the dreaded enemies of the Āryas, are naturally described as ogres in bodily shape and monsters of cruelty. But a more correct idea of the culture of the Tamils in very early times can be derived from analysing the literary conventions of the Tamil poetry of a later age. By literary conventions I do not mean artificial canons of criticism. The Tamil literary conventions are not rules unconsciously followed by poets and codified by critics of a later age, like Aristotle's canons of epic poetry and those described by Horace. Ancient Tamil literary conventions were petrifications of old customs developed by the action of the environment on human life. Literary conventions, especially of the early, unsophisticated stages of literature which existed long before the rise of the much later artificial poetry of Sanskrit and Tamil, were based on the actual customs and manners of the people. At first the bards sang as unconsciously as the lark, and their poetry was a true mirror of the life led by the people of those times. Later poets kept up the traditional imagery of earlier ones even when the conditions of life that gave birth to

these traditions had altered and then these poetic images became mere literary conventions. For example, in early days the wealth of the people consisted in cattle; and quarrels arose between chiefs when they stole each other's cattle. Hence to sing of war as beginning with the lifting of the enemy's cattle represented the actual state of affairs in a certain stage of the evolution of human history. In later ages other causes of war arose; but literary convention required the poet to sing of a preliminary cattle-lifting as the invariable beginning of hostilities. So in later poetry, still of the period preceding the rise of Tamil artificial poetry in the VI century A.D., a large number of literary conventions strictly regulated the composition of poetry, both of love and war.

From these conventions we can go back in imagination to the ages when the poems sung by bards faithfully reflected the life which people actually led. From this age we can go back to the age before the rise of poetry and get a glimpse of the life which Indians led in the very remote past. Peeping thus into the far past, we can visualise the life of the South Indians, about 2,000 B.C. or earlier. Before doing so we ought to remember that progress in remote antiquity was much slower than in the present days of wireless telegraphy and the aeroplane. The breathlessly hasty changes of our present-day life and the slow movement, imperceptible as that of the glacier, of life and thought in ancient days are poles apart; hence what was true of 2,000 B.C. was equally true of much earlier times. In those far-off days, man, like other animals, lived entirely subject to geographical conditions and his life was almost a passive reaction to the conditions of his environment, thus

affording a striking contrast to present-day life when man has learnt to conquer physical limitations and can struggle successfully with the snows of the artic regions and transcend even the laws of gravitation by flying to the upper layers of the atmosphere.

Literary conventions of love poems derived from actual life-conditions :

It has been already pointed out in Chapter I that the habitable parts of the earth's surface can be divided, and were divided by ancient Tamil poets, into five regions—the region of low hills, slightly wooded, where man first lived and hunted, the sandy desert where water is scarce and vegetation sparse and where man first developed martial virtues and predatory impulses, the forest region where the pastoral stage of human life was first reached, the coastal region, where man learnt to fish and to sail on boats and to barter fish and salt for grain, and the lower river-valley where the arts of agriculture and weaving were invented. The passage of man from one culture to another took long periods of time; it was chiefly owing to migrations of men from region to region; but each region retained its own culture when the succeeding ones arose. Thus in the Kuriñji or hill country where the first stages of human culture arose, men led the semi-nomad life of the hunter. The course of love was not deterred by social conventions, and love at first sight followed by its immediate consummation was the norm. In much later times arose the celebration of marriage by a public reception of the wedded pair, followed by a tribal feast but the age-long custom of love passages preceding the wedding festival was kept up, as it is even to-day, among the hill-tribes. Again, men and women of the hill tracts were satisfied with a

minimum of dress. Innumerable strings of shells hanging from the neck and a garland of flowers and leaves (from which in later times was developed the girdle, *mekhalā*) round the hips, were enough to cover the person; and among Kuravar to-day this same dress prevails in the interior of the Kuriñji land and when these Kuravar visit the low country, the only change in their dress is the substitution of rags for the belt made of leaves and flowers. When poetry first arose among the Kuravar the bards naturally sang about the pre-nuptial loves of hill-chieftains and their presenting their mistresses with leaf-garments, (*tajai udai*) and the teeth of the tigers which the hill-chiefs killed in the chase; these teeth were strung together and worn hanging from the neck and called *puliperrālī*¹ from which in later times was evolved the gold *tāli*. Later it became a literary convention that pre-nuptial love (*ka}avu*) ought to be the subject-matter only of the class of poems called *Kuriñjittinai*, to be associated only with the fauna and flora of the hill-country and with the presentation of leaf-garments, with the attribution of love-sickness to the possession of the girl by the hill god Murugan and its cure by exorcism, etc., all the incidents of the uneven course of true love were classified and prescribed as the subject-matter of *Kuriñjittinai*.

Similarly the subject-matter of the poems of *Mullaittinai*, those correlated to the wooded region, was fixed as the woe of the short separation of lovers such as will take place when the herdsman goes away from his mistress to tend his cattle and as the joy of their re-union and *Mullai* poems draw their images from the

¹ Ornament made of tiger's teeth, hanging from the neck as the sign of the married state, also worn by boys.

natural objects and the customs of the pastoral regions. Poems of Neydal tipai dealt with the longer separation necessitated by fishing expeditions and the making love to the beauties with a black shining skin from which was constantly emanating the smell of dried fish. Pālaittipai, poetry of the dry desert, was born in connection with the very long separation incidental to the predatory life of the inhabitants of the dreary stretches of the sandy plain; hence the pangs of long separation became the subject-matter of Pālai poetry; this was the nearest approach to the tragic muse which the early Tamil temperament could stand, for tragedy as such was proscribed from the dominion of the Tamil muse. Finally, formal marriage and post-nuptial love (Kerpu) and the thorns on its path such as the disorganization of domestic life by the seductions of hetairae, the consequent quarrels between the wedded lovers and the delightful reconciliations that succeeded the quarrels, became the subject-matter of Marudattipai, the poetry of the river-valleys. It is easy to understand that these refinements of civilization were evolved in the agricultural region, where the hard work for a few months in the damp rice-fields was followed by an enforced leisure during the periods once when the corn was ripening and again after the grain had been garnered and the soil had to be given rest so that it might be ready for the next year's ploughing. Lovers' quarrels and amatory exploits were the only available amusements during this period of leisure.

Conventions of war-poetry based on the conditions of the terrain :

Besides love, the other subject of poetry was war. Wars in the Kurūñji consisted merely in the lifting of

cattle (*Vetci*) so called because the raiders wore a garland of *vetci* flowers; and their recovery from the depradators (*karandai*), named for a similar reason. The forest region adjoining was the primitive first line of defence and was hence called *Kāvarkāju*; chiefs wearing *vāñji* garlands led expeditions into the forest lands; this was called *Vāñji*. When kings established their capitals in the river-valleys (Marudam), they built forts for their protection and siege operations became a part of military science. During these operations the *ujinai* creeper was worn and the poetry that described them came under the class *Ujinai*. Stand-up fights involving military tactics are possible only on an open battle-field, far from the wooded and the cultivated lands, and became associated with the broad plains near the sea-coast (Neydal) and came to be denominated *Tumbai*, because *tumbai*-garlands were worn in these fights on the open plain. Finally, analogous to the parting of lovers associated with *Pālai*, the desert, was the *Vāgai*, which sang of success, the singers wearing *vāgai* garlands, as well as of the tragedy of war and the desolation of the country resulting from fights.

It may be noted here that all these different kinds (*binais*) of poetry have been named after flowers. Each flower was the characteristic product of one region or another. Garlands of these flowers were worn as symbols of the particular incident of love or war described. Flowers formed the distinctive uniforms of soldiers in military operations. The ancient Tamils delighted in flowers and decorated their persons, their tools and other belongings, and their houses and pandals with leaves and flowers from very early times.

This same love of nature was the cause why they beautified their tools, their houses, their furniture, and their vessels with carvings imitative of creepers, leaves, flowers and animals. It is only to-day that ugly, undecorated, machine-made articles are displacing decorated ones in Tamil houses and are thus effacing the aesthetic sense from the souls of those who have taken to modern civilization. The Tamils hence developed a complicated language of flowers which expressed their thoughts in symbolic form, in their life as well as in their poems.

The evolution of literary conventions:

These various conventions of poetry are fully discussed in my coming book on The Ancient Tamils as depicted in the *Poruladigaram* of *Tolkāppiyam*. Here I am only concerned to point out that the literary conventions described in that grammar must have grown in these stages:—

(1) The period (and it must have been a very long period to be counted in thousands of years) when the five stages of human culture gradually evolved in the five natural regions.

(2) The stage when bards began to sing in each region and unconsciously reflected in their poems the conditions of life in that region, its fauna and flora, and the customs developed there in response to environment.

(3) The period when the practice of poets crystallised into fixed literary conventions, so rigid, that a poem sung in whatever natural region, if it dealt with a particular incident, ought to be assigned to its proper

timai, the word *timai* having acquired the double meaning of (a) a natural region, (b) a class of poems dealing with events once naturally, now conventionally, associated with one of the five natural regions.

These conventions are described in the *Poruṣadi-gāram* (section on the subject-matter of poetry) of the Tamil grammar called *Tolkāppiyam* by *Tolkāppiyānār*. This is the earliest extant Tamil book and was probably composed not later than the I or II century A.D. This book refers to previous treatises on the grammar of poetry, none of which is now available, and presupposes the existence of a vast volume of Tamil poetic literature, on which the grammar was based, most or all of which is lost. *Tolkāppiyānār* describes hundreds of incidents occurring in the course of love and war which are proper subjects of poetic treatment. With regard to each one of those incidents he must have had in mind a few odes which had been composed by poets who lived before his time; for it is absurd to think that the critic analysed *a priori* the course of love and war into a series of possible incidents and then poets began to sing about each of these incidents described by the critic. The earliest Tamil poems which are now extant belong, almost all, to the age that succeeded the time of *Tolkāppiyānār* and commentators on the *Tolkāppiyam* find it difficult to discover in this later poetry illustrations for many of *Tolkāppiyār's* rules: sometimes their illustrative quotations are inappropriate and oftentimes they fail altogether in their attempt to illustrate *Tolkāppiyānār's* rules and tell the reader to find his own illustrations when he can. From all this it is evident that a vast Tamil literature was composed before *Tolkāppiyānār's* time. Five

centuries would be a modest estimate for the period during which this literature grew. Before this literature with its petrified poetic conventions began, there must have been another literature in which these conventions were realities, when, for instance, the poet did not merely as a matter of form attribute the birth of love to the hill country, but reflected in his songs the life-conditions of each natural region. In that far-off age temporary separation of lovers was not conventionally referred to the four tracts—Mullai, Neydal, Marudam or Pälai—but the poet living and singing in each region described the pangs of the separation of lovers, which he noticed in that region. It will not be an exaggerated estimate to ascribe a period of five centuries to the development of, what one might call, the natural poetry which preceded the conventional poetry on which *Tolkāppiyam* based his grammar. We thus reach about 1000 B. C. as the later limit of the birth of Tamil poetry. The culture that led to the evolution of this poetry and was reflected in it must have taken ages to grow and we can hence conclude that the early culture of the Tamils must have been reached by them a few millenniums before Christ.

Tribal chiefs as Heroes of poems:

From early times the bards sang with an eye to profit. So the heroes of their poems were tribal chiefs. War was necessarily conducted by such chiefs. It was only in rare cases that common people could have occasion to perform specially heroic exploits; but ordinarily the credit of the various incidents of war would go to the chiefs. The heroes of love poetry were also kings, for it would not pay to sing about the loves

of the poor. Such chiefs were, as were their followers, named with reference to the regions they inhabited. Says Tolkaappiyar, "The names of the tribes of the tipais are of two kinds, namely, those derived from the nouns and verbs (*i.e.*, qualities and actions), pertaining to the tipais. The tipai names of men, Āyar (herdsman), Veṭṭuvār (huntsmen), etc., belong to their chiefs too. The tipai names of other (regions), if examined, are similar (and so those of the chiefs)."² These tribal names have now become caste-names, e.g. Kuṭṭavar, Paraṭavar, Idaiyar, Veṭṭāyar. It is but natural that endogamy should prevail among the people who are confined to particular regions and have developed customs peculiar to the occupations which their physical environment has imposed on the tribe, and endogamy as well as the attachment to old tribal customs on the part of women has been the cause why tribes have become castes. The influence of the tribal chiefs or kings has also tended to petrify tribal customs. The Kingship of the tribal head was probably of a very primitive type, for there is little in the early Tamil odes or in the Porūḍigāram to indicate that the art of government was developed or followed any kind of political science, theoretical or practical.

* பெயரும் வினாபுரவும் குவிரு கணக்கு
தினைசெலும் மர்திய தினைசிலைப் பெயரே.
ஞாய் செட்டுவ ராசைத்தினைப் பெய
ராவுபிள் வாட்டுக் கிழவரு முன்றே
ஏனுா் மருக்கிழு மென்றுவுக் காலை
யானு கணக்கு தினைசிலைப் பெயரே.

Poetic conventions region by region :

The gods of the various regions are called the first of the seed-topics (*karupporu*) of the regions. They will be taken up for discussion presently; besides them the other seed-topics are foodstuffs, beasts, trees, birds, drums, occupations, musical instruments, etc. appropriate to each region and the kind of poetry pertaining to it⁸. The enumeration of the seed-topics will show what keen observers the ancient Tamil poets were and how anxious they were to be absolutely true to nature. The foodstuffs peculiar to Mullai are the millets and the lentils; the animals, the deer, the hare; the trees, Konrai (cassia), Kurundu and the tall Pudal grass; the birds, jungle-fowl and the partridge; the occupations, grazing herds and the gathering of millets; the amusement, bull-racing; the flowers, Mullai, which gave its name to the region, Pidavu, Taļavu, and Tōppi; and the sources of water supply, mountain streams.

Appropriate to Kuriñji are Aivanam (hill-rice), bamboo-rice and Timai (*panicum*); the tiger, the elephant the bear and the boar; the trees, Agil (Agallochum), Ātti (*Bauhinia Racemosa*), Timigu and Vēngai (varieties of *Pterocarpus*); the birds, the parrot and the peafowl; the occupations, honey-gathering, raising the timai, extermination of locusts and hunting; the flowers, Kuriñji (*Lawsonia Spinosa*), Kāndai (*Gloriosa Superba*) and Sunaikkuvajai (hill-lily); the sources of water-supply, mountain-streams and tanks.

* செம்வ முன்னே மாமாம் புட்பைத
செய்தி வாழின் பகுதியோடு சொல்ல இ
யங்கங்க பிரதங் கருவென சுமாழிப்.

Relating to Marudam are red rice and white rice; the buffalo and the beaver; Marudam (*Terminalia Alata*), Kāñji, and the creeper Vañji; the duck, the water-fowl, the swan and the nightingale; operations connected with the raising of paddy; bull-racing; the lotus and the red water-lily; rivers, wells, and ponds.

Pertaining to Neydal are the foodstuffs bartered for fish and salt; bullocks and buffaloes carrying bags of salt; the crocodile and the shark; Funnai (Alexandrian laurel), Nājal, and Kendall (screw-pine); the sea-crow; fishing, salt-manufacture and the sale of fish and salt; the flowers Kaidai (screw-pine) and Neydal (*Nympha Alba*); and wells in sandy tracts and salt marshes.

Suited to Pālai are food-stuffs obtained by highway robbery and pillage; emaciated elephants, tigers and wild dogs; the dried up Iruppai tree (*Bassia Longifolia*), the wild mango, the Uliñai creeper, Nemai, Pālai (iron-wood tree), Kallī (Spurge), and Surai (calabash); the eagle, the kite, and the pigeon; highway robbery and plunder; the flowers Marā (*Eugenia Racemosa*), Kurā (bottle-flower) and Pādiri (*Bignonia Chelonoides*); and wells with scant water. Illustrations of the occurrence of these objects and actions in poetry appropriate to them will be found in plenty in the specimens of poetry given in several succeeding chapters.

Religion.

Man is not only a tool-making, cooking, clothing and talking animal, but also a religious animal. Man alone of all the animals has invented methods of invoking or compelling the help of superhuman beings to avoid the real or imaginary evils that threaten him and to secure the things that he ardently longs for. These

methods consisted of religio-magical rituals, the differentiation between religion, the method of praise and offering, and magic or primitive science, the method of compelling the forces of nature to obey man's behests, belonging to later stages of civilization. This religio-magical ritual comprised ritual feasting (preceded, it may be, by fasting,) ritual singing (choral or solo), and ritual dancing. In later times feasting, singing, dancing and the drama were sequestered from religion and became activities pursued only for immediate pleasure, but this differentiation took a long time to be established. No doubt from the earliest ages of the evolution of man he worshipped some god or gods. In those early days the people were divided into totem-groups, the reliques of which are found in tribal names like Irular, Vanniar, etc. In Sanskrit literature we meet with such totem-names as the Vānaras, the monkey tribe, the Ajas, the goat tribe, the Garudas, the kite tribe, the Matsyas, the fish tribe, the Vṛṣnis, the ram tribe, and the Nāgas, the serpent tribe, etc. Of these the Nāgas seem to have been widely prevalent, because we find them in historic times, occupying the North East, the North West, the Central and the South Indian provinces. The Nāga cult probably arose among the cave-dwellers of the hill-country. Besides the totem-gods, the people worshipped numerous spirits, those inhabiting trees, rivers, hills; also local gods, guardian deities of villages, the goddesses guarding the boundaries of villages and the demons that caused diseases. Most of these ancient cults exist today in their primitive crudity among the lower classes of the population and even the higher classes have not totally given up resorting to the help of these spirits in times of difficulty. Some of these cults have also been

absorbed by higher cults which mark a higher stage of civilization. Thus the Nāga cult became coalesced with that of Murugan, who was again identified with Subrahmanya of the Āryas; for even today, Subrahmanya appears to the physical eyes of his devotees only in the form of a serpent; when a devotee of this god has invoked his help, the appearance of a serpent means that the god has granted the prayer. Tree-cults have coalesced with the Siva cult. The most famous of existing Siva shrines are intimately associated with some tree or other. So too the cult of the health-giving Talasi plant has coalesced with the worship of Visnu. From the Nāga cult Siva got his numerous serpent-ornaments, and Visnu his couch of the thousand headed serpent. The Buddha became himself a Nāga and several Buddhist and Jaina saints got five serpent-heads.

But long before these advanced cults, called Āgamika, arose, higher gods than the local demons or the spirits inhabiting trees, rivers and hills, were evolved in the country. These gods were evolved in each region separately and in accordance with the geographical characteristics of each region. The god of the hilly region was the Red God (Sēyōn), also called Murugan, who was the patron of pre-nuptial love. He was offered by his worshippers balls of rice mixed with the red blood of goats killed in his behalf. He was a hunter and carried the Vēl or spear and was hence called Vēlan, spearman. His priest was also called Vēlan. This god created the love-frenzy in girls; and when girls were obsessed by him, the priest performed magic rites for curing the love-sick girl. When the priest was in communion with the god, he was also seized with the divine frenzy and sang and danced a devil-dance

(*veriyāttam*). Women, too, took part in priestly functions. Men or women priests, when under the influence of the god, not only sang and danced, but also read the dim past, predicted the future, diagnosed diseases (and the particular demons that caused each disease), and cured all the ills that the flesh and the brain were heir to. The means of cure were not solely supernatural, for, as the hilly region abounded in simples, the magic of the priests and priestesses was fortified by the use of drugs. Hence the early priest was also the medicine-man and even today, notwithstanding millenniums of philosophical evolution, the devil-priest-cum-medicine-man of the degraded Kupavar tribe drives a flourishing trade among the elite of society, on the sly.

The god of the pastoral region—Mullai—was the Black God (*Māyēn*), who was a herdsman, beloved both of milkmaids and of cattle. He was always uttering sweet music with the flute (*kujal*) and its music moved all nature. Besides singing, he delighted in dancing. Surrounded by a crowd of milkmaids, he or his priest danced most complicated dances, as herdsfolk do today. Milk and milk-products, sometimes mixed with boiled rice were his offering. Pastoral life affords more opportunities than a hunter's life for indulging in the delights of love, as it also provides occasions for the temporary parting of lovers, which latter only heightens the pleasure of re-union. The life of the herdsman is the jolliest of all, because, unlike the hunter or the man who sails far out into the sea whose lives are fraught with risks, he does the easy work of leisurely tending cattle in the forest. Hence the Black God of the tenders of cattle is the jolliest of the Indian Gods.

The god of the coastal region was, of course, the dread lord of the sea. The horn of the terrible shark symbolized him in the rituals of his fisherman-worshippers who crowded on the sea coast, black men and women with children on their hips, and offered him fresh or salted fish and meat. The joys of love were not denied to the fisherfolk; for we read in the literature of a later period that noblemen of the surrounding regions were, notwithstanding the fishy smell of the well-grown limbs of these swarthy dames who embellished their persons with the lilies of the marshes, smitten with love for them, and while their menfolk were away, out on the sea, drove in their carts or chariots to the sea-side to visit their paramours.

In the river-valleys where civilization was more advanced than in the other regions, pre-nuptial love gave way to post-nuptial love. The ancient ceremony of marriage which obtained among the Tamils before it was altered by the Aryans is described in two odes of the anthology called the Agam. Thus it is said:—"There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests had been fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. The bride and bridegroom were adorned with flower-garlands. In the beautiful morning of the day of the bent, bright moon, when the stars shed no evil influence, some women carrying pots on the head, others bearing new, bread bowls, handed them one after another, while fair elderly dames were making much noise. Mothers of sons, with bellies marked with beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with

cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water), and at the same time they blessed her, saying 'do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you and live with him as his wife'. On the night after the marriage ceremony was over, the neighbouring ladies assembled, (dressed the bride in new clothes) and sent her to the arms of her lover, to which she went with trepidation⁴."

*. உழுங்கதைப் பெய்த கொழுங்களி பிதைவ
பெருஞ்சோற் றமலை கிழப் சிகாகாற்
றண்பெரும் பக்தர்த் தகுமணன் ஜூமின்
மனைவிங்க் குறத்து மாலை தொடரிக்
ஷனையிரு எக்ட்ர கவிங்பெற காலைக்
ஒள்ளக வீங்கிய கொடுவெண் டிக்கட்
கேட்ஸ் விழுப்புகற் காட்டில் வர்தென
ஏச்சிக் குட்டத்தர் புத்தகன் மண்ணடயர்
பொதுகிசுப் கம்பவை முதுசெம் பெண்டிர்
முண்ணாம் பின்னாவு முன்றமுறை தாந்தரப்
புதல்வற் பயங்க திதைவயன் கயிற்று
வாலிக்கு மகளிர் கால்வர் கடுக்
கந்பினின் வழாகு கந்பல ஏதவிப்
பெற்றோற் பெட்டும் பினைகை யாகென
கிராடு சொரிக்க வீரித முனரி
பஸ்விருக் கதுப்பி னெல்லெரு தயங்க
கதுகை கண்மணக் கழிக்க பின்னாரக்
கல்லென் கம்மையர் ஜூரேரெனப் புகுத்து
பேரிற் கிழுத்தி யாகெனத் தமர்தர
வேரரிற் கடுய அடன்புணர் கண்குற்
கொடும்புறம் வளைஇக் கேட்கக் கலிங்கத்
தொடுக்கினன்.

It will be noticed that in this ancient Tamil rite of marriage there is absolutely nothing Aryan, no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire, and no priest to receive daksinā. Another ode in the same anthology refers also to the wedding-rite. " White rice, well cooked and with plenty of ghi, was served to the elders with stintless generosity. The omens shown by the birds were propitious. The broad sky shone bright. The moon was in faultless conjunction with the Bōhini asterism. The marriage-house was decked. They worshipped God. The big drums resounded with wedding tunes. Excited women were peeping winklessly with their flower-like eyes at the bride who had been bathed (and decorated). The image (to be worshipped) made of big flower-petals, clear like a gem that has been well-washed, was placed on the soft vagai flower with the double leaf whose back-side is bright, and the spugai grass which grows in low land when the roaring clouds pour the first rain and which is eaten by calves. It was decked with cool, sweet flower-buds and white thread, clothed with holy cloth, so as to look grand. The bride (was seated) under a pandal, on the floor of which sand was strewn, looking as if rain-drops had fallen. She was perspiring with her load of ornaments. (They fanned her) to dry the wet. Then her relatives gave her away ".²

வெங்குபுரப் புழுக்கி தெய்க்களி ஒவண்டோது
ஈனாயா எண்ணம்பொடி புகாவோரப் பேணிப்
புஞ்சுப்புணர்க் தினிய யாகத் தெள்ளொனி
யங்க வீரிருவிசும்பு விழங்கத் தின்கட
சகடம் ஓயன்டிய தங்கர் கட்டடத்துக்
ஏதுகர் புணைச்சது கடவுட் பேணிப்
பாறுமண முழுவொடி பாறுப்பலை விமிற
வதுவை மண்ணிய மணிர் விதுப்புந்துப்

These two poems belong to a later period than we are considering, but certainly describe the wedding rites which prevailed in very old times.

Married life, though commenced under such auspices, often did not run an even course. Post-nuptial love was often put to a temporary or permanent end by the wiles of harlots who seduced husbands from the path of faithfulness to the wedded wife. The institution of harlotry (parattamai) was peculiar to the agricultural tracts, for during the periods of enforced idleness when the grain is ripening in the fields and when the field is lying fallow after harvest, Satan finds so no mischief for idle hands to do. The God of this region is the cloud-compeller, he he who breaks with his thunderbolt (a tool of stone, like the ancient spear-head of Murugan) the rain-bearing clouds when the lands pant with thirst in summer. He is a lascivious god, surrounded by divine harlots, just as his devotees were by mortal ones. The favourite offering to this God was rice cooked with pulses (called in Tamil pongal.) This feast is still the most popular feast in the agricultural tracts, being the harvest-festival.

புத்தா வினவார் சோக்குபு மனைய
மெங்கு வாகைப் புஷ்புறக் கவட்டுலை
பழங்கள்ற சுறிக்கும் பயங்பம ஒருங்காத
தழங்குகுரல் வாளின் நலைப்பொயற் சீன்ற
மண்ணுமனி யன்ன மாயிதழப் பாலைந
தன்னைத் துக்கையெடு வெண்ணால் குட்டுத்
அங்கைப் பொலிர்து மேயாத் துவன்றி
மனைப்பட் டன்ன மனைக்கமல் பக்த
சிலமுயனி சிறப்பிர் பெயர்வியப் பாற்றித்
தமர்கங்க இந்த.

The last of the regions was Pälai, the desert, the home of the marauder. Like the adjacent hilly tracts it was the region where the matriarchate persisted for a long period ; and hence the divinity of this region was the goddess of victory (Korravai) and her devotees, the Maravar, men of cruel deeds, offered her bloody sacrifices—human and animal. Pälai was the bleak land, appropriately associated with the tragedy of love, that is, the long parting of the lovers, when the hero goes out in search of fortune to lay at the feet of the beloved and has to travel along sandy paths covered with the bleaching bones of the dead. Korravai was worshipped with wild drunken revelry as may well be imagined.

Four of these five gods are enumerated by Tolkäppiyānār. "The world of forests desired by Māyōn (the black god), the world of hills desired by Seyōn (the red god), the world of sweet waters desired by the King (of gods) and the world of wide sand desired by Varuṇan, are respectively called Mullai, Kuriñji, Marudam and Neydal."⁴ It will be noticed that Tolkäppiyānār identifies the old Tamil gods with the corresponding Aryan ones and calls the god of the valleys the king, because he was to the Aryans the king of Svarga and gives to the sea-god the Sanskrit name of Varuṇan. The ancient Tamil names of the two latter are not recoverable ; they may

⁴ மாயோன் ஸெய சுவத்தை யுவகமுக்
சேயோன் ஸெய கூவகர யுவகமுக்
வேடோன் ஸெய திம்புன துவகமுக்
வருணன் ஸெய பெருமண துவகமுக்
முன்னை குற்றுநி மருத தெய்தவேணாஷ்
தொக்கி ஸெய முறையாற தொக்லங்கும் புதுமே.

have been Sēgōn and Kaṭalōn. Tolkāppiyānār does not name the goddess of the desert, because he omits the Pālai from the list of permanently inhabited regions.

The five Tribes in Northern India :

These five kinds of human culture must have developed in Northern India as well as in Southern India in early times, i.e. before the rise of the Vedas and of the fire-cult for use in which the Vedic mantras were composed. The northern Dasyus must have been divided into the same five tribes as the Southern Dasyus, before the cult of the Āryas was born. North India is divisible into the same five natural regions as South India, but only the regions are larger in size than the southern regions. The same geographical causes operated there and must have led to the same results. Pre-Aryan life in Northern India, then, must have been the same as in South India. But, perhaps about 4,000 B.C., arose in North India, the fire-cult, which was an expression of the belief that fire was the mouth of the gods, and that therefore all offerings to the gods ought to be put into the blazing mouth of the fire-god. This cult was called the Ārya cult and the old-fashioned people who stuck to the fireless ways of worship were called Dasyus. The followers of the fire-cult adopted the fashion of accompanying their offerings to gods with mantras in Sanskrit composed by the poet-seers called R̥isis. How or whence the Sanskrit language came and who the R̥isis were, it is impossible to find out. The only fact that we know is that Sanskrit is in vocabulary and structure allied to languages which have spread throughout a large part of Western Asia, Europe and America. Based on this fact and inspired by a supreme ignorance of the difference between race and language has been conceived the theory of the Aryan

invasion of the world, which Anthropology has set its face against. But we are here concerned only with the question how the rise of the Arya cult altered the life of the people who lived in India before this cult began.

The Northern Dasyus must have been worshipping regional gods, like their Tamil brethren in that remote epoch. Did the Arya fire-cult adopt these regional gods and worship them in the new way? This is not the place to discuss this question, but it may be pointed out that when many millenniums after this remote age the Aryan cults migrated to South India, the regional gods of South India were identified with the Aryan gods similar to them in function, the red god with Subrahmanya, the black god with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the sea-god with Varuna, the sky-god with Indra and the desert-goddess with Durgā. Whether these Aryan gods were themselves the reincarnations of older Dasyu Gods and whether the supremacy of Indra among them during the Vedic Age was the result of riverine folk obtaining supremacy over the tribes of other regions cannot be taken up for discussion here.

One Vedic phrase seems reminiscent of the division of the people into five regional tribes, and that is *pañca-janāḥ*. This mysterious phrase has been attempted to be explained by various writers, ancient or modern, but by none satisfactorily. I have made the conjecture that it must refer to the five tribes of pre-Aryan times, but scholars who know nothing of Tamil literature and who refuse to consider the necessity of the historical continuity between pre-Aryan India and Aryan India have been unable to appreciate the value of this conjecture.

² Vide my *Stone Age in India*, pp. 28-29.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BHĀRATA BATTLE.

The Rise of Tamil Dynasties :

A probable political consequence of the pacification of South India by Rāma was, we may presume, the rise of the three great royal dynasties of Sōla, Sēra and Pāṇḍya. Though these names occur in the Rāmāyana it is certain that the dynasties could not have flourished in the ages when the three Rāvanas that are mentioned in the Puranas ruled. These Rāvanas apparently wielded unrestricted sway all over South India. Janasthāna on the banks of the Gōdāvari was one of the outposts of the latest Rāvana. His subjects swarmed all south of the Vindhya and stray bodies of them frequently entered Āryāvartta ; within the boundaries of his realm it was not possible for other dynasties to rule. The three tribes, Sōlas, Sēras and Pāṇḍyas perhaps existed at the time, but the royal dynasties that rose out of them did not. Later South Indian tradition makes them rule 'from the beginning of creation.' This phrase means really 'from time immemorial'; in other words 'nothing is known about the origin of the three dynasties.' These newly risen Sōla, Sēra and Pāṇḍya Rājas kept up the age-long intercourse of South India with North India. After Rāma's death, the predominance of Ayodhyā in the politics of Āryāvartta came to an end. A few generations later, Kuru raised the Paurava realm to eminence and Kuruksetra became the metropolis of

India. Among the descendants of Kuru arose dissensions and other jealousies developed among the many princes of India, which culminated in the Mahābhārata war, about fifteen generations¹ after Rāma's time. By this time the three South Indian dynasties had developed relations, peaceful and otherwise, with the Northern kings, as is proved by the statements in the Mahābhārata.

The make up of the Mahābhārata:

Before utilising the evidence of the Great Epic, it should be remembered that this work is a composite poem. Its contents may be divided into the following parts :—

(1) Tales of the lives of the heroes of the war and of the battle itself. These, I take it, form the core of the poem and existed probably as ballads from the time of the war and were recited in consolidated form by Saunaka on the occasion of the great sacrifice in Naimisaranya during the reign of Adhisimakṛṣṇa, the sixth in generation from Arjuna in the Pauruva line. The ancient historical ballads were constantly kept in the memory of people by this practice of reciting them during sacrifices. The portion of the Mahābhārata dealing with the life of the heroes may be used as evidence for the existence in the time of the war (c-1400 B.C.), of the men, and the occurrence of the events, mentioned in them.

(2) Purāṇa Tales, stories of kings and their genealogy from the foundations of the Solar and Lunar dynasties which, I think, took place about 3,000 B.C.

¹ Sita Nath Pradhan, Chronology of Ancient India, p.109. Pargiter makes it out to be twenty generations. Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition pp.148-9.

down to the period of the Great War. In these tales there is some intrusion of mythological matter, which can be easily differentiated from the historical material, as has to be done in the case of all ancient sources of history, not excluding Herodotus. This historical material has got to be compared with the same found in the Vedas, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas. These are derived from the historical ballads recited by court bards from time immemorial, and if critically investigated, are very useful for reconstructing Ancient Indian History, as Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Sita Nath Pradhan have done successfully. Such Purāṇa tales in the Mahābhārata can be used as evidence with regard to the period before the Mahābhārata War. They found their way into the poem long after the war.

(3) Tales of Viṣṇu and Siva, other than those belonging to the Vedas. These were evolved in the Āgama schools, which rose to prominence in the period succeeding the Bhārata battle. The Āgamas in those days were mainly two—the Bhāgavata and the Māheśvara. The former dealt with the worship of Viṣṇu and the latter, of Siva. In the Āgama schools were evolved methods of worshipping Viṣṇu or Siva or their symbols, tales of Viṣṇu's incarnations and Siva's appearances among men, special forms of yoga-practices followed by the Ekāntīs and Siva-yogis, and the philosophical analysis of man, the microcosm and the universe, the macrocosm, into several principles developed from the categories of Saṅkhyā philosophy.

These Āgama teachings were incorporated in an un-systematic form into the Mahābhārata probably some centuries after 1,000 B.C.

(4) Artha Sūstras, Dharma Sūtras and Mokṣa Sūstras. These were ancient treatises on these subjects which were in danger of extinction and acquired a new lease of life by being welded into the Epic and woven into its story as dialogues of its actors. The treatises were more or less amorphous and not like the finished products of later times.

(5) Accounts of various philosophical systems such as the Vedānta, i.e., the teachings of the last chapters of the Vedas, appropriately called the Vedaśiras, i.e., the Upanisads, the Nyāya, the Vaisesika and above all the Sāṅkhya and the Yoga and the developments of the theories of the two latter systems in the Āgamas. Of the last class, the greatest specimen is the Bhagavad Gītā which was the philosophy of the school of the Bhāgavatas and in which the greatest teacher that the world has seen has joined into one, or rather transcended the divergent teachings of, the Vedānta and the Sāṅkhya and has occupied a standpoint far beyond the limited ones from which all other teachers viewed the world and tried to comprehend it.

(6) Geographical chapters. These refer to different localities in India, especially those to which pilgrims in search of holiness travelled.

These latter parts of the Mahābhārata got into the poem from c. 1,000 B.C. to 500 B.C. and led to the Epic being regarded as the fifth Veda.

South India and the War :

In the story of the war, which is the heart of the Mahābhārata, there is evidence that there were political relations between South India and North India. Thus

a Pāndya king was one of those who were present at the Swayamvara of Draupadi.² Among the 'divine feats'³ of Kṛṣṇa narrated by Yudhiṣṭhīra, occurs his defeat of the Pāndya Rāja, when the gates of the Pāndyas were broken⁴ and was slain the father of Sūrāngadhvaja⁵, who afterwards took part in the war on the side of the Pāndyas. Kṛṣṇa also fought with the Cojas⁶. When Yudhiṣṭhīra began to celebrate the Rājastāya, it was necessary, as a preliminary, to assert his suzerainty over all India by peaceful or warlike means. Saḥadeva proceeded on a digvijaya to the south and vanquished the Dravidas, Cojas, Keralas and Pāndyas. The Cojas and the Dravidas as well as the Āndhras were present at the Rājastāya.⁷ The Coja and the Pāndya brought presents to Yudhiṣṭhīra.⁸ When the great war broke out, the Pāndya Rāja, Sūrāngadhvaja, son of the king who was defeated by Kṛṣṇa, came with

² MBh. i. 189. 7020.

³ divyāni karmāni.

⁴ Ib. vii 11. 398, vii. 23. 1016. In the latter passage occurs the phrase bhinna kapāṭe pāṇḍyānām. Kapāṭa here certainly means 'gate'; hence probably the kapāṭa of the Rāmāyaṇa already referred to (p. 53 supra) also means 'gate' and not the city of Kapāṭapura, as explained by the South Indian commentator.

⁵ possibly this name was a translation of शत्रुघ्नः *Satruघ्नः*.

⁶ MBh. vii. 11. 321.

⁷ MBh. ii. 31. 1173-4, also 1121.

⁸ Ib. ii. 34. 1988

⁹ Ib. Ib. 52. 1893

troops to Yudhiṣṭhīra¹⁰. The Keralas and the Cojas, too fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas¹¹. The Pāṇḍya king proceeded against Drona and was slain by Asvatthāmā¹².

Arjuna went on a tour of pilgrimage (*tirthayatrā*) soon after it was arranged that the newly wedded wife of the Pāṇḍavas should live with each brother for a year, beginning with Yudhiṣṭhīra. In that tour he married Citrāṅgadā, the only child of Citravīhana, ruler of Maṇipura¹³. This place is called Maṇalūr in the South Indian recension of the Great Epic and Maṇalūr is certainly a Tamil name. In another place¹⁴ this wife of Arjuna's is spoken of as a Pāṇḍava princess. Just before marrying Citrāṅgadā, Arjuna married a Nūga lady of the name of Ulūpi¹⁵. The *rāt* which Arjuna visited in his pilgrimage are mentioned without any regard to geographical sequence, just as confused a manner as Sugrīva directed his son, to go in search of Sīta. Probably this Ulūpi belonged to a land near the Pāṇḍya country, though she is made to appear suddenly before Arjuna on the banks of the Ganges.

¹⁰. MBh. v 19. 576, vi. 50. 2084. Other recensions give this name as Sāgaradhvaja

¹¹. Ib. viii. 22. 455, 1893.

¹². Ib. vi. 23. 1019, viii. 21. 81.

¹³ Ib. vii. 11. 395 6. Ib. 1. 215. 7826. Maṇi acquired in Tamil the meaning of sapphire and 'sapphire-town' is a good name for a Pāṇḍya capital, for we often hear in old Sanskrit literature and in early inscriptions like that of Khāravela, of the sapphire (maṇi) of the Pāṇḍya country.

¹⁴ Ādi Par. vi. 1. 64 (Kumb. ed.)

¹⁵ MBh. i. 214. 7810.

A digression on the Nāgas :

The Puranas make the Nāgas live in Pātāla and Pātāla may mean any country far from the heart of Āryāvartta. There are Nāgas to day in the North-East India; the Nāgas of Takṣaśilā in the North-West were responsible for the death of Parīkṣit; there were Nāgas in South India as is evidenced by the names Nāgapatti-nam, Nāgūr etc. The Nāga cult *i.e.*, the exclusive worship of the serpent, originally arose probably in the hilly tracts which man inhabited early in the course of his evolution; it was widely prevalent in old times throughout the world and the Nāgas lived everywhere in India in old times. We do not know the reasons which influenced the minds of the ancient tribes when they selected various objects as their totems; but we can well understand why the serpent which deals swift death was worshipped throughout the world. The imitation of the habits of the totem gods by their worshippers is well-known to students of the ways of the savage men; and the analogy of the ancient cave-dweller creeping into a cave for shelter and the serpent crawling into his nest much have filled savage minds with a sense of devotion to their god.¹⁶

After the cults of Siva and Viṣṇu arose, several people remained primarily Nāga-worshippers without joining these other cults and were therefore distinguished from the rest of the population by being specially called

¹⁶ Even to-day certain Saiva devotees utter inarticulate cries like that of the bull, the first devotee of Siva, in the hope that they would please the Nandi by imitating him and thus secure a powerful intermediary between them and their God.

Nāgas. In South India Malabar was the headquarters of the Nāgas. Below I refer to two indications from the Baudhā Jātaka that this was so. In the *Pattupāṭṭu* which belongs to the latter half of the first half of the first millennium after Christ, there is landed a prince called Tiraiyan who was brought to the shore by the waves of the sea¹⁷. The commentator explains this by referring to a legend that a Sōla Chief of Nāgapattinam went to pāṭāla and there fell in love with a Nāga lady and she sent to him the child of their union floating on the waves (tirai) of the sea¹⁸. This shows that the Tamils communicated with the Nāga world by sea, probably skirting the South coast of India. In the *Maṇimēgalai*, a poem belonging to an age later than that of the *Pattupāṭṭu*, is told the story of another Sōla, this time a ruler of Kāvirippattinam, called Nedumundikkilli, who fell in love with a Nāga lady whom he chanced to meet in a grove near his capital. She disappeared after a month¹⁹. After sometime she sent the son born to them in a ship belonging to one Kambala Setti, but the ship was wrecked near the coast²⁰. When the Sōla king heard of this shipwreck, he went about searching for the child and forgot to perform the annual Indra-feast and hence the city was destroyed by the waves. These legends indicate that communication was maintained from the East coast to the Nāga land by sea.

¹⁷ சித்த ஸௌராகுருவர். *Perumbānappuppādai*, II, 30-31.

¹⁸ *Pattupāṭṭu* p. 153.

¹⁹ *Maṇimēgalai* xxiv, II, 29-43.

²⁰ Ib. xxv II, 178-192. The Kambalas and the Assataras were tribes according to the Bhūridatta Jātaka No. 543.

The speech of the Nāgas was not Tamil, but it was not impossible for a Tamil man to master it. The man that had mastered the language was a ḍitti called Śāduvan who wanted to trade with Vaṅga, but his ship was caught in a storm and was driven to the shores of the naked nomads, the Nāgas, from whose hands he was able to escape owing to his mastery of their language;²¹ he returned laden with presents of sandalwood, thin cloth and jewels. The natural inference from these facts is that in South India the Nāga land was what we now call Malabar. Malabar is still the part of India where Nāga worship prevails on a large scale. The word 'Nāyar', the name of the principal tribe of Malabar, has perhaps to be derived from Nāgar. Moreover, we may suppose that the ancient Nāgas of South India grew, like other ancient South Indians, a whole head of hair and, I believe that as the imitation even of gods is the sincerest form of flattery, the worshippers of the serpent combed their hair, gathered it up to the top of the head and knotted it so that the knot stood up, making the face of the worshipper look like the expanded hood of a cobra. I have seen men in South India whose head is dressed in this style and I guess that the ancient Nāgas tried to make their head look like that of their god. This perhaps explains why when shaving was introduced among such people, the top knot was left intact, because wearing it was too old, and hence too sacred, a custom to be given up. As the Nairs have kept up this style of hair-dressing to this day, they are probably the modern representatives of the ancient Nāgas. I also take it

^{21.} அவர் உண்ட முடிசீ பி ஏடுப்பு
ஏப்பார் கூதலீர்.

that the Nambūdiris were the Nāgas who first accepted the Aryan cult from the physical or spiritual descendants of Pāraśurāma.

That the Nambūdiris of Malabar form the earliest stratum of South Indian Brāhmaṇas is proved by the following facts taken from an article by K. Ramayarma Raja—^{**}

(1) Most of the Yajurvedis among them belong to the early Sūtras of Baudhāyana and Bṛdūlaka.

(2) Only the first three Vedas are current among them. Thus they must have arisen before the Atharva Veda Samhitā was included in the list of Vedas, i. e. long before the age of Veda Vyāsa.

(3) Not more than one sacred thread is ever worn at the same time. The wearing of two or more threads is a later custom.

(4) They retain the Vedic customs of post-puberty marriage and consummation on the fourth day.

(5) Śrāddhas are performed on the day of the Nakṣatram under which the man died and not on the tithi of his death.

Therefore the claim of the Nambūdiris that Parasurāma was their first preceptor is not absurd on the face of it.

From this discussion we may conclude that Ulūpi whom Arjuna took to wife temporarily was a Malabar lass.

The Agastyas :

Before the age of the Mahābhārata, the Agastyas must have spread to the extreme South of the peninsula. In the Epic, as in the Purāṇas, all the Agastyas, are spo-

**. J. R. A. S. 1910, pp. 629–639.

ken of as one Agastya Rsi, though different Āgastyas resided in different places at different times. Thus the Mahābhārata refers to the old Agastya āśramam at Pañčavati²²; it also speaks of another Agastya hermitage, at Saubhadra on the ocean²³; there is besides an "Agastya Tīrtham among the Pāṇḍyas", one of the five nāritīrthas²⁴. Perhaps this last refers to the Pūpanāśam falls, in the Thenkely district, the waters of which are believed to take their rise from the Podiya hill, where according to Tamil tradition Agastya fixed his permanent abode after coming to the Tamil country.

In the list of the Nāritīrthas occurs the first mention of the sea at the Cape Comorin, as a sacred bathing place, called the Kumāri-tīrtha, in the country of the Pāṇḍyas.²⁵

This tīrtha is also called Kanyā tīrtha. Thus the legend of Kumāri waiting for Siva at the southernmost corner of India had been evolved in this age; but the Tamils had nothing to do with this legend or with the idea of Cape Comorin being a holy spot, for there is no Tamil name for the Cape. Thus from the evidence of the Great Epic we can safely conclude that there was very intimate intercourse between the Northern Āryas and the Tamils in the age of the Mahābhārata War.

²² M Bh. iii. 99, 8632.

²³ M Bh. i. 21546, 217, 7577.

²⁴ M Bh. iii. 58. 8339, iii. 118. 10267.

All the references to the Mahābhārata are from Sorenson's Index.

CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE II MILLENNIUM B.C.

Increase of Foreign Trade:

The *Mahābhārata* mentions non-Indian tribes as having contributed contingents to the contending armies, such as ¹Cinas, Yavanas², etc. There is nothing intrinsically absurd in this statement, which implies that there were political relations between North Indian kings and those of centuries outside India in the age of the *Mahābhārata*. Whether this was true or no, there is some evidence that the commercial relations which existed between South India on the one hand and Babylonia, Arabia and Egypt on the other, in the Vedic Age, flourished in the II millennium B.C. The Nordic tribes of the Northern Steppe regions, or to use Tamil technical terms, the Āyar of the great Northern Malai region, who, as I hold contrary to current ethnological theories, had nothing to do with the Aryas of India, migrated westward in about 2,000 B.C., and destroyed the old land-trade from Khotan to the East Mediterranean coast and cut off the ancient trade in jade-stone between China and one of the earlier towns of Troy. The tide of trade thus dammed in the North bent South and led to a further development of the sea-trade of India in general and South India in particular.

¹ Cinas fought in the contingent of Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotisha. MBh. v. 18. 584.

². 1b. ii. 50, 18 321.

Trade with Egypt:

"There are numerous records of the receipt of ivory in commerce and as tribute under the XVII dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.), . . . also articles made of ivory: chairs, tables, chests, statues, and whips."³ These come from various places, among which was Punt (Somaliland), the great entrepot of trade between Egypt and India in those days: this indicates that, as in earlier times, ivory and ivory articles went from the west coast of India to the Nile valley.

Under the XVIII or Theban dynasty great Egyptian fleets were sent to Punt "which brought back great store of myrrh, ebony and ivory, gold, cinnamon, incense, eye-paint, apes, monkeys, dogs, panther-skins," etc. From Syria, too, were annually remitted "great quantities of Arabic and Eastern treasure—incense, oil, grain, wine, gold and silver, precious stones" and from Babylon, lapis lazuli. "In the XX dynasty, under Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.), it seemed as if the resources of the nation were poured into the lap of Amon. . . . And in the Papyrus Harris, that great record of his gifts and endowments to Amon, compiled for his tomb, there are such entries every year as 'gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, precious stones, copper, garment of royal linen, . . . cinnamon 246 measures. (The quotations are from Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*)."⁴ Of the articles mentioned in the above quotations, ebony has already been shown to have probably gone from South India. The precious stones (including lapis lazuli) will be shown to have

³ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 61.

Ib. pp. 121-122.

been imported in later times from India by western countries; this trade most probably began during the days of great prosperity under the XVIII dynasty, when all the countries which had trade relations with Egypt were scoured for offerings to Amon. "Goodehild says, the sapphire [which they called lapis lazuli] has been known from very remote times by the Egyptians, and to a lesser extent by the Assyrians. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, says the Tables of the Law given to Moses were inscribed on lapis lazuli."⁵ The garments of royal linen were of Indian muslin, because linen being then manufactured in Egypt itself, the imported article must have been superior cotton cloth which in those days, as later, India alone could supply. As regards the apes, monkeys, dogs and panther skins, there is some probability that a part, if not the whole of these imports, was from India, for half-a-millennium later, as will be pointed out in Chapter X, just these articles and allied ones were sent from India to western countries. With regard to cinnamon, it may be pointed out that "the Egyptian inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsut's expedition in the XV Century B.C., mention cinnamon wood as 'one of the marvels of the Country of Punt,' which were brought back to Egypt."⁶ But cinnamon was not produced in Punt at all; it was taken thither from Indian ports by Arabian merchants, who concealed from the Western people the fact of its Indian origin for keeping the monopoly of its trade in their hands. The cinnamon grew in Malabar and China but the Arabian merchants who took it to the western countries caused false stories

⁵ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 171.

⁶ Ib. p. 82.

about its African origin to grow up. Pliny has a "passage instructive in its vagueness. With reference to a kind of cinnamon in his time much in favour, he says that the king of the Arabians called Gebbanita, whose capital was Thomua, once had the sole right of control, regulating sales by edict; the price of the juice had been as much as one thousand denarii, and even fifteen hundred denarii a pound, through the burning of the plantations at the hands of wild men, whether by malicious acts of those in power, or by mere chance, it was not certain. Some of Pliny's authorities accounted for such a disaster by the explanation that the south winds blew so strongly as to kindle the plantations. Here we have two points to note—firstly, strict control of cinnamon trade by an Arabian ruler, and secondly a false explanation to account for a failure in supplies by alleging a local cause instead of a real one, which might be for instance some disastrous storm experienced during the voyage from Indian regions. But a truthful explanation such as this could not be given to western merchants without revealing the true source of cinnamon. The Arabians would be capable, we may be sure, of holding back supplies and accounting for the lack by giving some false but plausible explanation merely with the object of inducing the Greeks to pay a still higher price than was usual for a spice in great demand among the wealthy. Bengalese, Coromandel, Malabar and North-west Indian shipping must have brought most of it from China and India to the Arabians frequenting the marts of West India or West Africa."⁷ This proves that the remarks of Greek and Latin writers about the origin of the articles they write

⁷ Warmington, *op. cit.* pp. 192-3.

about should not be taken at their face-value and that the Egyptians of the II Millennium B.C. got Chinese and Indian cinnamon taken on Indian ships to Aden or the Somali coast and therefore, that cinnamon was not "one of the marvels of the country of Punt," as the Egyptians believed and as the Greek traders of later times thought.

Among the 'Eastern treasure,' mentioned above as supplied from Punt to Egypt we notice 'oil' and 'grains.' The oil was the gingelly oil which, we know from the Periplus, was regularly exported from India in later times. 'Anointment' was a ceremony undergone by kings and priests and the oil was also required for making unguents with. In Egypt and Syria there were manufactories where these unguents were prepared. The 'grains' probably included rice, the great sorghum and the spiked millet.

The expedition of Queen Hatshepsut also brought ebony from the land of Punt. Punt being the land to which Indian goods were systematically taken from India, there is much likelihood that the Queen got the excellent Indian ebony from Malabar forests.*

Trade with Palestine:

A little before the end of the second millennium B.C. the Hebrews ended their servitude in Egypt and migrated to Palestine and among them 'sweet spices' were counted holy. On the rise of Israel's prosperity trade became important. So we learn that cinnamon, brought by Arabian merchants from India, became one of the ingredients of the sacred anointing oil of the Hebrew priests (*Exod. XXX*). It has already been mentioned that the sapphire was also procured from

* Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 153.

India; and we may safely conclude that all the articles that Egypt got from India were also imported into Palestine.

Trade with China:

If Chinese cinnamon found its way to the coasts of Arabia and East Africa in Indian shipping it follows that there must have been commercial intercourse between China and India in the II millennium B.C. There exists few written records of this trade. The *Mahābhārata* mentions silk from China among the tributes received by Yudhisthira.¹⁰ "Chinese annals mention voyages to Malacca prior to the Christian era and probably as early as the XII century B.C."¹¹ Hence Malaya was the entrepot of this trade. One article in daily use in the Tamil country, the betel leaf, though eaten profusely by the Tamils, was not originally a native of India; it has no proper name in Tamil but is called by the artificial name of *vergilai*, 'the, mere leaf',¹² being the only leaf eaten as leaf, without being cooked; in other Indian languages, too, it is called 'the leaf', showing it was given this name on its introduction most probably from Malaya.¹³ Kings and nobles were always attended upon by a valet, called

¹⁰ *Cina samudbhavan aurnam*. MBh. II, 51, 1843.

¹¹ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 246.

¹² For a discussion on the evidential value of names divided into 'Symbolic' and 'Causal', *idukuri* and *kāraṇappeyar*, in Tamil grammars, vide my *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, pp. 13-16.

¹³ The earliest certain reference to the habit of the eating of the betel leaf is found in *Silappadigaram* xvi, 55 (which was composed probably in the V. or VI century A.D.), where Kannagi gave her husband who had

பெருமாள் வைத்தி, the Betel-leaf-bag-holder. Such valets were called pāśavar, பாஶவர் men with pāśu, the green leaf, and were one of the eight personal attendants of a King, called *enperūyam என்பூயம்*, 'the group of eight.'

But the chief trade with China was in silk and sugar which were originally made in that country and thence imported to India. Their Tamil names are but metaphorical extensions of the names of other articles. Thus *pattu* originally meant a fold, a cloth folded many times and worn on the shoulders; as silk cloth was so worn, the name was extended to it. Silk was also called *sīnam*, that which came from China. *Sarkkarai*, a word borrowed from Sanskrit, originally meant sand; the name was extended to sugar because its grains look like those of sand. *Akkāram* originally meant the sugar-cane and the name was metonomically extended to the sugar-cane products, jaggery and sugar. Sugar was also called *sini*, the product of China. Silk and sugar were originally exchanged for incense, red coral, costus and pepper. South Indians also acted as intermediaries of trade between China and western Asia. Its usual route was via Khotan but when as frequently happened, that route was interrupted by incursions of Turki tribes, the path of trade was turned south and the Tamil ports became the meeting points of the trade between the West and the East of Asia.

just dined rolls of betel-leaf (*taraiyal*) with areca nuts (*adaikkai*) to chew, அடைக்கை தெருவெல்லோச்சுற்பு. The tiny bag stitched in various folds to hold the betel, areca nut, chunam etc., so largely used now, existed also in early times and was called *adaippai*, the bag for nuts. In the *Silappadigaram* xvi. 128 a betel-leaf box made of gold சூரிய வெள்ளை, is mentioned.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF THE ĀGAMAS.

The Āgamas vs. The Vedas :

Nearly thirty years ago, I pointed out in my Outlines of Indian philosophy that the religion that is practised to-day by the Hindus is almost entirely based on the Āgamas and has little or nothing to do with the Vedas. The vaidika cult began to decay after the war of the Mahābhārata and has to-day almost died out. The greater part of the Srauta karma is entirely gone ; only a few elementary rites, such as Agni ādhāna, a much-simplified Vājapeya, Garuda cayana, and Somayāga are sporadically performed by a handful of people. The Smārta karma is also fast dying out, so that judged by the rule that the family of a Brāhmaṇa whose members have neglected to tend the holy fire for three generations loses its Brāhmaṇa status, extremely few families can be regarded as true Brāhmaṇa ones. Yet India is intensely religious ; but this intensity of religion is confined to the cults of the Āgamas and not to those of the Vedas. The distinction between the Āgamas¹

¹ In speaking of the Āgama I am not unaware of the fact that one of the meanings of the word is āptavacana, the testimony of those who know, and thence another meaning of the word Āgama was evolved : as the greatest of āptavacana is the Veda, the Veda is sometimes called the Āgama. Literally the word Āgama means that which has come from the past. But yet the Āgama is technically the name

and the Vedas, was well-understood in ancient days, when the Āgamika cults were the rivals of the Vaidika cults; but as the two have now become amalgamated for several centuries, the distinction between them is not realized by moderns, all the more so as the theory is now prevalent that the Āgamas are ultimately derived from the Vedas and do but contain amplifications of the Vedic teaching or rather adaptations of them to suit the modern age. The Vedas, after the end of the age of the composition of the Mantras, came to be regarded as apauruseya, not made even by Isvara, who after all is but a Purusa above the limitations of time and space. But the Āgamas (Saiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava) only claimed to have emanated from the lips of Siva or Viṣṇu and are therefore technically pauruseya.

of the Tantras, the books dealing with the worship of Siva, Viṣṇu and Sakti and, in this sense, the Āgama cults are opposed to the Vedas. The scriptures of the Buddhists and the Jains are also called Āgamas, because they too have come down from the past. All these Āgamas, in their inception, were opposed to the Vedas, i. e. the Karma Kāṇḍa. The Saiva Āgama school was also called the Māheśvara and the Pāśupata. The Vaiṣṇava Āgamas were also called the Bhāgavata (i. e. relating to the Lord, Śāttavata (possibly because the Śāttavata royal dynasty first patronised them) and the Pāñcarātra. This latter word has another meaning too. It also means a special ritual of the worship of Viṣṇu images and is, in this sense, contrasted with the ritual followed by the Vaikhāṇas. Besides this particular use of the word Vaikhāṇasa, as the name of a particular ritual, the word also refers to forest-dwelling Sanyāsins generally.

The contents of the Vedic Samhitā are all mantras, intended to be recited during the Vaidika rites, but the Agamas are text-books containing a description of the rites of Siva or Visnu worship, of Yoga practices and philosophical analyses. The Vedas—both the Mantra-portion and the Brāhmaṇa-portion—or to refer to a different sub-division, Karma Kānda and the Jñāna Kānda, or the Veda and the Veda-siras, require a Mīmāṃsa but the Agamas, being systematic text-books require, if at all, only a commentary. The Vedas are in the early dialect called Candas, whereas the Āgamas are in the Bhāṣa, which began to prevail after c. 1000 A. D. So much with regard to the Scriptures. Now with regard to the rites. The Vaidika rites are fire rites. For each rite a fire has to be lighted and intensified into a flame and on the flame the oblations have to be poured. The Āgamika rites are fire-less; the oblations have to be merely exhibited to the object of worship and then taken away. In the former the oblation is consumed by the gods, because it is thrown on fire; in the latter, the worshipper loses nothing of his offering because the god can take up only the subtle and unseen parts, so the worshipper consumes it himself and distributes it to his relations and friends. In the Vaidika rites a series of gods are invoked, each of whom has a separate function in the scheme of the universe; in the Āgamika rites only one god who is, like Jehovah a jealous god is worshipped and he has all the cosmic functions in his own hands. In the Vedic rites not only is every offering accompanied by a Vedic mantra, but every act of the performer, e.g. yoking bulls to a cart for bringing Soma, cutting a stick to help to drive the bull, grasping with the hands an offering,

boiling milk, making buttermilk, in fact every action, small or big, is accompanied by the recitation of a mantra, poetical or prose. But in the Āgamika rites Vedic mantras have no legitimate place. A few are used, here and there, but most inappropriately. Thus a mantra which begins with the syllable dhū is used for offering incense (dhūpa), though the mantra really refers to the lifting of the yoke of a cart. But the main part of the Āgamika rite consists in the repetition of the numerous names of the gods worshipped with the phrase namah (I bow) added. The essence of the Vaidika rites is the pouring of oblations, but that of the Āgamika one is upacāra, washing, decking, and feeding the god, in fact showing him all the attentions due to a human guest or a human king. Hence in the Vaidika rite no physical representation or representative of the deity worshipped was necessary, visible fire representing all the gods ; in the Āgamika rite, the only deity worshipped had to be represented by some visible emblem, the emblem being a fetish, a tool, such as a sword or a club, a living or dead tree, a stone, a running stream, a linga, a sālagrāma, or, above all, a picture, or a statue of the deity in brick and mortar, stone, or metal, made in the shape assigned to him by his worshippers.

The Vedānta :

The culmination of the Veda is the Vedānta, of (Vaidika) Karma is Jñāna. The means of reaching immortality is knowledge ; as the Śruti has it, tam evam-
vidvān amṛta iha bhavati, nānyah panthā ayanāya
vidyate, 'it is by knowing him that (one) becomes
immortal here ; there is no other path for going (to him).' The
culmination of the Āgama way is Bhakti. The

means of reaching immortality is ananya cintā, 'uninterrupted meditation on him alone,' or as Śrī Kṛṣṇa says pointedly eka bhaktih, 'devotion to the one.' The thirty-two vidyās taught in the Upanisads are the forms of discipline through some of which one ought to go before he could reach the goal. The caryā and kriyā (*i.e.*, the first and second) books of the Āgamas describe the means of worship of Siva or Viṣṇu, but as the discipline of bhakti has in many cases to be supplemented by some psychological discipline in the form of yoga-practice, the third book of every Āgama text deals with yoga; the fourth book of the Āgamas deals with jñāna, not the Jñāna above referred to, but jñāna in the sense of the exposition of the philosophical principles underlying the Āgama teaching. This philosophy is absolutely different from the Vedānta, since the latter posits only one reality behind the Universe—Brahma—and the former posits the tattva trayam, three-fold reality, Iṣvara, the individual and matter. Though each Āgama thus possesses a yoga pāda and a jñāna pāda, the Āgamas are primarily the scriptures of the Bhakti Mārga, as the Upanisads are the scriptures of the Jñāna Mārga. The former is for the many and the latter is for the select. The former is an easy path and the latter a difficult one. As Śrī Kṛṣṇa says, 'Great is the pain (to be undergone) by those whose heart is set upon the unmanifest; the path of the unmanifest brings much pain to the beings who are embodied.'

⁷ kleśodhikaras teśām avyaktasakta cetasām |
avyaktūhigatir dukkham dehavadbhīr avāpyata || .
Bhag. Gita vii, 5.

The Vaidika rites required the division of the people into four varṇas and led to the exclusion of the members of the last varṇa from the study of the Veda and the Vedānta. The division of the people into four varṇas led also to the development of the Varnāśrama Dharma and to the distribution of the āśramas among the varṇas. The upshot of this was the doctrines that Sanyāsa was open alone to the Brāhmaṇas and that mokṣa was attainable only after the special training involved in the life of the Sanyāsi. The corollary of these doctrines was that mokṣa according to the Vaidika path, was reachable only by Brāhmaṇas. The Āgamas set their face against these doctrines. Any one, even a cāndala, can obtain an image or a symbol of Viṣṇu or Śiva and make pūjā to him. The Tamil legends of the Sivanadiyār refer to low-caste Saiva devotees who worshipped Śiva in shrines; Kannappa Nāyanār offered meat to Śiva in the Kālakastī shrine. One of the Vaiṣṇava hymnists probably of the VIIIth century A.D., was a Pāpan, a member of a low caste whose feet were so degraded as to unfit them to tread on the holy soil around Śrīraṅgam temple. The Āgamas did not recognize the four castes; but the Vedānta, being technically a part of the Veda, was a sealed book to the Sūdras. Bādarāyaṇa has a special section establishing this view, that because Sūdras are not entitled to ceremonial purifications, they are prohibited from hearing and studying the Vedas³. The Āgamas on the contrary were open to all men; so much so that even to-day, a Pariah who has received Sivadikṣa can give this dikṣa to a Brāhmaṇa and thus become the Guru of the latter. The institution of the Sanyāsa too spread among the followers of the

³ Ved. Sūtras I. iii. 35--38.

Āgamas. The Vaisnava sanyāsīs were called ekāntis and the Śaiva sanyāsīs, Śivayogis ; according to the fundamental principles of the Āgamas, Sanyāsa is not a necessary preliminary to Mokṣa, for Bhakti, open to all castes, can steer even a householder across the ocean of Samsāra ; if these Bhaktas became sanyāsīs, it was because the practice of yoga became a part—not necessarily integral—of the Āgama teaching and the practice of yoga was rendered easy by a life of Sanyāsa.

Rivalry between the Vaidikas and the Āgamikas :

In ancient days, there was much animosity between the Vaidikas and the Āgamikas. The latter denounced the shedding of blood in the name of the gods and were opposed to the eating of all meat, and especially of beef. Echoes of their condemnation of bloody sacrifices are heard in the Mahābhārata and ultimately led to the substitution of the pistapasu, animal figurines made of starch, for living cattle in the yajñas performed by people who, in later days, followed an eclectic path, compounded of the Vaidika and Āgamika ones. The Bhagavad Gītā, was primarily a scripture of the subdivision of the Āgamikas, called Bhāgavatas ; Sri Kṛṣṇa combined the Bhakti teachings of the Bhāgavatas with the Jñāna teaching of the Vedānta and the supremely subtle metaphysics of the Sāṃkhya, and spoke from a supernal place whence these varying systems are seen to be but different aspects of the one Truth and taught this transcendental Truth to Arjuna. But yet the Bhagavad Gītā retains enough of its original Āgamika characteristic in that it denounces in very violent terms the Veda, i.e., the Karma Kāṇḍa, "The unwise, who delight in vedic disputations, O Pārtha, say these flowery words, 'there is nothing else (than the karma

path). Their hearts are filled with desire and they aspire for (the enjoyments in) svarga, and (they aim) at what gives rebirth and the fruit of Karma, and what is full of innumerable ceremonial rites and follow the path of enjoyment and power. Devoted to enjoyment and power, with hearts subjugated by them, their buddhi which can give them certain knowledge is not steadied in peaceful meditation. The Veda deals with things charged with the three gunas; but Arjuna, be above the things characterized by the three gunas."* Besides, there are in the Bhagavad Gītā a number of technical terms peculiar to the Āgamas.

The Vaidikas, on the other hand, regarded the Āgamikas with supreme contempt. This was but the continuation of the derision with which the Āryas of old spoke of the Dasyu, the reciter of the mantras, of the mridravācaḥ. There is a trace of this contempt even to-day, though the Vaidika and the Agamika paths have been blended together as one since the days of Yāmunācārya, for the temple-priests, both of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava variety, are regarded as inferior Brāhmaṇas by strict Vedāntis; in fact, even fifty years ago there existed to my knowledge followers of the Advaita Vedānta, who would not enter any temples. The Vedānta, which was the culmination of the Veda, also

* yāmimāṁ puspitām vīcampravadantyavipaceitah |
vedavāda rathāḥ pārtha nānyadastītivādinah || kāmāt-
mānah svargaparāḥ janmakarma phalapradām | kriyā
viśesa bahulām bhogaivarya phalamprati || bhogaivarya
prasaktanām tayāpabṛta cetasām | vyavasāyātmikā
buddhiḥ samādhaṇa vidhīyate || traigunya visayā vedā
nistraigunyo bhavārjuna || Bhag. Gītā ii. 42-45.

severely condemned the Āgamika path; Bādarāyana denounced both the Pāsupata⁵ and the Pāñcarātra in his Sātras.⁶

When the Agamas rose:

Now I shall discuss the question, when the Agama teachings were conceived and whence they were derived. The first question is not difficult to answer. Just as the frightful massacre during the recent great war is bringing about a new order of things—only what it will be it is too soon to guess—the great carnage of the Mahābhārata, led to profound changes in the life of India. The Age of the Ṛsis who were the seers of mantras, mantradraṣṭārah, passed away never to return. A profound pessimism, i.e., discontent with the life of the enjoyments of the senses, here and hereafter, in the Bhāloka as well as in the Svargaloka, which alone the Karma Kāṇḍa of the Veda promised, seized the people. The thinkers sought a way out of evil in various ways of meditation on the Brahma Paramam, which alone is the changeless (akṣara) in the midst of changing phenomena (nāmarūpa), and the thirty-two vidyās of the Upaniṣads were born. The Upaniṣads were evolved out of the Karma Kāṇḍa, so much so that the traces of the methods of the Kārma Kāṇḍa are visible in some of the upaniṣada vidyās described in the Chāndogya and the Brhadāraṇyaka. The bulk of the people, however, were weaklings; their lungs felt choked in rising to the sublime heights of the upaniṣada teachings and practices. For them were evolved the Āgamika teachings and practices; these partook of the nature of the ordinary life of the world, for the methods of the

⁵ Vedānta Sūtras II ii, 37-41.

⁶ Ib. II ii, 42-44.

worship of the gods is but a copy of the methods of the worship of men—chiefly gurus and kings. Thus we see that the post-Bhārata age was the time when the Upaniṣads and the chief Āgamas came into being.

The origin of the Āgamas :

The second question, whence arose the Āgamika practices, is a little more difficult to answer. The Āgamika methods of worship being entirely fire-less and not being accompanied by the recitation of Vedic mantras, must have been developed from the Dasyu rites. The Dasyu rites certainly prevailed throughout India, in the South and in the North, before the rise of the Ārya rites. The Vedas and the subsidiary Vedic literature are so vast and so all-engrossing that no one ever asks himself the question, what became of the Dasyu rites during the Vedic Age. European scholars are so engrossed with their interpretation of the quarrels of the Aryas and the Dasyus as racial ones and with the problem of the merging of the latter in the former that they never stop to enquire about the history of the Dasyu rites after the spread of the Ārya ones. To enable us to answer this question satisfactorily, we ought to remember that the Śrauta sacrifices were not the rites of a religion of the masses, of what might be called a popular religion, in that only Brāhmaṇa priests (*r̥tviks*) alone could take part in them and though the kings, the nobles and the merchants who were rich enough to pay for their performance could obtain the unseen benefits of the *yajñas*, they could not participate in the rites. The Atharva Veda does contain the mantras to be used in various domestic fire-rites but there is absolutely no evidence to prove that these rites were practised by all and sundry, by the elect few as well as

by the masses. The common folk must have had religious practices of their own other than the fire-rite all during the Vedic Age, and these must have been the old Dasyu rites. Is there any way of finding out what kinds of rites they were and what gods the common people worshipped? Tamil India like North India pursued Dasyu fireless rites before the rise of the Ārya fire-cult and a sketch of the religion of the ancient Tamils has already been given. The common folk of North India must have continued to worship the same regional gods without fire in the Vedic Age as they did before that age began. The Dasyu ritual like the ritual of the Savaras to-day consisted in offering food to the deity to the accompaniment of ritual singing and ritual dancing. That was how, according to Vālmīki, the coronation of Sugrīva was celebrated, a coronation being in those days not a secular but a religious ceremonial.

As the fire-rite declined after the war of the Mahābhārata the Brāhmaṇa priests, finding their occupation gone, must have turned their attention to the fireless rites still prevailing in the country. The attractiveness of Bhakti to people who are of the emotional temperament as most people are—for men of the severe intellectual temperament whose minds can live on a pabulum of airy abstractions are always rare—must have been another factor in turning the attention of Brāhmaṇas to the path of the Bhakta. They worked out the idea of the Trimūrti, correlating it with the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the triple guna of matter, they evolved the doctrines of the many avatāras* of Viṣṇu and the innumerable, but temporary human manifesta-

* The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions at least 22.

tions of Śiva⁹, and they gradually composed 108 Vaiṣṇava Āgamas and 28 Saiva Āgamas; later was developed another Āgama school, that of Śakti, which boasts of 77 Agamas. The existence of Śiva-worship and Kṛṣṇa-worship in his days is testified to by Pāṇini.

Slowly, very slowly the Vedānta and the Āgama schools gravitated towards each other. In the Puranas, they exist side by side, and are not blended into one. Even in the time of Saṅkarācārya (VIII century A D), we find they were not amalgamated into one. For in expounding the Vedānta sūtras he follows Bādarāyaṇa in regarding the Pāśupata and the Pāñcarātra schools as heretical; yet his Prapāñca Hṛdaya is a pure Āgama work, and he is called saṃmatasthāpanācārya, because according to tradition he systematized the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇipati, Subrahmanya and Sūrya and introduced it in the ritual observed in the Maṭhas founded by him. Thus we see that he kept his Vedānta and Āgamika works strictly apart from each other. It was Yāmunācārya, the founder of the Vaiṣṇava Vedānta, usually called the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta, that first pleaded for the authority (prīmāṇya) of the Vaiṣṇava i.e., sāttvika Āgamas as equal to that of the Vedas and it was Rāmānujācārya that first actually blended them into one. But this took place long after the Āgamika teachings migrated to South India; when and how they spread in South India will be discussed later on.

⁹ Brahma was left in the cold by the Āgamas, because he could not lead to Mokṣa, being one whose activity was exhausted with the act of creation.

The rise of the Āgama schools in North India has been discussed in so much detail, because the Āgama rites, evolved from Pre-Aryan Indian cults, were destined to subjugate the minds of South India in the V and VI century A.D, and when blended with the Vedānta, to flow back to North India and become the living Hinduism of the last thousand years.



CHAPTER IX.

NORTH INDIA AND SOUTH INDIA.

1000 B.C.—500 B.C.

Āpastamba and Baudhāyana:

Āpastamba, almost the last of the Sūtrakāras, lived and taught in the upper valley of the Godāvarī and legislated for the Dāksinātya Brähmanas of the Yajur Veda. According to Buhler he cannot be placed later than the V century B.C.¹ I am inclined to place him at least two centuries earlier, in view of the fact that he speaks of Śvetaketu, who belonged to the 5th generation after the Bhārata battle² i.e., the XIII century B.C. as an 'avara' or 'a recent personage.' Moreover Buhler has pointed out that Āpastamba "did not follow Pāṇini's Grammar" and it is "very unlikely that he knew it at all."³ Most probably he lived earlier than Pāṇini. Most European scholars have not yet released themselves from the prejudiced view that Pāṇini lived in the IV century B.C. though Goldstucker and Sir R. B. Bhandarkar have smashed all the arguments in favour of this view and have given a number of proofs which establish his age as the VII century B.C. If Āpastamba was anterior to Pāṇini, his date must be still earlier than that above suggested by me. Baudhāyana, a Sūtrakāra of

¹ Sacred Text Books of the East. II, p. xxxvii-xliii.

² Pargiter, op. cit. list on page 330.

³ S. T. B. op. cit. p. xlvi.

the same Vedic school (*sākhā*) as Āpastamba, was probably about two centuries his senior. Both these Sūtrakāras belonged to the Taittiriya Śākhā of the Black (Kṛṣṇa) Yajur Veda. This śākhā is prevalent chiefly South of the Vindhya. Its followers in North India are but descendants of South Indian Brāhmaṇas who migrated North within the last thousand years. The Taittiriya Śākhā must have been a South Indian śākhā, from the time it became a separate śākhā, i.e. since the time of Vaiśampāyana, disciple of Vyāsa, i.e. from about the age of the Bhīrata battle; for we cannot imagine that all the followers of a śākhā migrated from the North to the South without leaving a trace behind*. There is no allusion to such a catastrophic event in the Puranic or other tradition. Hence there was enough intercourse between South India and North India for the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda to become the Śākbā of the Dāksinātya Brāhmaṇas in the XIV and XIII centuries B.C. And Baudhāyana being an early legislator of this school, I am inclined to place him about 900 B.C. This date might seem absurdly high for Baudhāyana, but if we remember that from before Rāma's time there were Āryas on the banks of the Godāvari, that his pacification of South India must have led to the further spread of Āryas there, that in the time of Veda Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana the students of the (Kṛṣṇa) Yajur Veda were confined to the districts about that river, and that Baudhāyana was the earliest sūtrakāra of that śākhā, and again if we admit

* The Tittiris were among the Southerners who fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. I believe their Śākhā was called Taittiriya and the legend about Vaiśampāyana's swallowing Yājñavalkya's spittle, a later invention to account for the bird-name of the Śākhā.

that Pāṇini lived in the VII century B.C., that Āpastamba was either his contemporary or lived some time before him and that Baudhāyana must have preceded Āpastamba by at least two centuries, I cannot see how my conclusion about his date can be assailed. But though Baudhāyana belonged to these early times, the Sūtras that go by his name cannot be given this early date. These Sūtras, unlike those of Āpastamba, seem to have undergone much additions and amendments at the hands of his remote followers; for some of the rites prescribed in them are so elaborate as to raise the suspicion that they belong to a late date and the mention of the planets in the order of the week days over which they preside, shows that the Sūtras were tampered with in later times.

Southern vs. Northern customs of the Aryas:

Baudhāyana, legislating for Southern Brāhmaṇas naturally discusses the customs peculiar to Dūksinātyas and more or less repulsive to the Aryas of Āryāvartta. Five ancient Dasyu customs which the South Indians clung to, after they had adopted the Arya cult and become subject to Arya laws, have been noted by Baudhāyana. "They are, eating in the company of an uninitiated person, eating in the company of women, eating stale food, indulgence in love-passages by a man and the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. ... For each (of these customs) the (rule of the) country should be considered the authority."⁵ Baudhā-

⁵ Yathetad anupetena saha bhojanam, striyā saha bhojanam, paryuṣita bhojanam, mātula pitṛsvasṛduhitṛ gamanam, iti ... tatra deśaprāmānyam evasyāt. Baudh. Dh. Sūt. i. 1.2.3 and 6.

yana knew that Gautama, a northern law-giver, did not acknowledge the authority of local custom⁶; this shows that Baudhāyana would abolish these customs if he could, but he was powerless to induce the Āryas south of the Narmadā to give up their old customs. Old customs die hard or rather they do not die at all but persist for many millenniums, either as they are or slightly disguised. Buhler, in his translation of Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras (Sacred Text Books of the East vol. XIV) inaccurately renders mātula pitṛsvasṛ duhitṛ gamanam, as marriage between cousins. Such marriages were the norm in South India. It is to-day practically compulsory among the Telugu Brāhmaṇas⁷ and fairly common among other South Indian Brāhmaṇas. As marriage between cousins was the norm, if, when such marriage has not taken place, the cousins make up for lost opportunities, it is not considered as exhibiting such a terrible degree of moral turpitude as it would be in other cases. Ordinarily risky jokes can be exchanged by cousins, even when they are not married to each other, without much social opprobrium. Another result of the custom of marriage between cousins is that the same Tamil word attān does duty for the son of the sister of the father and a brother-in-law, i.e. wife's brother or elder sister's husband. Paryusita bhojanam, is the eating of palaiyadu, cooked rice kept overnight

⁶ mithyaitaditi Gautamah I. 1.2.7.

⁷ Among Telugu non-Brāhmaṇas, it is common for a man to marry his sister's daughter, a custom not quite unknown among Brāhmaṇas of the South. So that in the dialect of Telugu spoken by the non-Brāhmaṇas, the word 'kēḍilu' means either niece or wife.

soaked in water, a healthy custom, especially if the rice is of the boiled variety where the protein and vitamin contents are not ground out of the rice. This custom is regarded with loathing by the Northern Aryas as a very unholy one but the Tamils stuck to it notwithstanding Aryan opposition; but what the legislator could not effect, modern civilization is doing, i.e. to substitute the stimulant, coffee, and hot, freshly made rice-cakes, for paryusita annam.

Meat Eating of Early Brāhmaṇas:

South Indian Brāhmaṇas of this period like those of North India were meat-eaters. Baudhāyana says that while animals, carnivorous and tame birds and tame cocks and pigs should not be eaten, goats and sheep, five five-toed animals (*pāñcupāñca nakhāḥ*) the porcupine, the iguana, the hare, the hedgehog, the tortoise, five animals with cloven hoofs (*dvikhurinah*) the nilgai, the common deer, the spotted deer, the buffalo, and the wild boar, the five kinds of birds that feed scratching with their feet, the partridge, the blue rock pigeon, the kapiśa, the vārdhrāṇya, and the peacock, the fishes, sahasradhamṣṭri, cilicima, varmi, bṛha-ciras, masakari, rohitā and the rūji, may be eaten. The rhinoceros and the black antelope are added to this long list under protest.* Apastamba gives a list of animals that may not be eaten, but his teachings, in the matter of meat-eating, are practically the same as Baudhāyana's, while he has a special tūtra in which he says that the meat of milch cows and oxen may be eaten[†] and as he has thought fit to add that the

* Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras 1.5.12.1-3.

† Apastamba Dharma Sutras 1.5.17.30.

Vājasaneyaka¹⁰ declares 'bull's flesh is fit for offering,' we can infer that the sentiment against the eating of beef was already declaring itself in the south. Śrāddhas, according to Āpastamba, ought to be performed in the latter half of every month to gladden the manes, and secure different kinds of rewards to the performer and the period for which they are satisfied depends on the kind of meat offered. Thus beef satisfies them for a year, buffalo's meat for a longer time, rhinoceros' meat for a still longer time, also that of the fish called śatabali, the crane called vārdhrāṇasa¹¹. When and why South Indian Brāhmaṇas gave up meat-eating is an interesting problem. The Tamil poet, Kapilar, who, I believe, lived in the V century A.D. says "my hands have become soft, because they do know of no harder work than eating rice and meat boiled with tamarind (in a fire, on which flowers were strewn, so that) the sweet smell of its smoke might counteract the smell of the pieces of meat"¹². In another place he speaks of himself as desiring as reward for his poems "the opening of the liquor jar, the slaying of rams and the cooking of rice and curry"¹³. In the V and VI centuries A.D. flowed

¹⁰ Yājñavalkya says in Sat. Brāh. iii, 1.2.21. 'I for one eat it (*i.e.* the flesh of the cow and the ox), provided it is tender.'

¹¹ Op. cit. ii, 7. 16. 4, 7, 26-28; also Ib. 17. 1-3.

¹² புலவர்த்தக வயத்தா

புகாற் றத்த புகாகெவிடி பூங்குளவ
கறிசோ றண்டு வருக்குதொழி வல்லது
பறிதுதொழி வறியான வாகனி ஈன்ற

ஓமல்லிய.

Puram, 14, II, 12-16.

¹³ மட்டுவாம் திறப்பா காமலின்ட ஏஃப்பா
மட்டுவான் குனுக் கொழுக்குதொவ பூங்கேரும்
பூட்டாங்கு.

Puram, 113, II, 1-3.

into the Tamil land a great wave of Bhakti to Viṣṇu and to Śiva. These cults had to fight against that of the Jainas : the Jaina ascetic teachers were the first teachers to insist on their lay disciples (*śrāvakas*) giving up meat-eating. The Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva cults could not make much headway against the cult of the Jainas, if they did not give up the eating of flesh. Hence they adopted abstention from meat and liquor as one of their fundamental principles. This, I guess, was the reason why Brāhmaṇas who were the first teachers of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Āgamas in South India became strict vegetarians.

Varnas:

The laws of the South Indian sūtrakāras were chiefly meant for Brāhmaṇas who in this age were but very few in the Tamil country, but were abundant in the head of the Gōdāvarī valley. Though the sūtras speak of four castes and innumerable cross-castes, it is only as a matter of theory for they concern themselves in their laws very much more with Brāhmaṇas than with others. Cātur-varnya, the four-caste organization of the Āryas was a fact only in Āryāvartta in the Vedic Age. After the Māhabhārata war, 'confusion of castes,' varṇasankara, prevailed in North India, as Arjuna anticipated.¹⁴ In South India cāturvarnya was always a matter of theory and was never a reality. For the life of the Brāhmaṇas till about the V century A. D. was totally apart from that of the bulk of the Tamil people. Long before the spread of Aryan institutions in the Tamil country, the people were divided into five tribes, according to the five kinds of life they led in the Stone Age, the nomad, the

¹⁴ Bhag. Gitā I. 41—43.

hunter, the fisherman, the herdsman and the farmer, as the result of the life conditions respectively of the desert, the hill, the sea-coast, the forest and the riverine regions. These five tribes developed customs of their own and a culture of their own, different in many respects from the Ārya ones; and the Aryan institutions could not at all affect the course of Tamil life. Hence the broad stream of the indigenous Tamil culture and the thin stream of imported Ārya culture flowed, like the waters of the Jumna and the Ganga for many miles down from Prayāga, without mingling their waters. The earliest specimens of Tamil poetry that we now have shown that for many centuries the Tamil Brāhmaṇas lived apart from the main current of Tamil national life and did not influence the course of Tamil poetry.

Pāṇini and South India:

The Tamil kings had little or nothing to do with the kaleidoscopic changes of dynasties in Kuru-Pāñcāla, Magadha, Avanti and other northern countries from the end of the Mahābhārata War down to the establishment of the dynasty of the Nandas. Hence the Northern authors of Sanskrit books in the first half of the first millennium, such as Pāṇini, have not referred to the southerners at all. Pāṇini, who, as I think, flourished in about the VII century B.C., makes no mention of any province to the South of the Narmadā except that of Aśmaka. From this D. R. Bhandarkar infers that the names of Southern countries were not known to Pāṇini. He says, "no sane scholar who has studied the Astādhyāyi will be so bold as to assert that Pāṇini was a careless or ignorant grammarian; But we have not one word, but at least three words, viz., Pūndya, Cola, and Kerala, the formation of whose forms has not

been explained by Pāṇini, which any accurate and thorough-going grammarian would have done if they had been known to him. The only legitimate conclusion that can, therefore, be drawn is that the names of these southern countries, were not known to Pāṇini, or in other words, were not known to the Aryans in the VII century B.C.¹⁵. I am sorry I cannot appreciate the cogency of this reasoning. Pāṇini might well have known those words but might not have regarded them as Sanskrit words (they are really Tamil words). It so happens that he discusses many names of places and rivers near the districts he was personally acquainted with, in what we now call the Panjab and Afghanistan and a few more to South. To take his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* on this account as a complete geography of the parts of India known to him is not right and to say that he did not know the names of the countries he does not mention in his grammar, and to go further and maintain that the Aryans of his time did not know them is to push the argument from silence to the most absurd lengths¹⁶. Baudhāyana and Apastamba one of whom

¹⁵ Carm. Lec. 1918, pp. 4-7.

¹⁶ Speaking of the argument from silence Pargiter remarks "one might argue with more force that, because the banyan, the most characteristic tree of India, is not mentioned in the Rg Veda, there were none in India when the hymns were composed", op. cit. p. 125 and again, "its silence about the Vindhya Mountains and other geographical features prove no ignorance, when one considers its silence about the banyan, about salt, and about the Pāriyātra hills (the Aravalli range), which the Aryans had actually reached according to the current view." Ib. p. 299.

perhaps was Pāṇini's contemporary and the other probably flourished before his time, lived and legislated in the South of India and they certainly were Aryans. Moreover if Pāṇini had been ideally encyclopaedic in completeness, there was no necessity for Kūtyāyana and Patañjali to supplement his grammatical teachings in their Vārttika and Mahābhāṣya respectively.

The Jātaka Tales and South India :

The Jātaka, which is a collection of tales of the numerous births of the Bodhisatta, who later became Gotama the Buddha, is a record of the folk-tales current among the North Indians in the V and preceding centuries adapted to the needs of the heretical Buddha cult ; these tales were written down about the IV century B.C., but they must have existed as folk-tales long before the time of the Buddha. Some of these tales show that the intercourse between North and South India was as intimate as in previous and later times. The Tales speaks of voyages of merchants to Tambapanni dīpa (Ceylon) where Yakkhinis (she-goblins, i.e., aborigines, believed to be cannibals) lived, in Sirisavattu nagara ; when the ships of merchants were wrecked near the place, the Yakkhiṇis gave them food and drink, married them and finally ate them up. These Yakkhiṇis scoured the coast from the river Kālāṇī to Nāgadīpa for victims.¹⁷ Notwithstanding the fact that the island was infested with Yakkhiṇis (a reminiscence of the old Rāmāyana tales about the inhabitants of Ceylon) a party of men travelled to Ceylon and there became Sanyāsīs¹⁸.

¹⁷ Valāhassa Jātaka No. 196, Nāgadīpa is used for the coasts of Ceylon and Malabar.

¹⁸ Hatiipāla Jātaka, No. 509, Mügapakka Jātaka No. 538.

The Buddha himself when he was born as a little Bowman, learnt the Vedas and completed his education at Takkhasilā and went to the Andhra country for practical experience.¹⁸ We are here not concerned with his experiences there. In another of his births he was a dealer of pots and pans in the kingdom of Sēri and was called 'the Sārivan'. Probably this Sēri was the Sēra country. In his travels as a hawker, he crossed the river Telavāha and reached Andhapura. The Andha, i.e. Andhra country, is not far from the Sēra country.¹⁹ In yet another incarnation of the Bodhisatta, he was born as Akitti, the son of a Brāhmaṇa mabāsāla (Brāhmaṇa magnate). He turned ascetic, and along with his sister, Yasavati, departed to a place three leagues from Benares; but, to escape from the benefactions of his admirers, he left the place by himself and repaired to the kingdom of Damiṭa, where he dwelt in a garden (uyyāna) near Kūverapattana. It may be noted in passing that from this it may be inferred that Kāvīrippattinam was one of the Sōla capitals (though the Sōlas are not named in the tale) when this folk-tale was current, that in the Northern dialect its name had changed to Kūverapattana and probably the tale of Kavera Rsi being the father of the Goddess of the river was also current. Here, too, Akitti was pestered by admirers and he went away to Kūradipa, also called Ahidipa, perhaps the same as the Nāgadipa, near the island of Tambapanni (Ceylon), and therefore the Malabar coast, which was the land of the Nāgas, as I have suggested earlier. There Akitti, the Bodhisatta,

¹⁸ Bhīmasena Jātaka, No. 80.

¹⁹ Sārivānya Jātaka No. 3.

reached omniscience. Akitti has for no earthly reason been identified with Agastya by some.

Sīhabāhu :

These references to South India in the Jātaka prove that South India was not cut off from North India in the middle of the first millennium B. C. and that intercourse other than political between the two parts of India was as active as ever. On the day that the Buddha died or, in Buddhist phraseology, the Lord of the world lay on the bed of parinibbāna²¹ Vijaya, son of Sīhabāhu the lion-armed together with seven hundred followers landed in Ceylon from the country of Lāla (Rādha, Eastern Bengal), having been banished from that country by his father for evil conduct. He had been set adrift on a ship and, the geography of his travels being as usual shaky, he landed at Supparaka (now Sopara, north of Bombay)²²; thence he re-embarked and landed at Tambapanni, in North Ceylon. He became king of the country after defeating and slaying the Yakkha (yakṣa) people who lived there; and, requiring wives for himself and his followers, he sent people to the city of Madura in the Dakkiṇa (South India) with gifts to woo the daughter of the Pāṇḍu king²³ and also to secure wives for the rest; a number

²¹ parinibbānamānicamhi ripanno lokanāyako, Mahāvamsa, vii. 1.

²² This is perhaps a mistake for Sopatma, mentioned as an Eastern sea port by the Periplus, a few centuries later. It is not likely that a ship from the Bengal coast, bound for Ceylon, went to Sopara.

²³ The king of Madura is called Pāṇḍava. The Pāli writer identified the word Pāṇḍya with the familiar Pāṇḍava, just as Patañjali derived Pāṇḍya from the word Pāṇḍu.

of Tamil girls bedecked with ornaments and, accompanied by elephants, horses and waggons, went to Ceylon. This story gives testimony to the continuance of the ancient intercourse between North and South India. Incidentally it confirms the fact that the Pāṇḍyas and the Northerners were not strangers to each other, but so familiar with each other that a Pāṇḍya girl could be demanded for the hand of Vijaya, as a normal event, as was Arjuna's marriage with Citrāngadā, and as Arjuua contracted a temporary alliance with the Nāga girl Ulūpi, so Vijaya too had made a terminable marriage with Kuvappi, a Yakkhiṇī. This was a passing adventure with a strange girl: not so the marriage with the Pāṇḍya princess; for as the story says, Vijaya with solemn ceremony consecrated Pāṇḍu's daughter as his queen (*4).

*4 Tato so Vijayo rāja pāṇḍurājassa duhitaram |
mahatā parihāreṇa mahāśittabhisēcayi || Mahāramso,
vii. 72.

CHAPTER X

FOREIGN TRADE: 1000—500 B. C.

Palestine and India:

In the X century B. C. the Queen of Sheba gave King Solomon "of spices very great store and precious stones; there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon."¹ In those days India was the land whence these articles went west and we may be sure that the spices and the stones went in Indian boats to the African coast before they reached the Queen's hands. "And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones. And the King made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the King's house, harps also and psalteries for singers; there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day."² These almug trees have been identified with sandal-wood, and the word, derived from Sanskrit valgu. This sandal-wood, native to South India, especially Mysore, Coimbatore and Salem districts, must have been taken to the Gujarat ports and thence transported to Syria via Arabia. Whether the gold taken from Ophir was wholly or partially Indian gold depends on the much disputed identification of Ophir. But since Solomon possessed an immense quantity of gold,³ part of his

¹ I Kings, x. 10.

² Ib. x. 11-12.

³ Ib. x. 14-17 and 21.

store might have been obtained from India. We learn further "For the King had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks."⁴ With the ivory "the king made a great throne of ivory and overlaid it with the best gold."⁵ It is probable that some of the ivory was contributed by India, for the Hebrew word for ivory, *shen habbin*, is a translation of Sanskrit *ibha danta*, elephant's tooth, Hebrew *habbin*, as well as Egyptian *ebu*, being both derived from sanskrit *ibha*.⁶ The apes and peacocks were, as in later times, sent as pets from India. Hebrew *koph* is Sanskrit *kapi*, ape, also borrowed by the Egyptians as *kafu*; and Hebrew *thukki*, peacock, is Tamil *tōgai*, tail, the peacock being the bird with the splendid tail. Other articles received by the Hebrews along with their names from India were *sadin*, cotton-cloth, from Dravidan *sindu* (already referred to); *karpas*, cotton, from Sanskrit *karpasa* and lastly *ahal* from Tamil *ahil*, Sanskrit *agaru*, Greek *agallochum*, rendered variously in English as eagle-wood, aloes-wood⁷ or lign-aloes. Ebony was another Indian article which reached Palestine. Says Schöff, "the earliest definite Old Testament reference is in Ezekiel xxvii. 13, where it appears as a commodity in the trade of Tyre: 'the men of Dedan were thy merchants: many isles were the merchandise of thine hand; they brought thee for a present horns of

⁴ *Ib.* x. 22.

⁵ *Ib.* x. 18.

⁶ From *ebu* came Greek *el-sphas* (as some hold), *el-* being the Arabic particle prefixed.

⁷ "All thy garments of myrrah and aloes and cassia." *Psalms*, xlv. 8.

Ivory and ebony.' If the Oxford editor's identification of Dedan with the south shore of the Persian Gulf be correct, this passage indicates a steady trade in ebony from India prior to the VII century B.C., and exactly confirms the statement of the *Periplus* that it was shipped from Barygaza to Omanna and Apologus,"⁸ and also proves the soundness of arguing from the records of later times that the trade mentioned existed in earlier times.

India and Assyria:

On the Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (860 B.C.) are figures of apes and Indian elephants. "The Nimrud Inscription of the great Assyrian monarch Tiglath Pileser III tells how 'fear of the brilliance of Ashur, my lord, overcame Merodach-baladan, of Yakin, King of the sea-country' and how he came and made submission, bringing as tribute 'gold—the dust of his land—in abundance, vessels of gold, necklaces of gold, precious stones, the product of the sea (pearls?), beams of rushu-wood, ellatu-wood, party-coloured clothing, spices of all kinds,'" almost all being Indian exports of the day. He also made the Persian Gulf ports centres also for the gold produced farther to the East in Persia, Carmania and the Himalayas".

In the markets of Tyrus, "situate at the entry of the sea,"¹⁰ were bright iron, cassia and calmus.¹¹ The bright iron was Indian steel which was imported in

⁸ Schoff's *Periplus* p. 163.

⁹ Ib. p. 160.

¹⁰ Ezekiel, xvii, 19.

¹¹ In later times was composed 'a Special Greek treatise on the tempering of Indian Steel.' Warmington op. cit., p. 253.

various countries in ancient times for making swords ; cassia was the ancient name for the bark of the cinnamon ; calamus was a kind of aromatic grass. These articles went from India to Tyrus, as well as the spices, precious stones and gold taken to it by the merchants of Sheba¹².

Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) enlarged the city of Nineveh, built therein a palace for himself and planted a great park where among other trees he introduced "trees bearing wool" (an expression used more than 250 years later by Herodotous¹³ to describe the cotton plant), imported from India.¹⁴

Warmington remarks that "the Indians of old transported living animals by sea to the Persian Gulf and to Africa and China."¹⁵ He says also that "it was natural that the Indian humped cattle used for draught, burden and riding should spread westwards by land so as to form part of the domestic cattle of Persia, Syria, and Africa. Thus we find representations of it in Assyrian and later art."¹⁶ We may also believe that among animal products sent westwards by the Indians were "fine skins of lions, tigers and leopards".¹⁷ In later times ghi (and gingelly oil) were sent to East Africa, where, as little oil was produced, it was naturally in demand. This was true of the I century A. D.¹⁸ and may well have been true of earlier ages.

¹² Ezekiel, xxvii, 22.

¹³ iii, 106.

¹⁴ J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 403 (Pinches).

¹⁵ Op. cit. pp. 147.

¹⁶ Op. cit., 149-150.

¹⁷ Op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁸ Periplus. 41.

Other articles:

Aromatics and spices were the most valuable plant products sent by India. As Warmington says the carriage of aromatics and spices by the Arabians across their peninsula lasted for ages. Pepper was an important article of trade in Phoenician ships of old. Cinnamon was taken from very ancient times in Indian ships straight to the Somali coast and was thence passed on to Arabia and to Egypt and to Syria.¹⁹

It is well-known that there was a long-standing trade in Indigo and probably other dyes between India and ancient Egypt.²⁰ We have records of numerous other Indian articles, which the Romans, after the beginning of the Christian era, got either direct from Indian ports or through the Arabians and the Egyptians as intermediaries. The traffic in those articles must have existed from earlier times, but we have no contemporary evidence of it. The Indian trade in this early period was with Arabia and East Africa, and it was conducted by means of barter; the Indians got in exchange for their goods, gold, frankincense, myrrh and other gum-resins. Indian wares were taken to the African marts of the Somali, to Socotra island, but above all to Arabia Eudemon, (Aden), a prosperous and wealthy meeting place of Arabians and Indians, and in later times, the Greeks also. As Warmington remarks the Arab-African peoples of the marts of the Somali, carried on a traffic of very long-standing with the Indians of Cambay in Indian, Arabian and African shipping centred at the Cape of Spices (Cape Guardafui).²¹

¹⁹ Warmington op. cit, p. 180, 187.

²⁰ Ib. p. 204.

²¹ Warmington op cit., p. 19.

During this period we may well suppose that the trade of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts with China did not languish, for cardamom and other articles of China continued to find their way to Western Asia and East Africa in Indian ships.



CHAPTER XI

NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA : 500 B. C.—1 B. C.

Kātyāyana and Patañjali :

A few centuries after Pāṇini, perhaps in the IV century B.C. lived Kātyāyana, who found that Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi* was defective and wrote Vārttikas to supplement the rules of Pāṇini. According to a note furnished to me by Mr. P. S. Subrahmanyā Sāstri, Assistant Editor of the Tamil Lexicon, Kātyāyana was a Southerner. The note is as follows :—"The fact that Vararuci, (the personal name of Kātyāyana), the author of Vārttikas on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, was a Southerner, is evident from the statement, 'priyataddhita dāksinā tyūḥ,' 'the Southerners are fond of taddhita forms,' of Patañjali, the Vākātarāṇa bhāṣyakāra, when he elucidates the first Vārttika, siddhē sabdārtha sambandhē lokato rthaprayukte sābdaprayoge gāstrena dharma niyamah yathā laukikavaidikeśu, 'when the word, its meaning and their relation are nitya and word is used in the meaning current in the world, gāstra or grammatical science enjoins the use of correct words for dharma (apūrva) and in dharma (sacrifice)', in the first Āhnika of Mahābhāṣya, wherein he says that instead of using 'lokevedeca', Vararuci has used 'laukikavaidikeśu', making use of 'taddhitapratyayas'". This is enough to prove that a school of Sanskrit grammarians had arisen in South India, had studied the grammar written by Pāṇini in remote Gāndhāra and were qualified to write a treatise for the purpose of supplementing his work.

Being a Southerner Kātyāyana naturally noticed that the Tamil words Pāṇḍya, Sōla and Serala, which had been naturalized in Sanskrit literature in the forms Pāṇḍya, Cōda and Keraḷa, had not been dealt with by Pāṇini and proceeded to make rules to explain their formation. Pāṇini had made a rule which says, "the suffix aśi (comes in the sense of descendant), after a word, which while denoting a country, (also) denotes a tribe of ksattriyas".¹ This rule not being comprehensive enough, Kātyāyana appends supplementary rules, the third of which says, "In the case of words which are common to ksattriya (tribes) and to countries, (to form the word) for its king, (the suffix) indicating a son (should be used)".² Thus the Rāja of the Fañcūlas is Pañcālah. Even this cannot explain the formation of Pāṇḍya. So Kātyāyana adds another rule, pāñdor dyan vaktavyah, i. e., in the case of the word pāñdu, the suffix dyan is used and the derived word is Pāṇḍya.³ To explain Cōda and other words, Kātyāyana utilizes another rule of Pāṇini. It says 'after the word kamboja, luk, i. e., there is no suffix'.⁴ Thus from Kamboja, the name of a country, the title of its king, Kambojāḥ, is derived. Kātyāyana extends this rule by saying, 'luk should be supplied for Kamboja and others, for the purpose of Cōda and other (words).'⁵ Patañjali says that this Vārttika explains the

¹ Janapada sabdāt ksattriyād añ. (Aṣṭādhyāyī IV, i, 168.

² Ksattriya samāna sabdāj janapadāttasya rājanayapatyavat.

³ Keilhorn's Edn. of Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, Vol. ii, p. 269.

⁴ Kambojāluk IV, 1, 175.

⁵ Kambojādibyo lug vacanam cōḍādyartham,

formation of Codah, Kaderah, Keralah.⁶ Thus Kātyāyana and Patañjali were of opinion that the royal titles Cođa and Kerala were derived from the names of countries but the title Pāñḍya was derived from Pāñdu which was at the same time the name of a country and a ksattriya tribe. This derivation is not sustainable because the tribe which furnished the Madura country with kings was not called Pāñḍu but Pāñḍya in Tamil. But yet D.R. Bhandarkar has built on this derivation an elaborate theory of a Northern Ksattriya tribe called Pāñdu migrating to the South and founding Pāñḍya kingdoms in South India and Ceylon⁷. Neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali says that Pāñdu was the name of a Northern tribe; it is enough for their purpose to assume the name Pāñdu for a ruling tribe and for a country. Since all rulers were regarded as Ksattriyas Patañjali was not far wrong in making Pāñdu (which occurs as Pandu in Pali) the name of a Ksattriya tribe; but it is certainly wrong to make it on that account the name of a foreign, non-Tamil tribe of invaders. D.R. Bhandarkar presses into service for supporting this theory the absurd legend found in Polyæn, strateg. I. 3. 4 supposed to be quoted from Megasthenes which says, "Herakles begot a daughter in India whom he called Pandaea. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose

⁶ Mahābhāṣya, op. cit. p. 270.

⁷ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 9-13.

turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments."⁸ Much ingenuity has been wasted in the attempt to correlate this with what we know of Madura in early times, but without success. It is but another legend proving the credulity of Megasthenes, like his tale of the ant-men already referred to, or again his other tale of girls in the Pandian land bearing children when they were six years of age.⁹ At best the legend can only prove what we know from better sources that there was intercourse between the Pāṇḍya country and Pāṭaliputra in the IV century B. C. and that Megasthenes had heard of that country. Nevertheless D. R. Bhandarkar not only accepts the legend of Herakles' daughter ruling over Madura, but also joins the horde of scholars who have without any evidence unsuccessfully tried to find by the method of guessing the Indian equivalents of the Greek gods, such as Dionysos and Herakles, whose characteristics were so utterly different, from those of Indian ones. He equates Kṛṣṇa with Herakles, though the persuasive music of Kṛṣṇa's flute is on the opposite pole to the logic of the mighty club of Herakles and, though this equation reduces the legend of Megasthenes to absurdity, he is yet willing to believe that the Pāṇḍus, whose existence in Madhyadeśa is testified to by Varāhamihira of the VI century A. D., invaded the Tamil country, more than two thousand years before Varāhamihira's time and established a line of kings and a tribe of men there! This is speculation with a vengeance.

⁸ McCrindle, *Ancient India* as described by Megasthenes and Arrian p. 159.

⁹ McCrindle, op. cit. p. 144.

The Tamil tradition is that the three kings (*mūvendar*) as they were always called by the Tamils, i.e., the Śōjas, the Śeras and the Pāndyas, reigned in the Tamil land from the time of creation, i.e., from time immemorial or rather from the time when Tamil bards began to sing of the Tamil kings. In much later times Brāhmaṇas induced these kings to claim descent from the Sun and the Moon who originated the various dynasties of Aryan kings, but even then they were not regarded as alien but as Tamil kings. As a matter of fact, Śōja, Śera and Pāndya are Tamil tribal names. The Śōjas were an agricultural tribe (*vellālar*) who lived in the valley of Kāviri and had the Ātti (*Bauhinia Racemosa*), the characteristic flower of that region, as their emblem. The Śeras were Kuravar,¹⁰ i.e. men of the hill region extending from the upper reaches of the tributaries of the Kāviri to the West Coast of South India, of which region the palmyra is the characteristic tree and they had the palmyra (leaf and flower) as their emblem. The Pāndyas were the coast people (*paradavar*)¹¹ inhabiting the southernmost region of India, where the margosa is the characteristic tree and fishing is the chief occupation; the carp and the margosa were their emblems. The characteristics and occupations of these tribes were the direct result of the action of their environment on their evolution. Hence all speculations deriving them from regions outside their natural environment are examples of vicious reasoning.

¹⁰ The Kuravar of modern times are perhaps degraded descendants of the ancient Kuravar.

¹¹ Paradavar in ancient literature meant both boatmen and chiefs in the Madura country, e.g. *Qatruṣṭasati uḍu-śe sru*. Pugam 378. I, L *Qatruṣṭasati* *GuGrGp*. Maduralkāñji 1. 144.

The Empire of Magadha :

In about 400 B.C. Mahāpadma Nanda became the ruler of Magadha. He exterminated all the Kṣattriyas and after his time kings of Sūdra origin prevailed in the land. He became the sole monarch of India and the possessor of the single umbrella of empire¹². Thence the rulers of Magadha claimed the lordship of the whole of India, except perhaps the Tamil districts, the people of which had not yet been subjugated by Ārya culture. This lordship was acknowledged till the death of Āśoka, for we hear of no invasions of the Dakshināpatha to enforce the claim. Kalinga, among other provinces, was under the Magadha rule, for a canal was dug there by the Nandas; so that Asoka's war in the Kalinga country must have been due to a rebellion. Copies of Asoka's edicts have been found, among other places, at Siddapura, Jatinga-Rāmēswara and Brahmagiri in the Mysore territory and at Maski in the Nizam's Dominions and very recently in the Kurnool district. This shows that the chief vernacular dialect of North India was understood by the South Indians¹³ except those of the Tamil country in the III century B.C.; the edicts were not intended for scholars alone; if so, they would have been composed in

¹² Sarva kṣattrāntako ṣṭpah tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno bhavisyah sūdra yonayah ekaśeṣa sa mahāpadma skacchatraḥ. Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age p. 25.

¹³ To-day Hindustāni, or Hindi or Urdu, for they are all one essentially, is understood north of 12° N. latitude. This is due not, as is usually believed, so much to the domination of Muhammadan Sultans in recent times but to the age-long intercourse, commercial, religious and literary, between North and South.

Sanskrit. On the other hand, they were intended to reach the masses. Hence we infer that down to the Penjār valley the chief spoken dialect of North India was understood by the common people in those days; as for the script, the same script, now called the Aśokan, was used throughout India in the III century B. C. This shows that great was the intercourse between North and South India in ancient times and it was made still greater by the fact that Mahāpadma Nanda became ēkārāt and this domination by Magadha continued in the times of the Maurya emperors.

Trade with Magadha :

In the IV century B. C., the trade between North and South India assumed greater proportions than ever. I have already referred to Kauṭilya's testimony to this. I shall here quote the passage in full. "Of routes by land, that to the Himalayas is superior to that to Dakṣināpatha, says the teacher; for (from the former come) elephants, horses, aromatic materials, ivory, hides, silver and gold articles, most excellent. Not so, says Kauṭilya, excepting woollen cloth, hides and horses, conchshells, diamonds, sapphires (and other gems) and articles of gold (come) in large quantities from Dakṣināpatha. In Dakṣināpatha, the trade-routes (which go along) many mines, (also places where) excellent articles (are obtained) and which are frequented by many people or are easy to travel on, are superior (to others)"¹⁴. This gives us a

¹⁴ Sthala pathe pi haimavato dakṣinā pathā-
chreyān | hastyaśva gandha dantājina rūpya svarna-
panyāḥ sāravattarūḥ ityācāryāḥ | neti kauṭilyāḥ kam-
balājināśvapanya varjāḥ śāṅkha vajramanimuktāḥ

picture of a great volume of trade, carried in caravans of creaking country carts (just as we see to-day, where the railway train and the motor lorry have not killed out the ancient method of transit) passing along roads, good and bad, from Cape Comorin to Pātaliputra. In another place, where Kauṭilya refers to things that find their way to the royal treasury, he mentions precious stones (*ratna*) from Tāmraparnī and Pāṇḍyakavāṭa and Cūrṇa¹⁵ (which latter is explained by a commentator as a river near Muraci i.e. Muśiri in the Keraṭa country), vaidūrya¹⁶ of various colours (which a commentator says were from Strīrājya, i. e. Malabar), as well as Paundraka blankets, black and soft as the surface of a gem (which Śyāma Śāstri, translator of the *Artha-*
śāstra says were of Pāṇḍya manufacture)¹⁷ and excellent cotton cloth from Madura.¹⁸

Candragupta and South India:

After a splendid reign of a quarter of a century—the most splendid that the world knew in the last quarter of the IV century B.C., Candragupta, like many other Indian monarchs, was possessed by a sudden access of vairāgya and in one night gave up sword and sceptre and became a Jaina ascetic and one of the 12,000 disciples of Bhadrabāhu. He trudged on foot

suvarṇapāṇyāśca prabhūtataरा daksināpathē | daksinā-
pathē pi bāhukhanīḥ sūrapāṇyah praśiddha gatir
alpavyūḍmo vā vaṇikpathah śreyān. Artha Śāstra,
Jolly and Schmidt vii. 12. 30-34.

¹⁵ Arthaśāstra op. cit. ii. 26. 2.

¹⁶ Ib. ii. 26. 30.

¹⁷ Ib. translation p. 90.

¹⁸ Ib. Jolly and Schmidt ii. 26. 119.

along with his master and fellow-disciples to Śravana Belgola, in what is now the Hassan District of the Mysore Province. There Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta stayed, the others going to the Pāṇḍya and Śōla countries. Then the Emperor who had turned beggar ministered to his guru's wants, till the latter died; Candragupta survived his master for twelve years, begging his daily food, till, like a true Jaina, when he knew the purpose of his life was achieved and his body was of no more use to him, he starved himself to death, practising the Jaina rite of Sallekhana. We are not here concerned with the great Emperor's life and death, but with the fact that so many thousands of Sādhus as we should call them now, transported themselves from North to South, as a matter of course, just as pilgrims do daily to-day. These Jaina ascetics resided in natural caves in the hills of the Tamil districts and left inscriptions behind them, the deciphering of which has thrown some light on Tamil literary history.

Bauddha migrants:

Like the Jainas, Bauddhas also wandered to South India in search of lonely haunts where they could practise yoga undisturbed and they, too, took to living in natural caves and have left inscriptions. In several cases it is a little difficult to decide whether a particular cave was used by Jainas or by Bauddhas. Such caves have been discovered in various hills of the Pāṇḍya and the Śera countries. These early migrations of monks were not due to political causes or propagandist enthusiasm. Like the Rsis of an earlier age, the Bhikkhus of the V and IV century B. C left their native province only to escape from the semi-condescending patronage of royal

personages or the uncomfortable adulation of admiring lay disciples who desired to acquire cheap merit and lay by a store of puṇya by lavishly entertaining saintly sanyāsīs. The Jaina and the Bauddha had to undergo systematic mental training by the method of yoga, which required solitude for its successful practice. And the Jainas required, besides, shelters far from the haunts of men, where they could die in peace in the peculiar manner called Sallekhana. These monks of early times had no burning desire "to save souls." Mahāvīra and Buddha did not found religions which would translate men in bulk to heaven, but taught sanyāsīs methods of psychological training which would save the individual from the wheel of compulsory birth and re-birth. These prophets did not appeal to the worldly but to the ascetic; they founded not churches but monasteries. They stimulated the hearts of their disciples by inspired utterances and not filled their mind with dogmas. It was only when the moving waves of inspiration had passed on and been succeeded by the standing pool of reflection, when the desire for the salvation of oneself by following the hard path of self-discipline had been supplanted by the desire to save the souls of others by teaching them dogmas and catchwords, when the warm, palpitating soul had been imprisoned in the cold steel chain of logic, when, as the Bauddha would say, the heart doctrine had been obscured by the eye-doctrine, when, as the Sāṅkhyā would say, the Adhyavasāya of Buddhi had been obscured by the Saṅkalpavikalpa of Manas, that the teachings of the Jina and the Buddha became degenerated into Jainism and Buddhism, two more sects which the self-regarding instincts of men have manufactured to the detriment

of the people of India. Then the councils of the Bauddhas were held and eager Bauddha missionaries began to beat the country, filled with the desire to save other people's souls and stimulate hatred in the name of religion. Unlike the Bhikkhus of the previous generations these militant missionaries utilized the political influence of Magadha for their propagandist purposes.

Asoka and Tamil India :

But the Tamil country continued to be outside the domination of Magadha even in the time of Asokavardhana. He describes the Coda, Pāndiya, Satiyaputo and Kelalaputo as anta i. e. neighbours or borderers, when he speaks in his rock Edict II of his establishing among them two kinds of the treatment of disease, viz., the treatment of men and the treatment of cattle. In the rock Edict XIII he says he has won Dharmavijaya in the South (nīca), in Coda, Pāndiya, as far as Tambapanni (i. e. the Tāṇraparṇi river). The Dharmavijaya consisted in sending ambassadors to preach the eclectic ethics, the composite Dharma, compounded of the teachings of Brāhmaṇa, Jaina and Bauddha teachers, which he delighted in preaching to the world. This has been mistaken by most investigators, ancient and modern, as sending Bauddha missionaries to various countries. For one thing, Asoka never called his teachings, to all and sundry, Bauddha Satyāñgi, but always called them by the non-committal word Dharma. Secondly, if he wanted to advertise to the world his sending of Bauddha missionaries, he would have mentioned that he sent his son by Devī, whom he married when he was Viceroy at Ujjain, namely, Mahinda, as missionary to Ceylon, whereas it is the Māhāvamśa that gives us this information. It

was the third council that sent Bauddha missionaries to several places whereas Asoka sent Dhūtas to effect his Dharmavijaya. No doubt, Asoka respected Bauddha monks as well as Jaina monks and Brāhmaṇa householders and Sanyāsīs; this does not mean that he sent Bauddha missionaries anywhere. *Mahāvamsa*, the Bauddha chronicle, is but a prejudiced witness in this matter. But we are not concerned here with this question. It is enough here if we infer from Asoka's inscriptions that South India continued to have as active intercourse with North India in Asoka's days as in those of his predecessors.

Modern investigators frequently speak of the great Maurya Empire and in later times of the imperial sway of the Guptas. These words 'Empire' and 'Imperial' convey quite a false idea of the political relations of Indian states to each other in ancient days. The connotation of the word Empire is such that it cannot be used in Indian history without giving a misleading view of the course of that history. The Roman empire meant the establishment of the *Pax Romana*, the gradual extension of Roman citizenship, the institution of Roman jurisprudence and the spread of the Latin tongue. The British empire means the establishment of British methods of the maintenance of law and order, the use of the English language for purposes of administration, the spread of English schools and universities, the wide extension of British commerce, the starting of Christian propaganda and the slow development of British democratic institutions. The establishment of empire in ancient India meant none of these things. The traditional 56 Indian states were mostly governed in accordance with the Dharma Śāstra, as expounded by Brāhmaṇa teachers

from time to time; when a powerful monarch proclaimed himself 'the wielder of the discus', 'the holder of the one umbrella', 'the all-ruler', there was absolutely no change of the method of administration or of the hierarchy or personnel of officers, no planting of military colonies, nor even the stationing of the suzerain's armies in the dominions of the vassal king. It merely meant that a certain great person claimed to be the overlord of a number of states and this overlordship was acknowledged by the payment of tribute, yearly or occasional. The formal establishment of suzerainty was generally by means of the celebration of a horse-sacrifice. It was not generally preceded by a war of invasion but by the letting loose of the sacrificial horse in the charge of the son or grandson of the king and by fights for the recovery of the horse in case it strayed into the territory of a monarch who refused to acknowledge the overlordship of the performer of the horse-sacrifice. Thus the so-called imperial sway was due to the personal qualities of an individual king and not a dynastic affair at all. Hence the general statement about Indian empires being short-lived meaningless.

The successors of Asoka were weaklings, political and moral, and his death was followed by the rise to fame of monarchs of other states than Magadha. One of these was Khāravela of the Kalinga country and his inscriptions give us testimony about the trade between Madura and his province.

Kalinga and South India :

By the irony which fate always provides, Asoka's practice of Dharma led to the break-up of his Empire

soon after his death. Kalinga among other provinces became independent and its king (c. 200 B. C.) Khāravela possessed a reputation which extended to the Pāṇḍya country, for he got from thence presents of shiploads of elephants, besides horses, rubies, pearls and sapphires¹²

¹² abhuta acariyam hattināvan pāripuram u (pa) denha haya hathi ratana (mā) nīkam pāñdarūjū edāni anekāni muta maṇiratanāni aharāpayati idha sata (ea).
 'Wonderful and surprising, elephant ships were brought laden also with horses, elephants, rubies. The Pāṇḍya rājā sent these, (besides) many pearls and sapphires. Hāthigumpha inscription, J. B. O. R. S. iv. 401.



CHAPTER XII

EARLIEST TAMIL POETRY EXTANT.

The beginnings of poetry :

Poetry generally began with the praise of gods and kings. Whenever a cult is established or a dynasty is founded, bards begin to earn the favour of gods and kings by singing about them. Omitting from consideration religious poetry, like that of the *Vedas*, we may take it that secular poetry in any one language begins when kings speaking that language achieve notable military exploits. Bards have always been semi-starved men, hungering for meat and thirsting for drink, and they have always tried to earn these by glorifying in song the feats of kings and chieftains in love and war. This was exactly the way in which the Tamil muse came to be born.

Possibly the earliest songs were in the unrefined dialects actually spoken; but they have all died just as have perished the early Sanskrit ballads that must have existed for centuries before that language was rendered *Samskrta*, (i. e., refined, conventionalized, brought under strict canons of grammar) and the metrical and other literary conventions of the Vedic mantras were born. For the Vedic mantras are not the "babblings of infant humanity" as Max Muller rashly described them to be; but the language of the mantras was "a scholastic dialect of a class", "an artificially archaic dialect handed down from one generation to the other within the class of priestly

singers".¹ In other words the Vedic language was a 'devabhāṣa', not the dialect spoken by common men, by all and sundry from priest to pariah. Similarly the earliest Tamil odes we now have represent a comparatively late stage of literary development. Their language is not the spoken language of the common men but a strictly refined, conventionalized one. These early odes obey strict metrical rules and, what is much more remarkable, exhibit a highly complicated scheme of literary convention.

The Literary dialects :

I have assumed that the three Tamil dynasties rose to power after the pacification of South India by Śrī Rāma. Of the three dynasties, the Pāṇḍya dynasty ruled in what we now call the Madura country. This country is the heart of the Tamil land. Unlike the Śōla country which is almost all marudam (agricultural) and the Śōra country which is mostly kuriñji (mountainous), the Pāṇḍya country contains all the five habitable regions (*tinais*), where the five kinds of love-poetry, and the five kinds of war-poetry, each correlated to one or other of the *tinais*, could arise. It is no wonder then that Madura was the centre of the growth of Tamil literature and the place where the literary dialect of Tamil (Śendamil) was fashioned. Tamil grammars speak of the twelve Tamil districts near the country of Śendamil, where dialectical forms were used by the people². A well-known Tamil stanza enumerates these twelve districts as South Pāṇḍya, Kuttam,

¹ MacDonell, Sansk. Lit. p. 20.

² செஷ்வரப் பேரில் சுவரீதிக் கோவில்.

Tolkāppiyam, Solladigaram ix, 3.

Kuḍam, Kaṛkā, Vēṇāḍu, Fūli, Panjiṇāḍu, Aruvā, the land north of Aruvā, Śidānāḍu, Malayamānāḍu, and Sōla Nāḍu*. Śenavaraiyar, a commentator on the Tolkāppiyam, however, beginning with the South-East, enumerates them in order as Poṅgar-nāḍu, Oji-nāḍu, Tenpāndi-nāḍu, Kuṭṭa-nāḍu, Kuḍa-nāḍu, Panji-nāḍu, Karkā-nāḍu, Śida-nāḍu, Pūli-nāḍu, Mahi-nadu, Arūvā-nāḍu, ending with Aruvā vada talai, the last being probably what was long after Tolkappiyar's time known as Tonḍaināḍu and was called the land of the Drāvidas by northern writers.

This does not mean that the dialect of the Pāṇḍya country is superior to the dialects of the other twelve districts, as it is usually understood to mean, for one dialect is just as good or as bad as another, but that the literary dialect was first fashioned in the Pāṇḍya country and when this dialect was adopted for poetry in the other tracts they allowed local words to find a place therein.

The earliest poetry all lost:

Much poetry must have been composed before the rigid conventions that characterize the early poems that are now extant could have been evolved. The five classes of poems I have so frequently mentioned must have arisen, each in its own appropriate region, when the life of each region was fully developed, but before the migration of men from region to region began to obliterate the special characteristics of each tribe and brought about the deadly monotony of civilized life.

* தென்பாண்டு குட்டக் குடக் கந்தாலேஷ் பழி
பன்றி யருவா அதன் வடக்கு — சன்றுய
சிதம் மலோடு புள்ளுடு செங்தமிழ் சேர்
ஏதமில் பண்ணிகு காட்டுவேலை.

which thoroughly masks the compelling influence of environment on culture. All this ancient poetry is lost. The earliest specimens of Tamil poetry we now possess cannot be assigned to any date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Why did all this ancient literature come to be lost? Though writing was known to the Indians so early as 3,000 or 4,000 B. C. as has been revealed by the recent excavations at Harappa and Moheñjo Dāro, we must remember that for a very long time writing was used not for literary purposes but only for recording the glorious deeds of royal heroes, as the ancient inscriptions of the Sindhu valley as interpreted by Lieut Col. Waüdel show. Even the sacredness of the Vedic mantras did not induce the Āryas of Āryāvartia to indite them except on the tablets of memory. Profane literature, I believe, came to be written on ēlai or birch bark only when the critic arose and pointed out its excellence and the desirability of preserving it from the lapses that human memory is subject to. Thus the much abused critic seems to have had a useful function in the evolution of culture; and in India especially he has been of eminent service to the cause of culture, for without the help of the critic, Tolkāppiyānār, we would not have been able to reconstruct a picture of ancient Tamil life. In the Tamil land, as in other lands, the early poets sang almost as unconsciously as the birds; and it was only after the Āryas not only settled in the South but began to study the Tamil language and literature and to investigate the grammar of that language as well as of the poetry composed in it, that Tamil literature came to be committed to writing and acquire the temporary immortality which caligraphy confers on literature.

The earliest Tamil literature has all perished. But we may assume that the first Tamil poems must have been short odes of a few lines each ; even in much later days odes varying in length from four to twenty or thirty lines continued to be the only poetry composed. The odes of the Ten Songs (*Pattuppāṭṭu*), a few hundreds of lines long, first began to appear in the V century A. D. and long epics were composed only after Aryan literature had begun to fertilize Tamil genius. The earlier poems, however, were absolutely free from Aryan influence and continued to be so for many ages, notwithstanding the facts that from the time of Parāśurāma, the Aryan cult was followed by stray Southerners who were called, on account of their being Aryanized, by the name of *Brahmarākṣasas*, and that the Southern followers of the Aryan cult slowly increased in numbers after Rāma's war with Rāvana and again after the war of the Mahābhārata. For the Southern Aryas and the bulk of the Tamils were, just as in Vedic times Northern Aryas and Northern Dasyus were, each too consciously proud of their own cultural achievements and of the superiority of their own ways of worship, to care for the other.

Freedom of early Tamil poetry from Sanskrit influence :

Tamil life pursued the even tenor of its course for many centuries untouched by anything Sanskritic. Very few Sanskrit words found their way into early Tamil literature, for the old Tamil vocabulary was perfectly competent to express the concrete ideas which alone appealed to the Tamil genius. The bulk of the Tamil people lived their life in their own old ways without

being affected by Ārya practices and Ārya theories of life. Hence there were two parallel currents of life in the Tamil country, that of the Tamils and that of the Southern Āryas, which did not mix their streams. The genius of the Tamils was utterly different from that of the Āryas. The Tamils accepted the seen world and were satisfied with the joys of the living present. The ineffaceable sex-urge and the delirious joys of fighting, love of women and hatred of enemies, respectively called Agam and Puram, were enough subjects for their songs. The Āryas, especially of the age succeeding the Bhārata Armageddon, were brooding over the vanity of earthly and heavenly loves and the greater vanity of wars, the fleeting joys of love and the dead sea fruit of the delights of fighting which turns into ashes in the mouth ; they were constantly devising ways of escaping from the wheel of birth and re-birth, the contemplation of whose never ceasing revolution created in their hearts vairāgya, literally, lovelessness. Hence the Śanyāsa was developed among the Vaidikas, the Vaispava and Saiva Āgamikas, the Jainas and the Baudhas, with the hope that the renunciation of the evanescent pleasures of life would lead to the enjoyment of the eternal ānanda of immortal life unconditioned by time and space. The early Tamil poets were of the earth, earthy : they revelled in concrete images of the actualities of life as men know it : the post-Vedic Āryas were for ever forging abstract ideas which escape, like cotton wool, the grip of earthly minds, but are glorious realities only to those who have gone to the world where the sun and the moon shine not, not even the twinkling stars. The Tamil temperament was optimistic, whereas the Ārya temperament was pessimistic with regard to the seen world. The Tamils of those days were not

divided into rigid castes, but the *Aryas* were divided into four varnas. The conventions of early Tamil poetry were utterly different from those of Sanskrit poetry. So the bulk of the Tamils and the Southern *Aryas* lived their separate lives without affecting each other's culture. Much of the early Tamil poetry is lost but enough remains to prove that for some time even after the beginning of the Christian era, there was absolutely no intrusion of Sanskrit culture into the minds of Tamil poets.

The Anthologies :

In the V and later centuries A.D., all that remained unforgotten of early Tamil poetry was collected together in different anthologies. Poems directly or remotely connected with war, numbering four hundred and of varying lengths, were collected into an anthology called the Pugam Four Hundred. Early poems connected with love (*Agam*) were arranged in three anthologies, the principle of collection being the number of lines in each ode; the shortest ones were cast in the collection called *Kurundogai*, those of middling length in *Nagrinai* and the longer ones in *Nedundogai*, or *Agam* four hundred, each collection again containing exactly four hundred odes. How could the anthology-makers get exactly four hundred, no more, no less, of each kind and whether they composed a few or rejected some to make the number round, are questions not possible to solve. All the poems in each anthology do not belong to one age. If we judge them from the diction, the subject-matter, the imagery and the allusions contained in them, it is not impossible to separate the earlier from the later ones. For instance, Sanskrit words are

almost entirely absent from the earlier ones ; the customs referred to are ancient Tamil customs peculiar to the five regions ; the fauna and flora alluded to belong to these same regions, the superstitions alluded to are Tamil, not Aryan ; there is absolutely no reference to Aryan concepts, Aryan superstitions or Aryan poetic imagery ; and above all, none of the earlier bards (*pāpar*) were Brāhmaṇas. The latter began to compose Tamil poetry in the last century of the first half of the first millenium A. D., and though they strictly conformed to the age-long literary traditions of the Tamils, they were unable to prevent Aryan ideas, concepts, beliefs, superstitions, customs, etc., from intruding into their poems. It is desirable that some research scholar of the Madras University should take up this question for investigation and separate, from a careful weighing of internal evidence, the earlier of these one thousand six hundred odes from the later ones. But even without such elaborate research, I am sure that any one who reads these poems with care can satisfy himself that they cover a long age, at least as long as half a millenium, if not more.

The Agam Four Hundred :

Of these anthologies, the Agam four hundred seem to have been the earliest to be collected together, for its odes were made into an anthology by the orders of Ukkirappernvaludi by Uruttira Samman, who, according to the scholiast on Irāiyanār Agapporul, presided, though dumb, over the meeting of scholars gathered to expound those sixty sutras. They all deal with love, post-nuptial and pre-nuptial, chiefly the latter. Three of the poems are anonymous and the rest are by 142 poets,

some of them ancient, and the rest belonging to the IV or V century A. D. They contain numerous similes in which are enshrined allusions to the kings and chiefs who flourished in that period and are of use in reconstructing the biographies of a few notables, sovereigns and nobles. From them can be derived information about the daily lives of the people. The odes in this anthology vary in length from 13 lines to 37. The five topics of Agam, *kupiñji*, love at first sight and incidents connected with the cause of that love, *mullai*, *neydal* and *pälai*, separation of lovers during periods of different duration and union thenceafter, and *marudam*, the disturbances of the even course of married love, owing to the interferences of *hetairae*, are treated in this book and the poems dealing with them are arranged in an artificial order. Odd numbers from 1 to 399 deal with *pälai*, 4 to 394, progressing arithmetically by 10 refer to *mullai*, 6 to 396 progressing similarly to *marudam*, 2 to 398 rising alternately by 4 or 6, i. e., 2, 8, 12, 18 etc., are on *kupiñji*, and multiples of 10 deal with *neydal*. So the dumb boy, who was the judge of the different interpretations of *J̄aiyñār Agapporul* had a sense of symmetry in arranging his anthology.

The Kuṇḍogai and Nagginaī :

The Kuṇḍogai differs from the Agam only in this fact that the odes comprised in it vary in length from four to eight lines and the Nagginaī, from 9 to 12. There is nothing in the subject-matter of the poems in the three anthologies to distinguish one from another. All of them deal with both forms of love, allude to kings, and chiefs incidentally, and but rarely refer to Aryan gods or beliefs, though they are full of references to

old Tamil ideas and institutions. In the arrangement of topics in the latter two, there is no particular principle observed. The Nappinal was made into an anthology by the orders of Pannādu tanda Māran Vaṭudi, and the Kurundogai, of Pūrikkō, both kings, probably, of the VI century A. D.

The Puram :

Under whose orders and by whom the Puram collection of 400 odes was made is not known. It differs from the other collections in several ways. First, it deals with the wars of kings and the gifts they gave to the poets who sang them. Secondly, dealing with wars, it also contains a number of elegies on dead kings and nobles. The first half of this anthology deals with the former subject, the next fourth with the latter and the last fourth seems to be a miscellaneous supplement in which odes discovered later on both subjects were thrust. Thirdly, to a large number of these Puram poems, colophons are added, noting the occasions when the poems were composed. These colophons seem to have been written by a person later than the one who made the anthology and who derived the information partly by a study of the poems and partly from tradition. This anthology is provided with an introductory ode by Pāradam Pādiya Perundēvanār, (Mahādeva who sang the Bhārata), a poet of the IX century A. D., who lived in the age of the Pallava Nandivarman, the victor of the battle of Tellīru (c. 830-854 A. D.)^a. This introductory ode is in praise of Śiva, describing this God as conceived after Āgama doctrines became popular in the VI to the IX centuries A. D. This Perundē-

^a Vide my Tamil book on the 'Pallavas' p. 129.

yanār seems to have taken a great interest in the collections of the poems of an earlier age, for he has provided introductory odes in praise of Śiva also to the Agam four hundred and also to Aīngurunūru, in praise of Muruga to the Kurundogai, and to the Nappinai, a translation of a sloka of the Viṣṇu Sahasranāma.

Four other Anthologies of later poems:

Besides these four anthologies there are four others, called the five short hundred (Aīngurunūru), the tenfold Ten (Padiṛguppattu), the Paripāḍal, and the Kali one hundred and fifty. These are not anthologies of floating poems like the former, but the first (Aīngurunūru) consists of a hundred poems belonging to each of the five tīnais, each hundred being composed by one poet for the purpose of illustrating the rules regarding them ; so the Kali one hundred and fifty contains five sets of about thirty each, in a metre different from that of the former, but composed with the same purpose. The Paripāḍal is again another form of poetry, and contains poems on special topics, like the river Vaigai, the God Tirumāl, or the God Murugan. The Tenfold Ten are poems sung to celebrate the glories of a series of Sēra kings. These latter four collections are characteristically different from the former four, in that these contain only occasional poems, whereas those were composed on set purpose to illustrate a set theme. The idea of composing poems following the canons of literary criticism as set forth in Tolkāppiyānār's Poruladigāram became current in later times. Moreover the poems that make up the later four anthologies belong to the time when the Aryan conceptions of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the methods of their worship taught in the

Āgamas had established themselves in the Tamil country, or, in other words, the Tamils had been Aryanized in thought and culture. While these poems still keep up the old Tamil poetic conventions, their religious ideas are modified by those of the Āgamas. Therefore some of the poems that constitute the four early anthologies are much earlier than those belonging to these later four. In a later age, when all these poems were thought to be old ones, these anthologies got the joint-name of ēttuttogai, the eight collections.

The Pattuppāṭṭu :

There is another anthology of ten long poems, called the Ten Songs. The Ten Songs are all long odes of varying lengths, the shortest containing 103 lines and the longest, 782. The earliest of them, called Porunarōṛuppāṭṭai, which sings about Karikālan in the earlier part of his reign, must have been composed a little before 400 A.D. and the latest, Tirumurugōṛuppāṭṭai, probably belongs to the end of the VI century. The gradual increase of Sanskrit words and the growing Aryanization of the country is very noticeable from the earliest of these Ten Songs to the latest and can be used as an auxiliary test of the age of the composition of each of these songs, in addition to the historical references in them. These ten poems do not greatly differ from the odes of the early four anthologies in poetic style and literary conventions and differ from them chiefly in the length of each piece. They are invaluable for the purpose of constructing complete pictures of the lives led by the Tamils between the IV and VI centuries A. D.

The Eighteen minor poems :

There is a third set of books called the Eighteen minor poems (*Padinenkilkkāṇakku*). The general characteristic of these is that they consist generally of stanzas of two to four or five lines each. Some of these eighteen poems were composed to illustrate the old literary rules with regard to poems of love and war and may be said to continue the old tradition. The others, and especially the chief of them, the *Tirukkural*, introduces into Tamil a kind of poetry, totally absent from older Tamil literature, *viz.*, didactic poetry. Most edifying from a spiritual point of view, but constituting from an artistic point view yards of dreary didactic poetry, unrelieved by poetic images, this new kind of literature was a blend of the teachings of the Sanskrit (*Dharma* and *Artha*) *Sāstras* and the super-terse style of the *sūtras*, totally foreign to the muse that inspired the early anthologies and the *Paituppāṭṭu*. The age of this didactic poetry of the eighteen-collection began in the end of the V century and ran on to the VIII. To a modern man of the XIX or XX century all the poems above referred to are old, which means nothing so long as the word 'old' is not defined. Unfortunately it has become the fashion to treat these three groups of anthologies as if they all belonged to one age—of one century or so—and to draw unhistorical conclusions therefrom, which has to be deprecated by all scholars who desire to study the evolutionary history of Tamil literature.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE 500 B. C. TO 1 B. C.

Love in the hill-country :

All the available references to the Tamil kings or kingdoms during this period in the Pali or Sanskrit literature of Northern India and Ceylon have been mentioned in two previous sections. A vast amount of Tamil literature must have been composed during these five centuries ; otherwise Agattiyānār and Tolkāppiyānār, as will be pointed out in a later chapter, could not have composed their wonderfully accurate grammars of the Tamil language. This literature is believed to have entirely perished ; but I think some of the oldest odes in the existing anthologies may belong to this period. A few of them are anonymous ; perhaps this anonymity is due to the fact that being very old poems, the names of the authors had been forgotten by the time they were included in the anthologies. Moreover such poems are characterised by the fact that Sanskrit words do not occur in them. Moreover the customs referred to in them are pure Tamil ones ; there is no reference at all to Aryan ideas. Hence they may be taken as relics, all too few, of this period. I shall now quote a few of these poems, each characteristic of one of the five regions (*tinsi*) of the Tamil land. These will enable the reader to reconstruct a picture of the life led by the Tamil people in those far off days. It will be found that this life was almost the same as that of the preceding and of the succeeding period. The spontaneity of love is vividly described in the following short ode. " What

are my mother and your mother to each other? (Nothing). What is the relationship between my father and your father? (Nothing). How did we come to know each other? Like the water which falls on a fertile field, the loving hearts have blended with each other¹. Then, as ever, lovers were inconstant. The love-lorn maiden had to lament desertion. "I am stuck up to this place. When the elephant frightened by the sound of the sling of the guardians of the millet-field leaves hold of the green bamboo, it shoots up like the fish-hook (when a fish has been caught); so my heart has gone to the place (where I first met him")². Gossiping neighbours have ever interfered with the course of true love; and the foster-sister of the victim of love advises her in cryptic language to throw discretion to the winds. "The hill-chief, whose breast is daubed with sweet sandal paste, from whose neck hangs a garland of flowers, whose hair is decorated with the water-lily (symbol of love), and who comes to our house and goes away at midnight, longs for your embrace. The red-eyed terrible tiger stalks the frightened elk (i.e. the neighbours try to expose your

¹ யஷும் யஷும் யாரை திருச்சோ
தெக்கூடபு அக்கூடபு தெம்புகூருக் கேள்வி
யானுக்குப் பொல்வழி மற்றுள்
தெம்புவப் பெப்பிஸ் போவ
யன்புகை தெஞ்சுக் காங்காங்காவ.

Kur. 40.

² யாரே மீண்டு பேரே யென்னன்
கொன்ற காயலர் காங்காங்கு வெர்த்துக்
காரை யாரை காவிடு பங்கங்கூபு
மீனைத் தாங்குவி விவக்குக்
ஏனை நாடுதனு டாங்கடாபுக் கங்கோ.

Ib. 54.

love intrigues). Hence this is no time for secrecy. Therefore, simple maiden, open the door (and let every one know)"³. The lover delays the celebration of the formal marriage which, according to the social-laws of the community, ought to crown the long-drawn course of love, and the foster-sister thus remonstrates with him:—"Oh hill-chief, in your country the clouds which have poured rain rest on the hills. The rivulet from the high hill wherefrom hang honey combs falls down with a roar. From the branches of the beautiful vēngai trees, in the morning the golden flowers scatter sweet scent. The handsome peacock covered with the pollen dust, along with its mates on the green crag, enjoys the rays of the young sun. To whom have I to describe the love-sickness of my friend so as to dispel the pain caused by your breast? Whenever you came to embrace her you spoke sweet words, but now you do not realize that you can save her from harm by marrying her and you hesitate to do so. To whom can I complain about this (but to you")?⁴ These poems belong to the class

³ மிலைசேர், அஞ்சென்று காங்கி ஒரு மரப்பினங்க
களைப்படுக குவளைக் கரும்பார் கண்ணிய
ஏதிடங்க் காது கம்மனைப் பேயரும்
மட்யார வரினாசின் மாப்பம ரின்றுவை
மன்ற மக்ரார விரிய கூறுட்டிச்
செங்க எனிரும்புவி குழும மதனுங்
மக்ரத்தற் காலையோ வன்றே
திருப்பால் வாழிவேண் டங்கைங் கதோ.

Kur, 321.

⁴ பெற்குபோ கெழிலி வயதுமலை சேஷ
குத்தாக் குயர்வைர யகுவி மாப்ப
கேங்கை தாந் கெற்பணி என்னுட்
பொஷனி என்ன பூஞ்சினை தழைகுத்

Kuriñji, i.e. those that deal with the pre-nuptial love, characteristic of the hill-country.

Lovers in Mullai:

Mullai, that of the wooded region, deals with the intense longing caused by the temporary separation of lovers. The lover, returning from a war, thus addresses his charioteer. "Our king has concluded his war. On the hill-streams the blue lily blooms bright as maiden's eyes. In the broad forests of vēngai trees which scatter their flowers all round, the humming bees spread in all directions. Our soldiers, after marching along the road straight like a long street, have stopped at different spots. The hoofs of the horses tread upon the thick petals of the white kāndal (Gloriosa superba) which look like broken bangles made of chank. Have the crows shown omens prognosticating the near approach of my strong shoulders to my loving wife whose forehead is covered with beauty spots and whose words are sweet and who is consoling my son with stories?"* The pangs of separation,

காத்தா தாடிய கவின்பெற தேவை
 பாசுறர் மீபிசைக் கணக்கார்பு இாவிற்
 துறகதி ரின்பெயி துண்டு ஏட
 விரிந்மார் பணக்கிய சென்ல வருபோ
 யார்க்குரெர் துறைக்கோ யாரென பண்ணு
 காமர் கவிசெர் சொல்லி
 யேம்மென் நலுங்கம் ஸியக் கிளையே

Nag. 396.

- * இறையு மருக்கொழின் முடித்தெனப் பொறைய
 கண்பேர் எல்லு கணிதோற மூர
 வீதா வேங்கைய வியலெடுப் புறவி
 விரிம்பென் பறைய விஞ்சுகிலை விரிய
 கொடிக்கெர வண்ண சேர்கோ ஜெடுவழி

however short, were, it seems, unbearable. Thus in the presence of her foster-sister weeps a maiden. "The sun is set, the mullai has flowered. The anger of the sun is cooled down in the evening. If I have to swim for my life, do you think that the flood of darkness is broader than the ocean?"⁶⁶

Pangs of separation in Neydal:

With the Neydal, coastal region, is associated the longer separation which makes the heart of the maiden bitter. "My natural beauty is withered; my shoulders have lost their handsomeness; my soul is soured; I do not sleep at nights; my face has become sallow. Is this ruin the fruit of my laughing so as to show bright teeth and playing with the lord of the harbour, where the white crane cries, and where the waves break and scatter the flowers of the cool sweet-

வினாய சேகுவனர் பரிப்ப கலையெனக்
காத்தல் வள்ளிக்கும் கல்குளம் பறப்பக்
தோன்றவில் யாப்ப வீண்டும் சுவினைப்
புன்னறி அறிவியின கொல்வோ தென்னிதித்
காதல் செழுப்பை வத்த கேடின்
புதல்வற் காட்டிப் பொய்க்குர்
திழுலை யல்குற் சேமெற்றி யாட்டோ.

Nar. 161.

6. எல்லை கழிய மூல்லை மூர்
கதிர்சினங்க கணிக்க ஈசுவர மாலை
ஏழிகர வரம்பாக சிகிஞ் மாயி
ஒன்றாக கொல் வாழி தோழி
கங்குல் வெள்ளங்க கடலினும் பெருதே.

Kur. 387.

smelling forest": This is how the foster-sister consoles a love-lorn lady: "The young fisher lads whose work is hard desire to catch with their well-plaited nets shoals of fish, including the shrimp which has a soft head, thin as the flower of the cassia which grows in the forest. Like the cruelly strong hunter lads who get up trees for frightening the deer, the young fishermen get into the fishing boats and go across the wilderness of waters, capture the shark with the saw-like mouth and other strong fishes, cut them up and fill their boats with their meat. They return to the shore and unload them on the sand spread by the winds round the salt-pans. In the fishing villages near those salt-pans there will be a bustle when your lover arrives in his chariot."⁷ The poet takes advantage of the conventional association

7 தொங்கவின் கிருஷ்ண தோண்டலாகி சாதி
யல்ல கொஞ்சமே டாங்காக் குஞ்சாது
பசுவை யாகி விஸிவது கொல்வோ
வெண்குருகு காலாக் கண்கமல் கானற்
பூமலி பொதும்பர் காங்கர் மயக்கி
விவங்குதியை புகட்டாருக் காநாவனே
நிலங்கெயிறு தோன்ற எங்கள் பயட்டு.

Kur. 381.

8 அத்த விருப்பைப் பூவி என்ன
துப்தலை பிறவொடு தொண்டமீன் பெற்றியர்
வரிவலைப் பரதவர் கருவினைச் சிருஉர்
மாங்கமேற் கொண்டு மாங்கணர் தண்டமர்
வெங்கிற விளையார் வேட்டெடழுச் தாங்குத்
தியின்மேற் கொண்டு நிரைச்சர சீதி
யாங்காய்க் கந்தவாடு வயமின் செண்டு
திணங்கெய் தேங்கிய ரிதுமண பிழிதலும்
பெருக்கழிப் பாக்கக் கங்கென
வருமே தோழி கொண்கன் கேட்கே.

Nar. 111

of the sea-coast with the long separation of lovers and describes fisherfolk and their ways.

Long parting in Pälai:

In the kind of poetry called Pälai is described either the going away of the lover to distant countries which lie beyond forests or the pangs of the mother and other relatives when the girl elopes with the lover. A specimen of the former is this. 'My lover (though of a rich family) has not had the experience of the domestic life wherein the householder can cure the distress of beggars; he frequently praised my eyes, my shoulders, my cool, sweet-smelling hair and my forelap covered with beauty spots and was here till yesterday. Today he is gone, they say, to the treeless desert, which stretches vast like the sea and where the deer mistakes the mirage for water. He has gone by himself to the hot desert where the sun stays long and where the wild mango-tree grows on the brackish soil, where the alkali looks like the drops of butter which lie strewn on the pot made of clay and baked, in which curds are churned, the butter drops having been melted by the heat and made incapable of being gathered '.

" கண்ணும் தேராக்க தண்ணாறச் சதப்புக்
கிடலை யங்கவும் பலவா ராட்டி.
ஒன்றால் விளைய மன்றே வின்டோ
பெருக் கொப்பில் சூவை வெண்டே
மாணி வீளிவை மாண்சை யநூல்து
காலிமட்ட தெம்பின் மங்கத் தின்ற
பிறவர வெண்ணை புருப்பிடத் தண்ண
வகுவெழு கனரி யோணமயக் காட்டி
வெயில்விற் திருக்க வெம்பலை யகுங்க
பெருவ கெண்ப தாலே தம்வலி
விரைவேஷர் மாற்ற வாற்று
விஸ்வேஷ வாழ்வை வங்வா சொரே.

Nar. 84.

Notwithstanding the fact that love-marriges were the norm, no mother would like to bear the pangs of desertion when her daughter elopes with her lover. Even if the mother did not disapprove of the girl's seeking her happiness in her own way, she would be distressed by the ridicule of her neighbours. Hence the following bitter laments. "The large-eared calf of the buffalo recently calved was sleeping in the stable where the pollen dust was fallen. She left us sleeping in the cool, large house, being intoxicated by the false words of her lover and desirous to go to his distant land. My daughter, whose eyes, touched with collyrium, looked like the blue lily, ate the sweet fruit dropped down from the young Nelli tree and drank the waters of the spring (and left me). May Death, which did not carry away my life so that I might be buried in an urn, before I had to go in search of her in the evening moonlight which looks like the strips of the tender palm leaf cut and spread on the ground, himself die and be buried in a large urn ¹⁰.

10. இரும்புளிற் தெஞ்சூலம் பெருந்தெவிக் குழல்
 வைக்தா தெகுவின் கைகுதூயின் மடியுள்
 செழுங்கண் மனோயோ டெம்மில தெழுப்பியச்
 செல்பெருங் காளை பொம்மருங்கி சேப்காட்டுச்
 சுலைக்காய் கெவ்விப் போக்கருங் பொங்கர்
 வீழ்க்கடைத் திரங்கா யொருங்குடன் நின்ற
 வீசுளைச் சிறார் குடியினன் ஏழித்த
 குவளை யுண்கணைச் சுக்கோ ரண்ண
 செப்போற் செட்டிப் பெய்த வாய்
 மாலைவிரி சிலவிற் பெயர்புறக் காண்டற்கு
 மாயிருக் காழி களிப்பத்
 தாயின்ற ஏழிசெவற் கொள்ளாக காற்றே.

With the lapse of time abnormal manifestations of the love-instinct began to develop and become the subject of love-poetry (Agam). One was the extremely violent way in which a rejected lover behaved. This was called 'mounting the (Palmyra) stem', madalērudal. Two odes of a later age may be quoted to illustrate this:—"If love becomes violent, they wear garlands of the unblown flower of the erukku (*edotropis gigantea*). They proclaim aloud (their troubles) in the streets. They do other things (such as committing suicide)"¹¹
 "The young man mounts the stem of the large-headed palmyra, wears on his breast a garland of gems, and another of white bones, comes out in the streets so that others may ridicule him, giving up at once all shame. The maiden who walks slowly so that her cloth glitters, is still stern, notwithstanding my mediation"¹²

The playmates of an obdurate maiden report to her:—"A man has made a horse, which does not require food, with the stem of the palmyra leaf, hung small bells

¹¹ மருவன மடலு ஸுர்ப பூஷெனக்
 குவிமுகி தழுகுச்சக் கண்ணப்புஞ் குடிப
 மதகி னுர்க்கவும் பழிப
 பிறத மாகுப காமக் காற்க்கொளினே.

Kuf. 17.

¹² விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை விழையன் மாமடன்
 மணியனி பெருக்தாச் மார்பிற் பூட்டு
 வெள்ளென் பணிர்துபிற தெள்ளத் தெள்ளறி
 யொருாண் மருங்கிற் பெருநா வீங்கிற்
 தெருவி எரியலவுஞ் தருவது கொல்லே
 கவிஞரவி ரகசைடைப் பேநை
 மெலிக்கில ஞாம்பிடற் கணம்த ஞாச.

Ib. 182

to it and tied it with straps. He has worn a garland of the short buds of the calotropis gigantea and mounted it and young boys are dragging the horse along the streets behind us."¹³

This kind of poetry, called Perundinai, is interesting because, after 600 A. D. when devotional songs began to be composed, it gave birth to a special kind of devotional songs called Madal, where the devotee is the person whose love is not accepted and the Lord, the object of devotion.

Ordinary life of the people:

The daily life of the people, other than the pre-occupations of love, must also have been depicted in the poems of this period, but as they are all lost the poems of the next period are quoted below to help to form a picture of the daily life of the people, region after region. There could not have been much difference between the lives of the people in the two periods.

In the hill regions:

An idea of life in the hill country can be got from the following ode which embodies the hopes of the heroine for a speedy celebration of the formal marriage ceremony which is the culmination of a love-adventure.

"At midnight, the wide-mouthed bear, searching for food, on seeing a snake's nest covered with bent lines, breaks it and roars so as to frighten the cobra within,

¹³ சிறுவனி தொட்டத் தெப்பக்கச்ச சிற்றிழக்
குறமுகி மூருக்கங் கணவனி குட
யன்னு வன்மூர் பாஷனி யெம்முடன்
மஹகுடன் திரிதலுஞ் சிறகுத மாக்கன்-

and stands, drawing a long breath, like the bellows of the blacksmith. As at such a time he comes to me, I am full of fear for his safety. Hence if I beg him to marry me, he will do so without delay and take me to his house in the hill-country, where the elephant roars at dawn and awakes the hill-men who wear garlands of Veṅgai flowers, so that they might take their bulls and thresh the soft stalks of the panicum and stack the straw on the rock which is as broad as the threshing floor of the agricultural regions."¹⁴

"The demons are abroad and the village has not gone to sleep. The watchmen who guard this village and sing the Kujiñji tune so as to frighten the hearers, are awake. The striped tiger roars at the foot of the hill ready to fight the strong elephant. In the middle of the long night when the rain is pouring on the hill side, the serpent on hearing the thunder vomits out the blue gem it possesses. Though my shoulders have

¹⁴ இயாதை ரெண்டின் பகுவர் யேற்றை
கொடுவசிப் புற்றம் காப்பிப் பாக்கி
ஷ்வரா கடிக்க ஏர்த்த கொல்வ
ஊதனைக் குருதி ஹுன்னுயிர்த் தகடு
கடிராள் வருத வஞ்சதும் யாமென
யாவர்த்தயர் விரக்குவ மாவி அம்மை
கன்னுச் யதுவை கடி நீடின்ற
ஈம்மொடு தெல்வசம்த் தேழி மெல்ல
யேங்கை கண்ணிய ரெலுதெறி காமர்
கிளக்கண் டண்ண வகன்டட் பரசுறை
மென்றினை கெடும்போர் புரிமார்
அஞ்சகளி நெடுப்புக்கத் தெப்புக்க ஞட்டே.

become lean for longing for him, I wish he will not come to me over such a road "¹⁵.

One of the duties of the girls of the hill-country was to watch the fields of panicum when the corn was ripening. That is why there were plenty of opportunities for meeting their lovers. When the season for harvesting arrived, the girls were confined to their houses. Hence the playmate of a maiden stricken with love thus laments :—" The spikes of the millet (have ripened) in this weather, when it is so hot that the wide waves of the sea look as if they would dry up. Our people will not only garner them but will confine you to your house. How can you wander along with the hill-chief on the black millet-field which lies on the side of the hill which smells sweet with gold-coloured flowers of the tall Vengai tree, scare away the red-mouthed green parrot, bathe in his company in the mountain-stream close by, and daub on your person the paste of the sandal which grows on the forest near and is so sweet-smelling as to attract bees? I fear your love to each

¹⁵ குழுதாகல் கிளர் ஆஸ்வத் தன்டே
யுகுகெழு மரபிற் குறிஞ்சி படிக்
கடிபுகட வியணகர்க் கானவர் தஞ்சூர்
வயக்களிறு பொருத் யான்வரி வேங்கை
கன்றுமகச் சிலம்பிற் குழுமு மன்னே
மென்றே யைகிழ்ச்தாம் குருக்கிழு மின்றாவர்
வாரா ராய்நே என்றுமற் றில்ல
வயர்வரை யடிக்கத் தொலிறபு மின்ஸிப்
பெயல்கான் மயக்கிய பொழுதுகறி பானு
ஷ்ருமணி யாவத்தேர்க் குழல
வகுமுசிவக் தெறிபு மோக்குவரை யாதே.

other will shrink and disappear. How shall we remedy this, my friend ?”¹⁶

In the desert-country :

“ In the village of the arid country near the long hill whose surface is cracked, after sunset, they eat their scanty food and, not knowing the full downpour of rain, get dirty water from the pits in the rock belonging to the ruined village temple. At nights, dressed in red-dyed garments, with excellent quiver, the highway robbers watch the fearsome road.”¹⁷ The most easily available food in this region was the wood-apple. “ The tall wood-apple tree has roots which crack the soil, large boughs, and scales (on its bark) like those of the iguana. When

¹⁶ யாக்துசிசெய் அங்கெர ஜேவி பொன்வீ
வெங்க மோக்கிய தேவமத சாரத்
பெருஷ நூட்டு நூகும்புனத் தல்லிச்
செங்காறுப் பைங்கிளி போப்பி யங்காறுப்
பெருங்கார எதிர்க்கத் தகுவி யாடுச்
சார லாரம் வண்டிபெட கிலிப்
பெரிதமர்க் தினைக்க வேண்ணம் சிறங்கி
யரியபோவுக் காண்பேன் விரிதிரைக்
கடல்பெயர்க் கலைய யாகிப்
புள்பெகக் கொண்டன வேநாத் குவே,

Nar. 259.

¹⁷ படிசுட ஏக்டாக் பகுவாப் பெஞ்சார
முரக்புசேர் சிறகுடிப் பரங்க மாலைப்
புலம்புட்ட இண்ணும் புல்லென் மன்றத்துக்
கல்லுக்கடப் படுவிற் தழுவி தட்டு
கிளாபெய எழியாக் குறைக அள்ளிற்
துயர்செய யாக்டாச் செக்கொக்கட மறை
நத்த தல்து மஞ்சுவரு தெறி.

Nar. 33 ll. 1—7.

the stalk of its fruits breaks, they fall down and look like balls left by children after their play is over on the green grassy plain which looks like a carpet. (The people of the Pälai) eat the fruit as their principal food."¹⁸

In the pastoral tracts:

In the pasture lands, the tenders of cattle led as jolly lives as the people of the mountainous tracts. "In the small (pastoral) villages with broad fields, the herdsman who tends sheep wears the white short-stalked flowers from the shrunk boughs of the Kurā-shrub in the small dry-grain fields."¹⁹

"Her husband's cloth is well-washed, but, after he put it on, he (dirtied it by wiping on it) the thin fingers which are like the November flowers, with which he has stirred the thick curds and which he has not washed. He is eating the tamarind soup, which she cooked for him and on which she has thrown aromatics, after frying them so that the sweet-smelling smoke entered her lily-like eyes which had been daubed with eye-paint; and

¹⁸ பார்பத வீழ்ச் சேகுடை விழுஷ்செடி
இலம்புடைச் சுன்ன செம்பெரி விளவி
ஞட்டெடாறி பந்திற் சோட்டுமுச் சிறபு
கம்பலாற் சுன்ன ஸபம்பயிர்த் தாகும்
வெள்ளில் வல்லி.

Nar. 24, II, 1-5.

¹⁹ சொல்லைக் கோவலர் குறும்புணங்க் கேட்க
குறுங்காற் குவிம் குவியைச் சுன்னு
ஈடுகூட விலைகூக்க குடப் பூங்கும்.

Nar. 266, II, 1-3.

when she looked at it, her bright face beamed with delight." ²⁰

"The lord of the land where sound the drums and the bull-roarer also, made by splitting the end of the stick of the bamboo, near the mountain spring which looks like liquor poured on a sapphire bowl, embraced my shoulders long ago in the white moonlight. Now the mullai bud has begun to smell sweet." ²¹.

"The mullai spreads on the Kalli whose head resembles the king-fisher which grows in the pebbly Pälai tracts. The shepherd who drives to pasture herds of sheep with shaking heads, with strong hands plucks during the nights the sweet-smelling mullai flower and strings; then along with the white young leaves of the palmyra; these garlands spread perfume along the streets of my village which are decorated by them" ²².

²⁰ முளிதமிர் பிளைக்க செந்தன் செல்விரல்
சமுதா வளிங்க முாதி துக்குத்
குவிச புங்கன் குப்புக்க கமநக்
நாங்குத் தட்ட சீம்புளிப் பாக்க
நினிதெனக் கணவ ஆங்கடலி
ஆங்கவிதின் மழிதங் கேங்குதங் முடோ.
Kup. 167.

²¹ மட்டங் பெய்த மணிக்கலக் கண்ண
விட்டிவர்ச் சினைய பகுவாய்த் தட்டகைப்
பகுறவிற் கறங்கு காடன்
கூருஸ்வைத் திங்க ஜெஷிவையை வீவவின்
மணக்களன் மண்ணனைக் கொடோ
இன்றமுள்ளை முகைய நம்மே. Kup. 193.

²² பாற்றலை போகிய சிர்த்தலைக் கன்னி
கீரிகைக் கலித்த வீது முள்ளை
யாடுகலைக் தருவின் கேருதலைப் பெயர்க்கும்
யங்கை விகடய ஜெங்கிலிப் பரிது
வெங்கோற் தகதுமிய வலக்கலர் கொடலை
மறதுடன் கமழு மரினை
சிரகுடு. Naf. 169, ll. 4-10.

* In the dawn when the darkness disappears the boys who tend cattle mount on the backs of the buffaloes and take them out to pasture. The boys leave their calves in the stall, so that (on their return in the evening) they could draw from the broad-headed black buffalo a large quantity of sweet milk ***.

In the sea-side region :

The daily routine of the pleasant life led by the girls of the sea-side region can be inferred from this ode sung by the playmate of the heroine :—

" Friend, may you live long! Tell me, flocks of herons after preying on the fishes in the dark salt-marshes, fly in rows to the nests built on the curved palmyra leaves and sleep there in the dark. To the white sandy plain round the groves of these palm trees, you go along with your playmates in the morning, pluck the leaves of the wet water-lily which has flowers smelling sweetly of honey and clothe yourself in garments of the leaves curved in different directions. You run about and play in front of the hut which is adorned with designs drawn with flour; you delight in looking at the red crabs, which run in pairs below the roots of the Pandanus, whose stem is bent and is beaten by the waters of the sea smelling of fish. (Tell me) what illness has made you give up these games "++.

²³ மன்ற வெருமை மலர்தலைக் காரக
விளக்கிம் பாத்பயக் கொண்டார் கன்றுவிட
சீக்குற மாக்கண் உமர்த்தாண்டு ஏழியும்
பெரும் குள் விழுவின்.

Nar. 80, II, 1-4.

²⁴ உரையாக் வாழி தோழி விழுங்காதி
யிருவார் குருதி விளைப்புறத் தொழுதி

In the river-valleys :

The kind of life led in the river-valleys can be inferred from the following extracts :—“ (The nurse) would take with one hand a broad, bright gold cup of white milk sweetened with honey and raise with the other a small thin stick, with flowers wound round it, and say, ‘ eat this ’; the girl would run about, sounding her anklets filled with clear, bright pearls. The nurse whose soft hair was grey would run after her, but could not catch the child, who would run to the pandal in front of the house and reply, ‘ I will not eat it.’ So playful was the child ”¹⁵.

வாங்குமடற் குடம்பைத் தாக்கிருட் இன்றும்
பெண்ணே யோத்திய வெண்மனை படப்பைப்
கான ஸாய்மொடி காலைக் குற்ற
கட்சம் மூல சண்னதால் காலி
யம்பகாச தெற்றதழை யானிபெறத் தாடு
வரிபுணை சிற்றிற் பரிசிநீச் சோடிப்
புவாதிலை புஞ்சத்த சோடிச்தாட் சண்டற்
செம்பே சிரணை யலவற் பார்க்குஞ்
சிறவினை யாட்டு மழுங்க
தினக்குப்பெருக் துயர மாகிய சோயை.

Nar. 123.

¹⁵ பிரசங் கலக்த வெண்கலைப் பிம்பால்
விரிசதிஸ்ப் பொற்றலைத் தொருகை யேக்திப்
புடைப்பிற் கந்தும் பூத்தலைச் சிறுசோ
துண்ணைச் சூருக்குப் புடைப்பைத் தெண்ணைச்
முத்தசிப் பொற்றிலம் பொலிப்பைத் தத்துற்
நரிசைக் கட்சற் செங்குத செவிலியர்
பரிடு மெளிச்தொழியப் பக்த சோடி
யெங்க் மறக்குஞ் சிறவினை யாட்டு.

Nar. 110 ll. 1—8.

" You, ploughmen, who have yoked the buffalo and are ploughing the field, you have built up many stacks of paddy, which look like artificial hills. You open your eyes when the cool dawn breaks. Your hands hunger for balls of rice mixed with soup in which bits of the meat of the black-eyed varñi-fish float. You eat to the full and go along with your wives to plant the seedlings in the wet clay "¹²⁶. The daily duty of the daughter of the house was to cook food : and the lover, posing as a candidate for the hospitality of her parents manages to get a sight of her and incidentally gives us an idea of the house-hold arrangements in an agricultured village. " The soft-gaited calves of the crooked-horned buffalo are tied to every pillar (in front) of the house. In that fair house, delightful to see, my fair sweetheart, bright and buxom, of languid looks, who wears round ear-rings and has slipped a small ring on her slender fingers, has cut plaintain-leaves till her hands have become red ; and as their stalks are thick, she split them in pieces, so as to serve as eating-trays. Her eyes are filled with the smoke of cooking. Drops of sweat stand on her brows, fair like the crescent moon : she wipes the sweat with the hem of her garment, and stands in the kitchen, full of love to me. Let those who desire food come in with

¹²⁶ மீலகண் டன்ன திலையனர் சிவப்பிற்
பெருதெற் பங்கட் டெருமை யழவ
கண்பணட் பெருது தண்புவர் விழவிற்
கருக்கண் யராதுற் பெருத்து மிளிர்க்கையுடை
புர்க்கை யரிசிப் பொம்மற் பெருஞ்சேற
கூர்ப்பு கைகை கழும் மாந்தி
கீருத செறுவி ஞதழுட் யழுத்துள்ள
ஏடு தோடு சேற்.

me; if they do, this black, beautiful girl's eyes will not become red with anger; but on the contrary we will see her smiling, so as to display her small teeth, sharp like-thorns, and fit to be kissed by me"**.

Village Administration :

Life in Tamil India in the early times was almost entirely rural. The villages in those days were self-contained in a greater degree than now. The village administration did not require any complicated code of laws; what by way of laws the people wanted was supplied by custom. Whenever any trouble arose, the village elders met under the village tree, generally the banyan, as the lower orders of people do even today and settled their disputes over a pot of toddy. The open place under the tree was called podiyil, podiyam, or poduvil, the public place, also manru or manoram. Manoram originally meant the village common. The

** தடமகுப் பெருமை மட்டக்கட்சி குழவி
ஊன்றெடாறும் யாத்த காண்டகு என்விற்
கொடிக்குறைய பெய்த செழுஞ்செப் பேநை
சிறுதாற் செறித்த மெல்லிரல் சேப்ப
வரகை பிர்க்கடி வல்லிதின் வகைஇப்
புகையுன் டமர்த்த கண்ண உயகபெறு
பிங்காதற் பொறித்த சிறுதன் பஸ்விய
நாதுகிற் நலையிற் துடையின் ஜப்புவா
தட்டி வோனே யம்மா வரியை
யெம்பே, வருகதில் விருக்கே சிவப்பா என்ற
சிறியமூன் கெயிது தொன்ற
முதலுல் கொண்ட முகங்கான் கம்மே,

cattle of the village were herded there.²⁸ A plain field was usually set apart for public purposes and was also called manjam. To it 'soft-shouldered women' resorted.²⁹ In every (such) field the Kuravai was danced³⁰.

In this plain was planted the characteristic tree of the region. Thus we hear of the margosa on the plain which belonged to the Pāndya and from which he got leaves to adorn his head with. Thus Neđuñijeliyan adorned himself with the bright tender leaves from the big branch of the margosa on the plain, made into a garland along with the long vine of the uliñai before he started to fight with his enemies.³¹ "He bathed in the cool tank in front of his ancient town, wore the tender

ஈடுபயிற் குறை மன்ற செற புகுதலு, 'bellowing so as to invite the calves, (the cows) entered the common and filled it.' Agam. 14, l. 11. This line occurs without any change in Kuriñjippatti, l. 218. Puram 387 speaks of மன்ற செறபு தொ, 'rows (of cattle) which fill the common', l. 24. 'The murderous bull strayed over the common', வெள்ளேற திரிதலு மன்றம், Pur. 309, l. 4.

²⁸ Puram 373 says that on the death of some heroes women ceased to go to the manjam.

வெள்ளேற மகளிர் மன்றம் போன்ற. l. 12.

²⁹ மன்ற தொறு சீற்ற துவை. Maduraikkāñji, l. 615. Periyatirumoli, 11-2-2-12, says Kṛṣṇa danced the Kuravai, in the manju. மன்றில் குரவை பின்சுத் தாஸ்.

³⁰ மன்ற செம்பிள் மரச்சிலை வெண்டலீர்

செடுங்கெடுத் துழிக்குப் பல்வராடு மின்சுத்து

செறிவத் தொடுத்த செம்பாம் கண்ணி

Pur. 76, ll. 4—6.

leaves of the margosa on the plain^{**} and went to the battle-field. Other trees growing on the common, characteristic of other regions were the jack^{††}, the wood-apple^{‡‡} the alandalai^{§§}, the jujube^{¶¶}, the Alexandrian laurel^{||}.

The words Podiyil or mangam, also meant the open place under the shade of the tree, generally banyan, where the village elders met to solve village problems. This tree was in front of the village^{**}. Even the late poet Māmūlanār refers to its existence in his age^{††}, as it exists even to-day. When towns arose, kings built first, a public hut, then a public house or town assembly hall, and this was continued to be called by the same names. In them the cut branch of a tree, called Kandu or Kandam, was installed and the god residing in that post was worshipped with beat of drum.^{‡‡} As among the Āryas, in these assembly halls dicing, which in ancient days was associated with religious rites, was conducted. The following poem is a des-

^{**} முதர் காவிற் பனிக்கை மண்ணி
மன்ற வேங்பி நெண்குலை மனைக்கு

Pur. 79 II, 1—2.

^{††} Pur. 128, I. 1, 374, l. 5.

^{‡‡} Pur. 181, I. 1.

^{§§} Pur. 325, I. 11.

^{¶¶} Ib. 34, I. 12.

^{||} Nap. 49, I. 8.

^{**} முன்னூர்ப் பொதியில். Pur. 390, I. 19.

^{††} தொன்முதாவத்து தரும்பளைப் பொதியில், 'the place of meeting under the big branch of the old, well-grown banyan tree.' Agam 251, I. 8.

^{‡‡} பொதவிற் தங்கும் விசியுற தங்குவோம்.

Pur. 89, I. 7.

cription of an abandoned temple of the kind. "Once the long lines of evil-smelling smoke from the roasting of fish curled round the big curved boughs of the marudam tree growing on the fields. Now the village yields crops no longer, the god has abandoned the post in the temple where the drum was sounded and the offerings made, and the temple is in ruins ; in the pits made by the dice once rolled by the grey-haired elders, the many-spotted jungle-fowl lays eggs."⁴¹ Similarly the Nappinai refers to the water collected from pits in the ruined Podiyil⁴² ; in the same anthology there is another ode which describes the evening as the time "when the demon, whose ugly fingers are like the over-mature fruit of the murungai tree in summer and whose throat is strong, jumps up from its haunt in the ruined Podiyil for the purpose of eating the food mixed with flowers offered to the god of the prosperous village."⁴³

⁴¹ முன்கடி புகையின் புவங்காறு தெடிச்செடி
அயதுகை மருதின் வாக்குசிலை வளக்கும்
பெருகல் யானை தென்று யனிடை
வீடுகோழு கடவுள் கந்தன் கூவிடப்
பலிகண் மாறிய பாற்படு பொதியி
ஞாரமு தாளர் காயிடக் குழித்த
உல்லி யங்கை கிரையப் பல்பொறிக்
ஞார வாரண மீறும்,

Pug. 52, II, 9—16.

மன்றத்துக்

⁴² சுங்காடப் படுவிற் சுறுப்பி.

Ib. 39, II, 3—4.

⁴³ வெங்கின் முருக்கின் விளைதுண கண்ண
மானு விரல் வல்வாய்ப் பேளம்
மல்லன் முதார் மலர்ப்பயலி சுண்டுய
மன்றம் பேரழும் புங்கண் மாலை.

Nag. 73, II, 1—4.

In still later times a large-sized building was put up as a Town Hall, and it served also as a rest-house for poets and others who waited for royal bounty. Thus, "one side of the Town Hall (Podiyil), of many (wooden) columns, was a place of rendezvous."⁴⁴ All these places in the town were in later times used as resting places in processions of the temple-gods⁴⁵.

Now remains the question, who was the god who lived in the banyan tree, under which the village council was held, and in the post, Kandam, planted in the primitive hut, in which the village elders met? Before answering this question, it may be pointed that in the New Stone Age long before the times we are here dealing with, stone lingams were made obviously for purposes of worship. After the commencement of the age of metals (copper in Northern India and iron in Southern India), phallic emblems continued to be worshipped. What look like such have been unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. They are of two classes—chessmen-like objects, varying in height from half-an-

44

புங்கா

பூர்த்தியில் வெள்ளுக்குமினால் பஞ்சி யாக.

Pur. 375, II. 2-3.

பஞ்சி படி பரிசீலன, 'those that waited for royal bounty in the Town Hall'.

Ib. 135, I. 11.

45 மன்றமும் பூர்த்தியும் சுதாவுடை செய்யும்.

Tirumuruguruppapedai, I. 226.

The Town Hall of Uraiūr, which served also as the Hall of Justice, is referred to as பூர்த்தி மன்றம், in Pur. 220, I. 7. The commentator, however, interprets மன்றம் in this passage as சூரிய சாலை, 'race-course.'

inch to a foot or more and ringstones from half an inch to three or four feet in diameter. " Taken in conjunction with the circumstances in which some of them were found, these facts leave little doubt that there were objects of some cult-worship. One suggestion that has been made is that the ringstones were mace heads analogous to those found in Mesopotamia; but a more probable explanation, in the opinion of the writer, is that they were yonis and that the 'chessmen'-like objects were lingas. The yoni and the linga are well-known emblems of Siva throughout the length and breadth of India and there can be no question that the cult is one of the most ancient in the land, going back to a time long before the advent of the Aryans "⁴⁶.

To return to South India; it may be mentioned that Siva is in poems of the first half-millennium A. D. described as residing in the banyan tree. Puram 199 talks of the banyan tree where the god resides⁴⁷. Other poems distinctly refer to Siva being the god of the banyan tree⁴⁸; though these poems belong to the times when Aryan concepts had begun to enter Tamil poems, we may infer that the god in the post (Kandu) and the god in the banyan tree were the same and that as Siva was not a regional god in the early ages of Tamil poetry

⁴⁶ Sir John Marshall, Arch. Surv. of Ind. Ann. Rep. 1925-26, p. 79.

⁴⁷ சுநி சௌவி 1, 1.

சௌவி சௌவி, 'the Isvara residing in the banyan tree' is mentioned in Sivapāṇiprappadai, 1, 97, சௌவி சுநி, 'the god in the banyan tree,' Tirumurugāppadai, 1, 256, சௌவி சௌவி, 'the Isvara settled in the banyan tree,' Kalittogai, 81, 1, 9, 83, 1, 45

he was then a minor deity and rose to the position of the father of Murugan and ultimately the Great God when the Śaiva Āgama spread in the Tamil country in the V and VI centuries A. D. Rudra of North India was, in inception, a hill-god and married a hill-chieftain's daughter. He naturally became the god of Yogis who resorted to the hills for the performance of their mystic exercises. When he migrated to South India, the Śiva cult had attained a high development. But before that event, he seems to have been in the Tamil country a banyan-tree god, as he appears to be in the earliest available references in Tamil poems. Perhaps a lingam was planted under the banyan tree; otherwise it is impossible to see how he became the banyan-god. Lingams were placed before other trees as well, e.g., the marudam, the jujube, the jambolan, etc., and these became famous shrines after the V century when Śiva-worship began to prevail and Śiva-temples were built round these trees; these temples have now become some of the most famous Śaiva shrines of South India. The posts placed in temple-huts were also most probably intended to stand for lingams, and, having been cut from holy trees, possessed the holiness of both the tree and the lingam-shape.

Rise of Towns:

Towns first arose as the result of the barter of the products of one tract with those of another. The salt of the coastal region was a necessity in every other region; so from very early days strings of rickety carts passed along the mud-made roads carrying salt (and also dried fish) into the interior right up to the hill country, and salt carts and salt sellers are frequently referred to by poets. Thus "the lord of the crowd of

salt-sellers who appears on the hill" is addressed in Agam⁴⁹. In the same poem is referred to the hearth made of three stones made by the salt-vendors when they travelled in the desert country⁵⁰. To judge from the descriptions in the poems, very heavy bandy loads were thus transported. A king is compared to the strong bull which drags with strength out of holes in the road (in which had sunk) the many-felloed cart which carries to the hill-country the salt which grows from sea-water⁵¹. The carts were so heavily laden that the cart had to be provided with an additional axle tree, called the 'protecting axle-tree' (sēmavaceu). "The bulls are young and have not been broken to the yoke. The cart is overladen with articles of merchandize; so the salt-vendors have fixed the 'protecting axle-tree' below the (original) wooden one so that the cart may go uphill and downhill without disaster"⁵². The strings of carts always attracted the interest of young folk. "Girls on whose forelap waved the leaf-girdle made of

⁴⁹ குஞ்சித் தேவன்றக் குவலமண்ட் சேஷ்ப

Ib. 310, L. 10.

⁵⁰ உமண்சாத் திரந்த வொழில் வடிப்பு.

Ib. 119, L. 8.

⁵¹ சூழியப்பு முச்சுத கண்ணுடி கான்த் முடிக்கு

மாணரச் சாகாட் பாழ்ச்சி போக்கு

முரலுண்ட சேஷ்பகட் டன்ன வெங்கேள்.

Pur. 55, II. 6-9.

⁵² எருட்ச யினை தகழுண ராடை

சடை் பண்டம் பெரிதபெய் தன்றே

யவல்லியிலூ பைச யேற்றூ

மவண தறியுள் யாவென அமணா

கீழ்மரத் தியாத்த சேம வக்க.

Pur. 102, II. 1-5.

fully blown whole flowers of the water-lily which grows in the sweet spring on large hills and who have fair, cool eyes, and sweet smiles, mount on a heap of palm leaves in the garden where the gourds (pirkku and surai) grow in the cotton-strown front yard of a small house surrounded by a hedge of forked thorns on which straw was thrown. The girls keep counting the carts in which salt-vendors carry salt ⁵³.

If the transportation of salt was so heavy, we may well believe that other articles were carried on a much larger scale from region to region. Thus rice and cotton cloth were taken from the valleys to the drier region. The pulse and milk-products of mullai were taken to the region where wet-cultivation was carried on. The millets, honey and other hill products were carried to other regions. These articles were bartered in greatest quantities where the highlands (Mullai and Kurifiiji) met the lowlands and the great centres of barter developed into towns.

Hence the first towns arose when the dry land (punsey) and the wet land (nansey) met, i. e., at the junction where the river left its middle reaches and slowed down in the flat country. For this reason,

⁵³ தீர்ப் பெறுக்குண் சௌப்புத்த குவைக
உம்பவித் தூறுதெற் புரன்வரு மஸ்கு
வெட்டெழின் மதுமக வீள்ளுக்க மகலிர்
புன்றுக கவலைய முன்மிடை வேலிப்
பஞ்சி முன்றிற் சிற்றி வாக்கட்
பீரா ஏற்றிய கொமிவர் மருங்கி
வீத்திலைக் குப்பை வேறி வுமண
ருப்பொ வொழுகை யென்றுப.

the earliest towns of the Tamil country were Uraiyyūr, the capital of the Sōjas, Karūr, the capital of the Sēras, and Madura, the capital of the Pāndyas. These places are situated where the cotton of the cotton-growing localities could be brought down and woven into cloth, for the weaving of which these places were famous in old times, as they are today. The flourishing trade of these places enabled them to attain early the dignity of the capital towns of the Tamil kings. No description of these towns from early poems is available.

Chief seaports :

The great foreign trade of the Tamil country during this period brought about the existence of numerous seaports, such as were described in the next age by the author of the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy. From a story in the *Bauddha Jātaka* quoted in a previous chapter we learn the Kāviripattinum was the greatest seaport of the Sōjas in the first millennium B. C., as well as their secondary capital. Kōrkai, called by Sanskrit writers, Pāndya Kavāṭam, the gate-way of the Pāndyas, for a long time, wrested from Madura the honour of being the Pāndya capital and retained it till about the time of Ptolemy, the geographer, who says that the capital was recently shifted to Madura. Kōrkai's importance lay in the fact that it was the chief seat of the trade in pearls, so much prized by ancient peoples. The chief Sera ports were Muśīrī and Tondī, from where pepper and other spices were exported to the countries of Western Asia, Egypt and beyond.

Kings :

Kings in those primitive days had little administrative functions. What little was required by way of

administration was discharged by village assemblies in accordance with hoary custom. The three kings, Sōla, Sēra, and Pāndya, no doubt warred on each other frequently, but wars were more for displaying personal prowess and acquiring the status of a senior Rāja than for purposes of acquisition of territory. The boundaries of the three states were fixed once for all and were not altered during the ages notwithstanding success in arms. The three kingdoms met at the common vertex of the three triangles, at the spot where the Amarāvati flows into the Kāviri. At that spot there is a small temple, dedicated to Sellāyi—the dear Goddess or the Goddess of fortune—who enjoyed the devotion of all the three Rājas and the spot where it stands was a kind of undisputed no-man's land. A small river, which falls into the Kāviri there, and has the significant name of Karaipōttānāru, the river that marks the boundary, separated the Sēra dominions which extended to the west coast, from the Sōla territory which extended to the Bay of Bengal⁵². An artificial mound on the other bank of the Kāviri, traces of which still remain, marked the boundary between the Sōla and the Pāndya kingdoms. The Sōla capital was Uraiur down the river and the Sēra capital was Karūr up the river. The Pāndya capital was Madura, to the South.

The chief function of kings was to protect the land from cattle-lifters. Cattle was lifted either by predatory chieftains, the heads of Maṇavar or Kalāṭṭar clans, or by

⁵² This is perhaps the Kāriyāgu on whose banks died Neḍuṅgillī, referred to in the colophon to Pur. 47, and also in Mag. xix. 126. In the latter passage a battle on the banks of the Kāri near the Sōla frontier is referred to.

neighbouring Rājas as a challenge to the Rāja of the country. In either case the king wore garlands, both his own characteristic garland, viz., of Ātti flowers in the case of the Śōls, the Margosa leaves, of the Pāndya and the Palmyra leaves, of the Sēra, as well as the garlands of flowers symbolising the various stages of war. Besides protecting his subjects, the only other function of Rājas was to be surrounded by beggar-bards who eulogized them in their poems and were plied with food and drink as reward. The following poem, though of a later age, brings out these functions of royalty and is true of this age as of earlier and later ones. "Lord, whose bounty is never-ceasing and fights are terrible! your elephant looks like a hill. Lord, your army roars like the sea. Your sharp-pointed spear glitters like the lightning. Your prowess makes the heads of the kings of the world shake. This your faultless fame is nothing new....As the many rivers, which run down from the mountain, flow along the land turning towards the sea, so poets are turning to you" ⁵⁵.

" ஆன விசக மட்டபொ ரண்ணாளின்
வாளைய மீணவிற் கேள்தம் பெருமதின்
ஒன்றுக் கடவை முழுங்குக் கூறுவை
வேத வின்னின் விளக்கு முலகத்
தகரகதலை பணிக்கு மாற்றலை யாதவிற்
புராதிர்க் தன்றத புதுவதோ வன்றோ

.....
மீணவி விழிக்கு மாக்கட செனுக்கி
விலங்கை விழிதகும் பஸ்யாத போலப்
புலக செல்வா கிள்ளேஷ கின்றே.

CHAPTER XIV

FOREIGN TRADE FROM 600 B.C. TO 14 A.D.

Under Darius:

In 606 B.C. the Assyrian Empire was overthrown and soon after Babylon became the head-quarters of trade in Asia. The trading nations of the world—Yavanas, Jews, Phoenicians, Indians, and Chinese—took their wares to the Babylonian markets and the people of Babylon became so mixed that Aeschylus called them *pammikton hoclou*.¹ There was soon established in that town a colony of South Indian merchants, which continued to flourish till the VII century A.D. Among the business tablets of the great firm of Murashu and sons at Nippur (in the V Century B.C.) we find records dealing with merchants.² In 538 B.C. Cyrus destroyed the Babylonian empire. His successor, the great Darius in the V century B.C. helped the development of sea-trade by partly reopening the Suez Canal which had been originally dug by one of the Sesostrioses, about the XX Century B.C. and re-opened under the XVIII dynasty in the XV Century B.C. He added North Western India to his empire and this led to the revival of the ancient caravan trade across the Hindu Kush to Balkh and thence to the Euxine and that which skirted the Karmanian desert and thence went through Mesopotomia to Antioch. One important result of this was that silk first reached the West. "It has been supposed

¹ "A crowd of all (sorts of men) mixed up."

² J.R.A.S. 1917, p. 237. (Kennedy)

that the Greeks learned of silk through Alexander's expedition but it probably reached them previously through Persia."⁴ This land trade declined to some extent after Darius. Alexander, after conquering Egypt, founded the city of Alexandria, which became soon a great centre of trade between India and Europe. The great conqueror then sacked the city of Tyre and ruined its ancient trade. This dammed to some extent the flow of Indian trade to the West. After the death of Alexander anarchy reigned in Assyria; a new empire arose in Parthia; Scythian tribes began their raids on Bactria. These events led to the decline of the overland trade. Ptolemy I called Philadelphus (B.C. 285—246) strove to take advantage of it and develop the Red Sea trade to the advantage of Egypt. The Suez Canal was partially reopened and rendered available for commerce. Various caravan routes, provided with wells and stopping places, were opened between the Nile and the Red Sea. Ports were established where the routes terminated. Trade was limited to these ports and supervised by Government officials who levied duties. Egypt to some extent recovered her former wealth and glory. In the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were to be found Indian women, Indian hunting-dogs, Indian crows and Indian spices carried on camels.

Greek intermediaries : Consular Rome :

The Greeks were the greatest intermediaries of this trade of India with Europe, in the half-millennium that preceded the birth of Christ. One result of this extensive international commercial intercourse was that the Tamil names of South Indian articles of

⁴ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 264.

trade were borrowed by the Hellenes; they begin to appear in the works of Sophocles, Aristophanes, and others. They are Oryza from Tamil arisi; Karyion from karuva, cinnamon; Ziggiberos from Tamil iñjiver, (possibly through Sanskrit śringivera) ginger; peperi, from Tamil pippali, long pepper, since extended in the European languages to black pepper; beryllos from vaidūrya which was mined in ancient times in the Coimbatore district. The Romans of the earlier part of this age retained their original manly simplicity of life and did not yet hanker for luxuries. Hence Indian goods did not reach Rome in the early consular times. "What little trade there was, was not bought with Roman money, for Indian imports of that time did not include Roman specie. . . . Trade there may have been, probably was, along the old routes that had existed for hundreds of years; but Rome did not spread eastwards till the later years of the Consulate; Palmyra had not then opened its doors to adventurous Roman merchants. . . . Though Alexandria was taken by Julius Caesar in B.C. 47, the sea-borne trade must have been small in those days and very uncertain, being conveyed as it was in Arab boats along a coast infested with pirates. Whatever exports found their way to Europe from India at that period went probably to Greece rather than to Rome."^{*} These conclusions of Sewell's are based on the fact that very few consular coins have been unearthed so far in India.

Towards the end of this period, "successive conquests and spoliation of all the Mediterranean peoples had brought to Rome treasures as yet unexampled

* J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 593-594. (Sewell)

and a taste for the precious things of the East was developed almost overnight. The public triumphs of the conquerors of Asia Minor and Syria glittered with new treasures, for which the people clamoured."⁵ "The old frugal austerity had long given way before the attractions of luxury and wares of the far East were reaching Rome in some quantity at the end of the second century before Christ."⁶

In the beginning of the Empire:

Augustus conquered Egypt in 30 B. C. and he tried to develop a direct sea-trade between India and the Roman Empire. Strabo says that he saw in 25 B. C. about 120 ships sailing from Hormus to India.⁷ Embassies went to him "from several Indian states, for Augustus himself says that Indian embassies came frequently."⁸ Warmington thinks the Sēra, the Pāndya, and the Sōla monarchs of the time, each, sent separate embassies⁹. This led to the volume of India's trade with Rome in the time of Augustus expanding to huge proportions. About this trade Warmington remarks, "when we examine the volume of trade between Rome and India, even at its real beginning under Augustus, we are confronted at once with a phenomenon which has always been characteristic of commerce between England and India. From the very start the Roman empire was unable to counterbalance the inflow of Indian products by a return of imperial

⁵ Schöff's *Periplus*, p. 5.

⁶ Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷ MCrindle, *Anc. Ind.* p. 6.

⁸ Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹ Ib. p. 37.

products, with the result that the Romans sent out coined money which never returned to them."¹⁰ Apparently at first a fraud was attempted to be made in the matter of the exportation of coined money, for, "of Augustus' coins a type showing Gaius and Lucius, his adopted sons, has turned up in numbers in India and these coins are nearly always plated. Ernst therefore thinks that they were struck especially for trade with South India where the natives (it was thought) could not as yet distinguish good Roman coins from bad."¹¹ But the Tamils proved to be too shrewd, for the silly experiment was not repeated. What were the articles exported to the west in this epoch?

Export of living animals:

"The Indians of old transported living animals by sea to the Persian Gulf and to Africa and China and were probably responsible for sending Ptolemy II his peacocks and parrots." The tiger presented by Seleucus to Athens and the lions exhibited by Sulla and Pompey, the one-horned rhinoceros exhibited by the latter, and the tiger shown by Augustus in a cage or a den when the theatre at Marcellus was dedicated, were animals, some north Indian and others South Indian, sent by the land-route; but the monkeys which several Greek writers have written about could have gone by sea¹². "The Indian elephant which was used frequently in war since Alexander's conquests, was first introduced to the Romans when Pyrrhus transported some from Epiros to Italy in 28 B.C. Whether the

¹⁰ Ib. p. 38.

¹¹ Ib. p. 139.

¹² Ib. pp. 147-8, 151.

Carthaginians used them together with the African species, and employed Indian mahouts to train both kinds, I am not certain. But it is to be noticed that Hasdrubal at Panormos in 25, used elephants driven by 'Indians'; So did Hannibal and Hasdrubal during the second Punic war with Rome; and at the battle of Rapia Ptolemy's Libyan beasts could not stand against the Indian troop of Antiochos."¹³

Indian hounds were much valued by foreigners. "According to Horodotos, the Persians of his time caused the supplies of four large villages in the plains round Babylon to be appropriated for the feeding of Indian hounds; Otesias also notices the Indian hounds of the Persians, and similar dogs were shown in the processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus. We have also a papyrus of the third century B. C. on which are two separate epitaph-poems written for Tauron, which had given its life in saving its master in a fight with a wild boar".¹⁴ South Indian hunting dogs were well-known for their ferocity. They were usually described as kadanāy, the fierce hound,¹⁵ and were kept enchain'd.¹⁶

¹³ Ib. p. 151.

¹⁴ Ib. p. 149.

¹⁵ Agam, 107. 1. 11.

¹⁶ கெட்டார்பு ஞானி, Pg 74. 1. 3., கெட்டார் வாத்த
தங்களுக் கடிசை, 'the well-guarded, inaccessible place
where hounds were kept,' Perumb, I. 126. The
South Indian hounds were so highly regarded that a
king who went straight against his foe was compared
by a poet to the hound which rushes on game, கென்று
உண்ண கருவில் ஏற்றுவோ கென்றுமேனர் எடுவும் புக்கு,
Perumb, II. 139-140. For the use of hounds in boar-hun-

The hunter is described as residing in the forests and as possessing ferocious hounds¹⁷ which scatter herds of deer and run with great speed.¹⁸ The chief of the hunt blew his horn to summon his hunters and hounds to the rendezvous after being separated from them in the bamboo-forest.¹⁹

The export of parrots and peacocks which began in an earlier epoch, no doubt continued in this. Serpents including the cobra called Aspis by the Greeks and the

ting. Vide Narrinai, which says, 'In the path thickly grown with tall nāga trees, the small-eyed fierce boar rolls in the mud till its black back is fully stained; it then falls on the trap which consists of a half sawn tree trunk to which a loose loop is tied. It is caught in the split trunk; then hounds swarm and kill it and tear its flesh. The foresters beat them off and take the meat home.'

போனிய ராகப் போங்க ஈக் கவலைச்
திறகட் பன்றிப் பெருக்கின வொகுத்தல்
சேஞ் சுறும்புற சீலூடு சிவா
வெள்வதிப் பாட்டியர் மொப்பக் க வன்பழிலிக்
சேஞ்சுப் பொன்ட சொன்னிரக்
காவயர் பெயர்க்கும்.

Nag. 82, ll. 6-11.

¹⁷ ஏற்றுக்கூர வரப்பிள்ளைக் கத்தை வெட்டுவன், Pur 93, l. 1.

¹⁸ மாண்புமைக் கத்தைச்சிய கடுவிளைக் கத்தை.....
வெட்டுவன் Pur 205, ll. 8-9.

¹⁹ காதல் கேண்டுமாற் சிற்சே வேட்டுடை
வேப்பமி வழுவத்துப் பிரிக்கதின்
அம்பயிர் குறிசிலை கொண்ட கெட்டு..

Agam, 315, ll. 13—15.

python were others of the living animals exported. Strabo saw in Egypt a serpent nine feet long brought from India.²⁰

Animal products:

One of the most important articles exported from India was ivory. The Greeks at the height of their culture used it for the exposed parts of the body in statues.²¹ Pearls were first "introduced into Rome during the Jugurthine war and made popular by the large quantities brought back to Italy by Pompey"; they "became common at the fall of the republic when Augustus brought back the treasures of the Ptolemies." In the "time of Cicero when pearls were scarce, one valued at eight thousand pounds in modern money was taken from the ear of Metella and deliberately swallowed by the son of Aesopus that he might have the satisfaction of swallowing a huge sum of money at a draught."²² It is also well-known that Cleopatra dissolved pearls in her wine before drinking it. Lac-dyed cottons were sent to Persia; "Ctesias records that to the Persian king in his time were sent fine fabrics dyed with a colour obtained by the Indians from very red beetles."²³ Silk reached the Mediterranean coast through the Empires of Darius and Xerxes, for the Egyptian records do not mention it. Aristotle gives a correct account of its production. Raw silk was imported on bobbins, before Aristotle's time. At Tyre

²⁰ Warmington, *op. cit.* p. 157.

²¹ Ib. p. 163.

²² Ib. 168-9.

²³ Ib. 179.

and other places was woven a transparent gauze, which when made into garments, according to Pliny, 'while they cover a woman, at the same time reveal her naked charms.'²⁴ Among Greek and Roman writers there was some confusion between cotton and silk, both being called "tree-wool."

Vegetable products :

Besides Indian cloth largely imported by Palestine, Indian cotton was taken to Egypt "where the emperors possessed imperial weaving and dying factories, some worked by the priests." The Egyptians mixed cotton and linen, and wove clothes, the woof being of cotton and the warp of linen. Indian cotton was also used in Egypt for various sacred purposes. Many-coloured cotton fabrics have been found near Memphis at Panoplis and some of the fabrics contain Indian elements in their design.²⁵

There is some reason for supposing that pepper was the spice more especially in demand in Babylonia and Persian Gulf trade generally, just as cinnamon was that more especially reserved for Egypt; and that the most active demand for it came with the extension of the Persian empire under Darius. The trade was by sea (and carried in South Indian ships) and not overland; Herodotus knew the Dravidians (III, 100) only as having 'a complexion closely resembling the Aethiopians,' and as being 'situated very far from the Persians, towards the South, and never subject to Darius'.²⁶ The land-trade across Parthia and the sea-trade encour-

²⁴ Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 264-265.

²⁵ Warmington, op. cit. p. 212.

²⁶ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 213.

aged by the Ptolemies led to a great increase of the trade in aromatics and spices, which had already existed for untold centuries. The Phoenicians and Carthaginians, supplied pepper to Rome in this age. By the Greeks it was used chiefly as medicine, for Hippocrates, (V Century B. C.) who used many Indian recipes calls pepper the "Indian remedy";²⁷ it was used for agues and fevers. Herodotus has no bit of folk lore to attach to it. Theophrastus, indeed, in the IV century B. C., knows it as a medicine, and Dioscorides distinguishes between black, white and long pepper.²⁸ Ginger also reached the west and was used medicinally. But it was carried by Arabian intermediaries who successfully prevented the Westerners from knowing that it was an Indian product.²⁹ "Gingelly-oil was well-known to the Greeks of the V century B.C. and perhaps before" and was sent from India. "It became of considerable importance during the period of the Ptolemies".³⁰ Cocoanuts seem also to have been sent to Greece for they were kept in Greek temples as curiosities.³¹ Sophocles speaks of rice-cakes; so, the Greeks got the grain and its name from the Tamil country. Timber was also exported for various purposes. Pompey exhibited Indian ebony at his triumph over Mithridates. The trade in Indian ebony was of long standing and this and other timber was taken by the Indian merchants to the Persian Gulf. Ebony was used for furniture and

²⁷ Warmington, op. cit. p. 182.

²⁸ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 213.

²⁹ Warmington, op. cit. 184.

³⁰ Ib. p. 206.

³¹ Ib. p. 217.

³² Ib. p. 219.

statuary. "In the Persian Gulf, shews Theophrastos, men built ships of teak-wood of India, particularly of Malabar, Canara, Travancore," and other places.^{**} The boats of the Arabians, called "sewn boats, known as madarata" were fastened with palm fibre, "*i.e.* fibre taken from the husks of the cocoanut."^{**} In this period Indian stone of various kinds began to be exported to the west, but this trade assumed great proportions only in the next period.

An Indian cult in Armenia:

One curious result of this trade with Western Asia may here be described. It was the introduction of an Indian cult in Armenia. In the time of the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia, Valarsbak, (149-127 B.C.) two Indian chiefs established a colony at Vishap on the Western Euphrates, west of lake Van and founded temples for the worship of Gisani (Kisna) and Demeter (Baladeva). Was this an outflow of Aryan culture from the North of India? Most probably no, for while the Puranas talk of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as being avatāras of Viṣṇu, there is little or no evidence of the existence of the joint worship of these two Gods as a separate cult in North India at any time; but early Tamil literature gives plenty of evidence of this. The former of these, under the name of Māyōn was the ancient God of the Mullai land and the latter, Vāliyōn or Vellaiyōn, the White God, whose implement was the plough and flag was the palmyra, was probably in origin the God of the region between Mullai and Marudam where agriculture first began. The contrast between the black hue of the former and the white hue of the latter was a

^{**} Ib. pp. 213-4.

^{**} Schoff's Periplus, p. 154.

favourite image with Tamil poets. Thus, they are described as "he who carries the death-desiring plough and has the palmyra-flag and whose colour is like that of the convoluted chank-shell which grows in the sea, and he who desires victory, has a bird-flag raised aloft to the sky, and whose colour is like that of the fair sapphire well-washed."³⁵ Again they are called, "the possessor of the palmyra-flag whose complexion is like milk and of the wielder of the discus who is blue."³⁶ Baladeva was always intoxicated with the juice of the palmyra, which was appropriate to his rise in the palmyra region. The cult of Baladeva could not have been evolved in the Gangetic valley; for the palms do not flourish there and his worship must have risen in the Southern lower river-valleys not far from the sea.

We do not hear of temples dedicated to Baladeva in North India. But they existed in Kāvirippattinam and

³⁵ கடல் வளர் புதிகளை புறப்பட மேனி
வடவியைச் சாஞ்சித் தமிழகதொடு சோது
மண்ணுத திருமணி புறப்பட மேனி
வின்றுபர் புட்டெடுத் திறங்கவும் சோதும்.

Pur. 56. II. 3-6.

³⁶ வாளிந் அருவித் தலைச்செஷு சோது
வீரிந் அருவி சேஷ சோதும்.

Pur. 58. II. 14-15.

The contrast of colour between these two is frequently used in similes, e.g., Nap. 32, II. 1-2 Cintāmaṇi, 209. It cannot be contended that these two were first introduced to South India as avatāras of Viṣṇu, for other incarnations (except Rāma) are not referred to in early Tamil literature.

in Madura side by side with temples to Kṛṣṇa.³⁷ Besides these there were temples where the images of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva stood together. One such, that of Tirumāliruñjōlai not far from Madura, is described elaborately in No. 15 of the Paripūḍal collection. The poem is too long for quotation : besides it belongs to a later period than that we are dealing with here. The image of Baladeva described in this poem has disappeared now. Probably the temple was destroyed and rebuilt in later times when Baladeva had sunk to an inferior position in

³⁷ வடாவர் சூரி அவீர்விதா சுற்றியும்
கோவர் கூரி குருத்தேயும். Sil. v, ll. 71-2.

'The temple of Baladeva who is white like the convoluted chank-shell and the temple of the great god whose colour is blue.'

உசி கூர்த்த சுரித்த சுற்றிலே, ib. ix. p. 10.
'the temple of the beautiful god, the white Nāga.'
Baladeva, being an incarnation of the divine serpent, was apparently taken into the cult of Viṣṇu, when it absorbed the Nāgas into its fold. These temples were in Pugār. In Madura was சுங்க வெங்காந்த
கூர்த்த சுரித்த, Ib. 1-9. "The temple of Baladeva who strongly raised the plough (as his weapon).' These quotations are from poems of a later date but yet the absence of Baladeva temples in the North raises the presumption that the white god first rose in the south. The names Vejjaiyan and Vejjan are very common in the Tamil country even to-day in certain castes ; this name must have come down from the times when the white god was worshipped and his name given to the children of his devotees.

the estimation of Vaiṣṇava devotees. In a very few temples now living, the image of Baladeva still stands. Perhaps these temples have escaped the ravages of later enthusiasts.

Whether the joint-cult went to Armenia from North India or South India, it came to a violent end. For St. Gregory, the Illuminator, in his zeal against Paganism led a band of Christians against the colony in the IV century A.D. In the fight that ensued the chief priests were slain, the idols broken, and the temples razed to the ground; churches were built and crosses set up where the gods stood. More than five thousand of the colonists became Christians and four hundred and thirty eight sons of priests and temple servants who remained obdurate had their heads shaved and were transported to a distant place.^{**}

The trade of South India to the Far East led to the beginnings of emigration from India, which has continued to our own days. Says Col. Gerini "From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the Peninsula by land through Burma and its southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations."^{***} The Āryas (Brāhmaṇas and Bauddhas) carried thither ancient Indian culture and the Tamils carried on trade. The Milinda Panha refers to a Takkola (Takkolam), outside the limits of Suvaṇṇabhūmi, i.e., near the Martaban, which was a great trading centre of early times. The

^{**} J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 309-314. (Kennedy)

^{***} Vide J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 234-247, for a full account of this movement of ancient Indians.

name of this place reminds us of Takkolam, near Madras, where a great battle was fought in the X Century A. D.

The great Han Emperor of China, Wu-ti, drove the Hiung Nu, ancestors of the modern Turks, north of the Gobi desert and then the silk trade of China with Europe assumed great proportions. One of the routes taken by this trade was along the sea-coast of Tamil India where the Yavana merchants from the gulf of Suez got Chinese silk from Tamil intermediaries.

Trade with the countries to the coast of Burma, Malaya, and China also developed in this age. One important article that was sent to the East was pepper. "It may be surmised that a steady demand for pepper existed in China before it arose in Rome, and this was one reason for the sailing of the junks to the Malabar coast in the II century B. C. and probably earlier."⁴⁰ Besides pepper, incense was sent to the Far East and exchanged for silk and sugar.

⁴⁰ Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 213-214.

CHAPTER XV

THE FIRST INTRUSION OF SANSKRIT CULTURE INTO TAMIL LITERATURE.

The first intrusion of Sanskrit:

Sanskrit culture first began to affect Tamil literature when Agattiyānār composed his Tamil grammar. This person was probably a very late Agastya from the monastery of the Āgastyas settled on the Podiya hill, who was attracted more by the life of emotional experience stimulated by the study of the Tamil literature of the Pāṇḍya country than by the emotionless mystic contemplation practised in his hill sanctuary. In later legends he was assimilated with all the Agastyas that preceded him and the whole lot of them were rolled together into one Agastya Rsi. The Agattiyānār of Tamil literature, if we may trust the legends that have gathered round his name, was a very human person, capable of insensate jealousy and uncontrollable anger. But legends apart, it is a fact that Agattiyānār made a careful investigation of the facts of Tamil speech, and framed a grammar of that tongue. In doing so, he assumed that the categories of Sanskrit grammar, for instance, the existence of seven or eight case-inflexions of nouns, were true of all languages. The facts that the languages of the world belong to different families unrelated to one another and that one family utterly differs from another in essential structure and that, therefore, into the frame of the accidence of one language that of another cannot be squeezed, were

unknown to Agattiyānār. Sanskrit is a typical inflectional language with an elaborate scheme of accidence, but Tamil is an agglutinative language with a simple accidence; Tamil has a rigid syntax whereas in a Sanskrit sentence any word can occupy any position, because the syntactical relation of words to each other can be discovered by their inflections. These inflections of Sanskrit are made by working into words endings which have no independent existence as words and hence have no meanings themselves, but serve to indicate the relations of notional words to each other. In taking on such inflectional endings the root is changed into the base, and then the base undergoes profound and often internal changes; thus the base *tad* or *tat*, taking the termination *am* becomes *tēśām*; one of the modifications of the verbal root *han* is *jaghāna*; of *duh* is *addok*. These are the marks of an inflectional language. Tamil, on the other hand, is an agglutinative language. Its so-called inflections are (1) whole words having an independent existence as words in that language, like *ōdu*, *poruttu*, *adu*, *udaiya*, *idai*, *talai*, *tisai* and all other terminations of the so-called seventh case; Tamil grammarians significantly call these *sollurubu*, word-terminations, (2) slightly decayed words, like *odu*, *il*, *ādu*, *a* (or the so-called genitive plural, the decayed form of the plural pronoun *avai*), (3) two terminations which are so much decayed that the words of which they are the attrited forms cannot be discovered, e.g. *ai*, and *ku*; that even these two attrited forms have a semi-independent existence is shown by the fact that the plural sign intrudes between the noun and the case-sign, as in *avargaiukku*, quite unlike how the oblique cases of nouns take the plural in Sanskrit.

Tamil and Sanskrit being so utterly unlike in structure, the categories of Sanskrit grammar cannot properly apply to Tamil grammar. But Agattiyānār assumed that the facts of Sanskrit speech ought to exist in Tamil also. So he assumed that there ought to be seven cases of nouns in Tamil as in Sanskrit; he translated the inflected Sanskrit nouns into Tamil phrases, cut up these phrases into two parts, i.e. the nominative forms of the nouns and what came after and treated the latter parts as Tamil case-inflections. Following Pāṇini he discovered or rather invented, seven cases in Tamil and his disciple, Tolkaṇṇippiyanār, following the Aindra, school of Sanskrit grammarians made it eight. Now if kādalipin may be a case of kādali¹, why not kādaliyedir? At this rate Tamil nouns should have as many cases as there are adverbial and adjectival phrases derived from nouns in that language.

As he imported the seven cases of Sanskrit into Tamil, Agattiyānār is also responsible for importing the passive voice from Sanskrit. The passive is a definite inflection which all verbs, transitive or intransitive, undergo in Sanskrit. When transitive verbs become passive, it serves the purpose of making the object of the action the subject of the sentence, as when in English we say, 'the lion was killed.' This way of speaking is useful, when the subject of an action is not known or is not intended to be mentioned or when the object has to be emphasized. When intransitive verbs were given the passive inflection no such rational use can be found for it, but yet in Sanskrit the use of the passive intransitive is more idiomatic than

¹ Naanūl, Mayilainādar Urai, p. 189

that of the active, though no special meaning can be attached to the passive use; thus, sah bhavati is the same as tena bhūyate, only the latter cannot be translated into any other language, for 'he is been' is absurd even in English, though it is allied to Sanskrit. Agattiyānār imposed the passive construction on Tamil; even he could not transfer the passive intransitive into Tamil, though he could translate tāḍyate into adikkappatṭām, agglutinating the verb padu, to the past participle of adi. Adikkappadu, if analysed into adikka, while (*another man*) beats, and padu, let *you* suffer, is seen to be opposed to the genius of Tamil, for compounding two verbs into one and assuming different persons to be the subjects of the two elements of the compound verb is violating both logic and grammar which is based on logic at least so far as Tamil is concerned. The true Tamil idiom for 'undergoing beating' is aḍi padu or aḍiyup, where the first part of the compound is an abstract noun. Agattiyānār invented this passive, because it was necessary for translating the Sanskrit passive verbs into Tamil and it proved so useful for men who think in Sanskrit and write in Tamil that Agattiyānār's disciple, Tolkāppiyānār, begins his grammar with a pseudo-passive.* This pseudo-passive which no Tamil man ever uses in natural Tamil speech, but which was invented to enable Sanskritists to translate easily from Sanskrit into Tamil, has, in our days, become very fashionable in written Tamil, because we have learnt to think in English (which revels in passive forms) and write in Tamil. This barbarous form in padu mars every page of the Tamil

* விப்பாக்ஷவுடுடு. Tolkāppiyam i. 1. 1.

translation of the Bible, and unfortunately the Tamil composition of pandits.

These are some of the first intrusions of Sanskrit culture into Tamil. The next was the introduction of words, concepts, poetic imagery, tales, mythological and otherwise, beliefs, superstitions and scientific, moral and religious teaching, prosody, forms of poetry and so on. As time passed, the invasion of Sanskrit culture gathered so much volume that Tamil literature became entirely dominated by that of the Northerners so much that to the man used only to later Tamil literature, the older seems, on account of its language, devoid of Sanskrit terms and of its natural (instead of the later artificial) imagery, as strange as if it were an alien one,

Agattiyānār's grammar, called after him Agattiyam, is not extant now but the grammar composed by his pupil, Ṭṛṇadhūmāgni, son of a Jamadagni, more familiarly known as Tolkāppiyānār, is still extant. It is professedly based on the Agattiyam. The speciality of these Tamil grammars is that they deal not only with phonetics, accidence and prosody, but also with the subject-matter of poetry. These Brāhmaṇa authors found that Tamil poetry was so utterly different from Sanskrit poetry in subject-matter and literary conventions that they thought it necessary to include in their grammar a discussion of these subjects also. The later chapters of the Tolkāppiyam, as Ṭṛṇadhūmāgni's book is called, after the Tamil name of the author, deal with every kind of incident in the course of love and war, (Āgam and Pūram) about which alone the ancient Tamil poets sang in their peculiar way. From the latter part of the Tolkāppiyam, called Poruladigāram, can be

constructed a full picture of the type of life led by the Tamil people long before they came into intimate contact with the Aryans and of Tamil literature before the Tamil mind was subjugated by Sanskrit literature.

Such a picture would be complementary to that which I have given in my Pre Aryan Tamil Culture and is given in my forthcoming book on the Ancient Tamils as depicted in the *Poruṭadigāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*.

Intrusion of Aryan ideas in *Poruṭadigāram*.

Not that *Tolkāppiyamār* rises above the temptation of importing Aryan ideas into his grammar of Tamil poetry. He does strictly follow the Tamil poems, extant in his time and now all but extinct; in describing the conventions of ancient Tamil poetry. But often he is oppressed by his knowledge of Sanskrit literature and his belief that the Aryan social polity and religious system were divinely appointed ones. Thus to *Tolkāppiyamār* the ideal social organisation was the division of people into four varṇas, with the three higher enjoying besides social privileges, the literary privilege of being heroes of poems. But in the Tamil poetry which he studied, he found that chiefs of hunting and fishing tribes, very low persons in the Aryan scheme, were the heroes of love-poems. His attempts to explain this anomaly are lame and hesitating. Again there were eight recognized forms of marriage in the Laws of the Āryas, and but only two in Tamil poems. He tries unsuccessfully to equate the two systems. He tries, again, to fit the Tamil scheme of life whose interests were only love and war, with the Aryan one which has as aims Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa, though Tamil Agam is a milder concept than Kāma, and

Dharma, Artha and Môksa cannot be squeezed into Puram, as many latter-day commentators have also vainly attempted to do. Tolkäppiyanär, again, describes forms of literature in the last chapter of Porulädigäram, e.g. sūtras, which did not exist in his time in Tamil, but of which there were many Sanskrit examples known to him. In this and other cases he imposes on his grammar of Tamil poetry what did not belong to it and it is not surprising that wherever Tolkäppiyanär does so, his commentators are not able to give illustrations of his rules from Tamil literature. Two other Aryan ideas Tolkäppiyanär forces in Tamil will be mentioned presently when his date is discussed.

The entry of Sanskrit words into Tamil:

Agattiyanär and Tolkäppiyanär introduced into Tamil a few tadbhavas, i.e. Sanskrit words which have been fitted into the phonetic framework of Tamil. They are found in the few sūttirams of Agattiyam that are quoted in the commentaries of the mediæval age and in the grammar of Tolkäppiyanär, but Agattiyanär respected the genius of Tamil sufficiently, to invent Tamil words for most of the technical terms of grammar. The percentage of words borrowed from Sanskrit is few or nil in the earliest extant poems, but goes on gradually increasing as time passes; so much so that the percentage of Sanskrit words in a poem may be taken to be roughly indicative of its age. Though thus Sanskrit words got in more and more into Tamil, the conventions of Tamil literature, which form the subject of the greater part of the Porulädigäram of the Tolkäppiyam, were adhered to till the VI century A. D.

The Age of Agattiyānār :

What was the age of Agattiyānār and his disciple, Tolkāppiyānār? Agattiyānār's grammar is not now extant, but Tolkāppiyānār quotes him frequently; wherever in the latter the word 'enba', 'says (he)' occurs it is invariably explained by the commentators as 'says (the teacher)'. Tolkāppiyānār begins his grammar with the statement, "what are called 'ejuttu' are, says the teacher, thirty beginning with 'a' and ending with 'na'."¹ Hence we may presume that Agattiyānār began his grammar with enumerating Tamil letters as thirty. The word ejuttu is used in a peculiar sense by Tamil grammarians. It names a concept which includes the sound of a unit syllable, and the sign that represents it. The former is called olivaijejuttu, the ejuttu that has the form of a sound and the latter varivaijejuttu, the ejuttu that has the form of a figure made of (straight or curved) lines, (the figure being not necessarily a closed one). It is impossible to translate the word ejuttu into English, because there is no word in that language covering both concepts, letter and sound. The word aksara, is also used by the Sanskritists in this double sense; but the Tamil word ejuttu is not a translation of the word aksara, the latter word having reference to the Mīmāṃsaka and Vaiyākarnika theories of the eternity of sound conceived as the etheric (ākāśa) substrate of the vibrations of air which produce audible sound.

¹ ஏழூத்துதான் படிப்

அக்ஷரப்

அக்ஷர விதங்கள் முப்பகு தெர்வ.

As Agattiyānār treats of Tamil letters, Tamil writing must have existed in his time. We know that the Tamil alphabet, like every alphabet now current in India, except the Arabic alphabet used for Urdu, was evolved from the Asokan script to which the name Brāhmi has been given. In the cave inscriptions of the Pāndyan country we have examples of the earliest specimens, so far found, of Tamil words committed to writing. These inscriptions were incised at the instance of Jaina or Baudhha monks who resided in the natural caves of the Tamil country, far from the madding crowd, in peaceful contemplation calculated to lead them to the eternal bliss of Nirvāna. These inscriptions are not only the earliest specimens of Tamil writing we have, but the first tentative attempts to adapt the letters of the Brāhmi, or more correctly the South Maurya script, to the writing of Tamil. They do not distinguish between the pure consonant and the same followed by 'a' to become an easily pronounceable syllable^{*} i.e., the dot on the top of a consonant had not yet been invented; but they possess signs for the consonant sounds peculiar to Tamil, like 'ṭ' the retroflex rolled sound, 'ṛ' which when doubled is sounded 'ṝ' and when preceded by the nasal becomes 'Ṅ'; and the two-looped 'ṅ' which alone indicated the nasal which precedes 'ṛ' and is, in modern pronunciation, indistinguishable from the dental nasal. Thus so far as the available evidence goes, Tamil was first committed to writing late in the III century or early in the II century B.C., by foreign emigrants who were inveterate makers of stone inscrip-

* As Tolkappiayanār has said, சுவாஸ் எருசை மூர்சுரை கொண்டு. 'Consonants are pronounced when accompanied by the sound a.' Tolkāppiyam I. ii. 13.

tions. The non-existence of a separate alphabet for writing Tamil literature was why Tamil poetry, which must have been composed in large quantities long before the Christian era, has irrecoverably perished. I therefore hold that Agattiyānār could not have lived before the I century B.C., when Tamil writing must have begun to be commonly used. A study of the Tolkāppiyam compels us to believe that master and pupil must have lived, a century or more, later. Tolkāppiyānār uses the word ērai in the sense of an hour (auspicious for marital and other pleasant purposes)². The Tamil word īrai, like the English word hour, is derived ultimately from the Greek word hora. Hora meant in Greek in the V century B.C. 'season in general' and it was in the II century B.C. that it was endowed with the meaning of the twenty-fourth part of a day, each such twenty-fourth part being under the rule of one of the seven planets. The word hora travelled with its astrological implications to Gāndhāra which was ruled in the second and first centuries B.C. by Greek monarchs. From there it got into Sanskrit, when Sanskrit authors learnt Greek astrology. It then travelled down South and entered Tamil. Surely it will be a modest estimate if we assume that ērai could not have got into Tamil before the I century A.D., which must be the upper limit of the age of Tolkāppiyānār. Only we must remember that though Tolkāppiyānār uses the word īrai in his grammar, the bulk of the Tamils, I mean, those

* மாற்ற சூரியத்தை சென்று வரும்

காலி சூரியத்தை உயிரெட்டி வீர்வே.

'The rule that love passages ought to be given up on (unauspicious) hours and days does not apply to the hero of secret love.' Tol. III, iii, 44.

who were not Brāhmaṇas, were dominated by Aryan culture and therefore could have acquired a knowledge of, or belief in, planetary astrology, at a much later date than the age of Tolkaṇṇiyānār. Connected with this astrology is the question of the week of seven days, each day being named after the planet who ruled the first hour of the day; hence the planetary names of the days of the week do not appear in Tamil poems till the end of the V century A.D.

There is another fact derived from the Poruladigāram of the Tolkaṇṇiyam which can serve to fix the date of Tolkaṇṇiyānār. Chief among the Pāṇgar, companions of a chief and his helpers in his love-campaigns, Tolkaṇṇiyānār names the pāṛppār, Brāhmaṇas.⁶ Thus Tolkaṇṇiyānār contemplates the employment of Brāhmaṇas as chief ministers of Love. This was a convention of the Sanskrit Drama; and I take it that Tolkaṇṇiyānār refers to it as a matter of theory and not as one of fact, for we do not find any allusion to it in Agam or in Puram. The word pāṛppar⁷ occurs four times in Puram; there are ten other references to andānar or to their lore. But these allude to their vedic scholarship, their sacrificial

⁶ Tol. III, vii. 189, 190, 197.

⁷ பார்ப்புவதீத் தப்பிய செய்தோம, 'the cruel deed of harassing a Brāhmaṇa, Pur. 34, l. 3, பார்ப்புவத் செயை, 'what pain Brāhmaṇas', Ib. 43, l. 14.

பார்ப்புவதீத் தீங்குதை சொய்ய, 'so as to fill the wet hands of Brāhmaṇas, Ib. 367, l. 1.

ஆற்றியத் பார்ப்புவை மாக்கஞ்சும், 'Brāhmaṇas, of the same nature as cows,' Pur. 9, l. 1. The other references are, Pur. 2, l. 32, 6, l. 20, 9, l. 1, 26, l. 13, 93, l. 7, 126, l. 11, 200, l. 14, 224, l. 9, 361, l. 4, 262, l. 8.

fire, the gifts received by them, but not to their services as gobetween. There is one reference in Agam⁸ to a pārppān who does not perform sacrifices and another to a Brāhmaṇa messenger set on by thieves and one in Kurundogai⁹ to his appurtenances as a bachelor, but none to his function as minister of Love. As Tolkāppiyānār has transferred this convention from Sanskrit drama to Tamil poetry, he must have lived sometime after the formal drama was developed in Sanskrit. Bhāsa is our earliest Sanskrit poet and he can not belong to an age earlier than the III century B.C.; and it must have taken some time for the literary convention of the Sanskrit drama to reach South India, to enable Tolkappiyānār to include it in his grammar.

The contribution of Agattiyānār to the growth of Tamil culture consisting as it did of pioneer work, withal perfect, on its grammar, rhetoric and poetics was a remarkable performance. But ancient legendmakers and modern historical investigators have attempted to paint the lily by attributing to him marvellous performances. Thus Tamil legend says that he learnt Tamil from Siva or Subrahmaṇya and taught the language to the Tamil people, who were, I suppose, dumb till Agastya appeared in their midst. D. R. Bhandarkar says that Agastya penetrated "farther and farther into the hitherto unknown South and civilizing

⁸ சாவுப் பார்ப்பான். Agam, 24. 1. 1. சூதங்கு
பார்ப்பான். . . .

சுத்தநடை விழக் காலங்கு மயங்.

Ib. 337, I. 7, 11.

These poems are all by the latest of poets of the period..

⁹ Kurundogai, 156.

the Dravidians."¹⁰ T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri, speaks of Agastya's reformation and reorganization of the social and literary life of the Tamils.¹¹ All this is pure myth. Agastya found a fully developed literature with literary conventions of its own, unalterable because they were based on the conditions of the environment in which the people lived and grew; he also found a language with a perfected literary dialect and he wrote out the grammar of that language and that literature, and no more.

There must have been numerous poets before the time of Agastya for he could not otherwise have composed a grammar of poetry, not to speak of the grammar of *Sendainil*, the refined literary dialect. The momentum gathered by the poems of the *Puram* and *Agam* class (*Purattigai* and *Agattinai*) during the ages which intervened between the rise of Tamil poetry and the period of Agattiyānār, carried on that class of literature to five centuries after his time, when the old literature began collapse and a new Tamil literature inspired by the Sanskrit muse was born and largely eclipsed the older fashion of poems. Later legend said that Agattiyānār invented Tamil; there is this kernel of truth in this legend that later Tamil literature was the ultimate result of the intrusion of Aryan literature into Tamil under the auspices of this first grammarian of the language. Therefore one would expect that Tamil would make a big contribution to the store of Agastya

¹⁰ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 18.

¹¹ Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, 1924, p. 205.

legends. But it is disappointing to find that the Tamil contribution of Agastya legends is very poor. In the Kūpundogai and the Nāgīnai, I have not been able to find any. In the Puram there is one reference to Podiya hill as the seat of the performers of the Vedic yajñas. That is an allusion to the light of the triple fire on the gold-topped Himalayas and the Podiya¹². No reference to the Podiya hill in the Agam and the Puram alludes to Agastya, the hill being described in seven passages merely as belonging to the Pāṇḍya. This is probably due to the fact that as the age of Agattiyānār was very near to that of the earlier poems of the four early anthologies, they regarded him but as a mere man, and a grammarian, and not a Rṣi.

A passage in Maduraikkāñji, a long poem in praise of the Pāṇḍya, Nēduñjeliyan by his favourite poet, Māngudi Marudanār, (c. 450 A. D.) has been tortured by the commentator Naccinārkkiniyar, into a reference to Agastya. The passage is an address to Nēduñjeliyan and says, "Lord of the hill from whose side rivulets run! You desire to be next to the ancient God, inaccessible and strong, who removed the Southerner."¹³ The passage is obscure. If the Southerner meant Rāvaṇa, it might mean that Nēduñjeliyan desired to be next only to Rāma; but there is only one other passage and that in a very late poem where Rāvaṇa is called

¹² முக்தி விளக்கிற் தஞ்சகம்
பொற்சோட் துவயழும் பொதியழும் போன்றே.
Puram, 2, 23—24.

¹³ தென்னாவற் பெயரிய தன்னாருக் துப்பிற்
தென்முத கடவுட் பின்னர் மேய
வரைத்தா முருவிப் பொருப்பிற் பொருத்.
Maduraikkāñji, ll. 40—42.

* Southerner.¹⁴ The word 'Tennavan' was the usual title of the Pāṇḍya kings. If the poem had been written in the VI century A. D. by which time Aryan mythology had overspread the Tamil land, it might be made to mean that Nedūñjeliyan wanted to be next to Siva who had defeated Yama, the Lord of the South; but we cannot be sure that this feat of Siva was widely known in Madura in Nedūñjeliyan's time. Both the explanations offered above are fanciful; but the commentator's explanation is very much worse. He makes 'Tennavan' refer to Rāvaṇa and interprets Kadavul God, as Agastya, twisting as he does often the order of the words to suit his interpretation, and says that Agastya removed Rāvaṇa from the lordship over the Tamil country. He quotes as his authority "the Scholiast" on Tolkāppiyam viz., Ilambūranar, who says that Agastya "bound Rāvaṇa by his music." Naccinārkkiniyar's interpretation is outrageously bad and Maduralkkāñji does not refer to Agastya at all.

The Śilappadigāram is a poem belonging to the age (VI cent. A.D.) when old Tamil mythology and Aryan mythology, old Tamil customs and Aryan ones had begun to mix with each other, though they had not yet become welded into a homogeneous whole. Even this poem does not help much in tracing the origin of the myth of Agastya inventing or teaching the Tamil language for the first time to men. This poem, besides referring to Agastya's curse of Jayanta, son of Indra, and a celestial damsel, has only one other reference to

¹⁴ Vide Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Swaminatha Aiyar's note in p. 245 of his edition of Pattuppāṭṭu (second edition).

Agastya. And that is the bare mention of Agastya's hill, which a Brāhmaṇa pilgrim, by name, Mēḍulan, circumambulated in the way of the sun before bathing in the sea near Cape Comorin ¹⁵.

The next great epic, *Manimēgalai*, though it has been held to be contemporary with the former epic, yet deals with an age when the old Tamil literary tradition had been completely ousted out of Tamil literature, by that of Sanskrit literature, when the life of the people had been entirely brought under Aryan influence and when Sanskrit proper names of men had displaced Tamil ones. But even this poem, has but a few Agastya legends. One of them refers to the Lady Kāveri, who was born from the upsetting of the water-pot of Agastya, the Muni of the Gods, at the request of a Śōja king, Kāndaman ¹⁶, who desired water. Another says that

15 மரமுறை முசல்வாச் சாடல நென்போன்
மாதவ முனிகா மலைவாங் சூரயே
குமரியம் பெருக்குதை தொக்குகளிற் படித்து.
Silayadigāram, xv. 13-15.

16 சுத்ர ஒட்டுக்காவிற் காக்குமன் ஒவ்வொ
அயர முனிவ வாத்தியங் ருபு
ஏஞ் கவித்த காவிரிப் பாகவ.

Manimēgalai, Padigam ll. 10-12.

The Skāndapurāṇam attributes this request to Indra. In Sanskrit Kāvēri is called Kāvēri and is said to be the daughter of a R̄si called Kavēra. This legend is alluded to in *Manimēgalai*, iii. ll. 55-56 and ix. 1.52. The story is given in *Agastyapurāṇam*, ii. 23, vide V. Swaminatha Aiyar's foot-note to p. 105, of *Manimēgalai*.

Agastya ordered a Sōļa king who wore an armlet because he had destroyed a castle of the Asuras which was hanging in the sky, to request Indra to be present at a twenty-eight day celebration of an Indra feast in his capital of Kāvirippūmbattinam¹⁷. Thus was the Indra feast established, the neglect of which brought about a catastrophe. Later on in the poem occurs a further reference to Agastya. When Paraśurāma went about killing Kṣattriyas, Kāndaman, the reigning Sōļan, was advised to conceal himself, by the guardian goddess of Kāviripūmbattinam and he took refuge in Agastya's hermitage and asked his successor to guard the city till Agastya should declare that danger was past¹⁸.

¹⁷ தங்குவர் மனைத் தகுத்து முடிவுப்பத்
நுவரெயி வெற்றித் தொடித்தோட் பசுமீயன்
வின்சூர் விலைகளை கண்டித் தூர் விரைவு
மண்ணே தெருத் தாங்பதி தங்குவன்
புமிவர் விளை விழுதுகளை விடுத்த
ஏலேஷ் காலியை எங்களி துறைக
வரச் தலை ஞாதை பாந்தது.

Manimēgalai, i. ll. 3-9.

'In accordance with the orders of the sage of the tall hill, the Sōļan who wore bracelets on his arms and destroyed the hanging castle, stood, bowing, before the Lord of the Gods, and said, may the great ones, with joy, reside in my heavenly city on the earth during the four times seven days when the festival is celebrated. The King of the Gods agreed to this.'

¹⁸ மன்மதாக குத்த மழுவர ஜெட்டேன்
தன்முன் கிருந்த தாநெதானி கிழவைக்
கண்ணி யேவலிற் காந்த மன்னாவன்
அமர முனிவ கைத்தியன் தனுத
தயார்ந்து கிளிவியன் யாகிருந் தாயும்.

Ib. xxii, ll. 26-27, and 35-36.

None of these legends of the I millennium A. D. refers to Agastya's invention of, or first learning, Tamil from divine teachers. Hence the conversion of the fact that a late Agattiyānār wrote the first Tamil grammar into the myth that the first Agastya learnt Tamil from Siva or Subrahmanyā and taught it to the people of South India, must have taken place in the II millennium A. D. when commentators began to flourish and invent myth about the older time. The worst myth is what Naccinārkīniyar tells us in his commentary on the prefatory ode to the Tolkāppiyam, called Pāyiram, that Agattiyānār asked his disciple, Trādhubhūmāgni, to escort the master's wife, Lopāmudrā, from Vidarbha to the Podiya hill. He at the same time warned his disciple not to approach his wife nearer than the length of four rods. When Lopāmudrā and Trādhubhūmāgni had to cross the Vaigai, the river was in flood, and, fearing that she would be washed away by the river, he extended his walking-stick to her and asked her to cling to it. He thus disobeyed his master's solemn injunctions, for in crossing the river, he was but one rod's length from her. The irate master, when he heard of this, exclaimed, "May you two not reach Svarga". The pupil, in turn, said, "As you have cursed us for no fault of ours, may you not reach Svarga." This legend was invented perhaps to explain the fact that the Agattyan has perished, whereas the Tolkāppiyam has not.

* When the Virgin goddess said, the tall God (Visnu) with the battle-axe ought not to see you; therefore hide yourself, Kāndaman (asked his natural son to guard the city) till he should return, after Agastya, the muni of the Gods advised him that the danger was past.'

CHAPTER XVI. THE THREE TAMIL SANGAMS.

The phrase 'sangam poetry':

It is popularly believed that the Pāndya country had three different capitals at three different epochs, that sangams or societies of poets were maintained at each one of these capitals, and that these sangams were organized bodies which acted as literary censors of every new poem that was sung, and accepted some as correctly composed and rejected others as worthless. Acting on this belief, literary critics of the last century have invented the phrase saṅgacceyyu], sangam poetry, to mean poems that received the imprimatur of the Academy. This modern phrase is absurd, because except in the case of the Telkāppiyam and the Tirukkural, there is not even a legend, written or unwritten, that any of the two thousand and odd odes that are now called sangam poems were ever presented or intended to be presented to any association of scholars or courtiers or were accepted or rejected by any body of persons. Recent writers have made the phrase sangam poetry more absurd by extending it to the two epics, Śilappadigāram and Maṇimēgalai, which as is proved by their subject-matter, the names given to the characters and the kind of culture they describe, are much later than the early odes and which were composed at a time, when even according to the legends the sangams had vanished out of existence. The traditional name given to the early odes is Sānror Seyyu], poetry of the (ancient) great ones, and the poetry of the next epoch, pīra sānror

śeyyū], poetry of the later great ones, and these names are appropriate ones.¹

Where the legend of the three sangams is first narrated :

This legend is narrated for the first time in the commentaries on Agapporul², or grammar of love-poetry in sixty sūttirams, by one Iraiyanār. The word Iraiyanār means also God and so the authorship of this book has been attributed by the scholiast to Śivan and an elaborate legend invented to explain the occasion when and the manner how Śivan promulgated this book. He says that about the time when the last Śangam ended, a great famine prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country, when the king, finding that he was unable to feed his court pandits, sent them away. When the famine was over, the king sent for them back to his court but was surprised to discover that none of them knew anything about the principles of Porujadigāram, i.e., the chapter on the subject-matter of poetry. The scholiast does not tell us how this was possible, for they must all have studied that chapter of the Tolkāppiyam, which according to this very writer was the authoritative grammar which guided the poets of the last Śangam, as well as the one which preceded it. But this is not the

¹ The phrases சுவைக்கல்பத். சுவையேஷ்கல்பத் are quite different and will be discussed later on.

² This book is called by several modern Tamil writers Kalaviyal; but as the book contains two chapters, Kalaviyal (grammar of secret love) and Kapiyal or grammar of married love, it is wrong to refer to it by the name of one of its chapters. The proper name is Agapporul.

only defect in the statements of this scholiast. He goes on to say that the king was very much distressed, for the other chapters of grammar led up to the chapter on poeties and no poet could compose poetry without the guidance of *Poruṭadigāram*. Then the God of Madura, in order to relieve the royal distress, composed this book, inscribed it on three copper plates and hid it beneath his seat.³ On the next day, the priest of the temple suddenly remembered that he had neglected for a long time the duty of washing the floor of the shrine and in order to do so, lifted the seat of the idol, discovered the copper-plates⁴ and took them to the king. The king then sent for his pandits and asked them to expound the treatise thus miraculously obtained. They seated themselves on the God-given seat that floated on the waters of the holy tank of Madura, notwithstanding the combined weight of forty-nine men.

³ This unusual proceeding on the part of this God was, as has been said, invented to explain the fact that the author of the *Agapporuḷ* was one *Iraiyanār*. This person was an ancient poet and one of his poems is extant, being No. 2 of the *Kuṇḍogai*. But *Iraiyanār*, meaning Lord, is also one of the Tamil appellations of Śivan and the book was attributed to Śivan probably to magnify its importance. *Iraiyanār*, the Lord, is also called *Madurai Pērlavāyar*, the God of Madura, the great Ālavāy. This *Pērlavāyar* is the author of *Paṇam*, 247 and 262, *Agam* 87 and 297 and *Nayinai* 51 and 361. Perhaps all these poems were composed by one human poet and as his name was also that of the Madura God, some of them were attributed to the latter.

⁴ This kind of legend came into popularity in the X century. A Kāśmīri Śaiva work, called the *Siva*

From there the Pandits gave different interpretations of the book and each stoutly maintained that his own interpretation was the correct one; there was no one superior in knowledge to them, who could say with authority which was the correct interpretation. Then the God directed them to find out the five-year old dumb boy called Uruttiraganman, and make him the umpire. The dumb boy could hear and they read out to him their commentaries; when Nakkirar read out his, the boy shed tears of joy for every word of the interpretation and it was decided that Nakkirar's commentary was the correct one⁵. The commentator then adds that some people say that Uruttiraganman was the commentator on Agapporul, but in the Scholiast's opinion, Nakkirar composed it. The commentator then goes on to say that the commentary of Nakkirar passed, by word of mouth, I suppose, from generation to generation of students till it reached the tenth genera-

Sūtra by Vasugupta of the VIII century, was attributed to Siva by Kṣemarāja, a X century commentator; he invented the legend that Siva composed the Sūtras, engraved them on a rock on the Himālayas and directed Vasugupta in a dream to search for the book and teach it to the world. Vide Kṣemarāja's introduction to the Śiva Sūtra Vimarsinī, translated by me and published in the Indian Thought.

⁵ The king need not have taken all this trouble, for the language of the book is not more obscure or difficult than that of any other work of the age. It may also be added that the commentary does not merely explain the text, but contains a lot of matter that was elaborated long after the age of the text.

tion in Nilagundanār of Muṣṭi. Then it is said "thus has come this commentary".

It is evident from the above that the commentary that we have of the Agapporūl comes from a later hand than Nakkirar's; whether it contains anything from Nakkirar is open to serious doubt. With regard to this question M. Raghava Iyengar has pointed out that in Sēnāvaraiyar's commentaries on the Tolkkāppiyam (Por. ix. 94), this latter-day scholiast says that Nakkirar commented on the Iraiyanār Agapporūl and another person, who was an ascetic, wrote the commentary on the same for the sake of a later generation of readers; and therefore the commentary which we have is a later work. M. Raghava Iyengar is inclined to believe that this later commentator was Ilamburana Adigal, who was the first to expound the Tolkkāppiyam and is hence always called "the scholiast" par excellence.⁶ M. Raghava Iyengar adduces some proofs for his conclusion; though the evidence is good so far as it goes, it does not go far enough.

That the commentaries on Iraiyanār Agapporūl that we now have are not Nakkirar's but by a later person is also proved by the fact that they quote 329 stanzas of four lines each, besides the usual quotations from the early poets which all books dealing with Agapporūl are bound to have. These 329 stanzas are intended to illustrate love-incidents not described in the text of the sūttirams, but taken from later grammars. The hero of these stanzas is one Arikēsari Parāṅguśān, the great-grand-father of the donor of the Vēlvikkudi plates, who

⁶ Sendamil IV, vii, pp. 303—311.

ascended the throne c. 750 A.D. Hence Arikesari belonged to the latter half of the VII century. Therefore the upper limit of the age of the commentaries which quote stanzas in praise of this Pāndyan is the end of the VII century or beginning of the VIII century. The lower limit is the XIII century, the earliest possible age of Pērāsiriyar, who is the first to quote from this commentary of Agapporu].⁷

The legend of the three sangams:

The commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporu is the only person to describe the three Śāngams. The account runs as follows :—"The Pāndiyans established three Śāngams, viz., the first Śāngam, the Middle Śāngam and the last Śāngam. They say that the members of the first Śāngam were 549, beginning with Agattiyānār, the God with hanging braids of hair who burnt the three cities (i.e., Sivan), Murugan who subjugated the hill, Mudinīgarāiyar (he of the snake head) of Muriñjiyūr, the Lord of Treasure (Kubera). Under them they say 4,449 persons composed poetry. By them were sung countless poems (of the class) beginning with Paripādal, Mudunārai, Mudukurugu, Kalariyēvirai. They were members of the Śāngam for 4,400 years. Those that established them as members of the Śāngam were, they say, 89 (kings) from Kāysina Valudi to Kañuñgōn. They say that seven of them mounted the platform of poets. They say that the place where they scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in (their) Śāngam was Madura, which was swallowed by the sea. The (authoritative) grammar for them was the Agattiyam.

Then the members of the Middle Śāngam were 59, beginning with Agattiyānār, Tolkāppiyānār, Irundaiyūr,

⁷ Vide Pērāsiriyar's Comm. on Tol. Por. ix. 94.

Karuṅgōji, Mōsi, Veṇṇürkkāppiyānār, Śīru (lesser) Pāṇḍurāṅgan, Tiraiyanmāran, the king of Tuvarai (Dwārasamudram or Dwāraka) and Kirandai, say they. Under them, say they, 3,700 composed poems. Their works, they say, were Kali, Kurugu, Venḍālī, Viyālamālai Agaval, etc. Their (authoritative) grammars were the Agattiyam, the Tolkāppiyam, the Mā purāṇam, Isainūṇukkam, and Būda purūṇam, say they. They say they were members of the Śāngam for 3,700 years. They say that those who established them in the Śāngam were 59 Pāṇḍiyans beginning with Venṭēroceeliyan, and ending with Muḍattirumāran. Of them, say they, five mounted the platform of poets. The place where they scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in (their) Śāngam was Kabūḍapuram. Probably then the sea swallowed the Pāṇḍya country.

Then the members of the last Śāngam who scrutinized Tamil (poetry) were forty nine, beginning with Śīru Medāviyār, Sēndambūlanār, Arivuḍaiyarānār, Perungunṛukkijār, Iḷam (younger) Tirumāran, Nallanduvanār, the scholar of Madura, Marudan Iланāganār, Nakkirar, the son of the school teacher, they say. Under them, say they, 449 poets composed poems. The poems sung by them were Neṭendogai four hundred, Kuṇundogai four hundred, Narṇai four hundred, Puṇam four hundred, Aiṅguṇai, Padigappattu, Kali one hundred and fifty, Paripādal seventy, Kūttu, Vari, Sirrisai, Pērisai, etc. Their (authoritative) grammars were, they say, the Agattiyam and the Tolkāppiyam. They scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in their Śāngam for 1,850 years, they say. Those that established them in the Śāngam were 49 (kings) beginning with Muḍattirumāran who came away (from Kabūḍapuram to Madura) when the sea swallowed (a portion of the Pāṇḍya country) and ending

with Ukkirapperu Valudi, they say. They scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in their Saṅgam at Northern Madura, say they."

Criticism of the Legend:

I have translated the account as literally as English idiom would permit. The phrase 'they say,' occurring so many times, is the literal rendering of 'enba'; it means 'says a person' (whom the author holds in respect, generally his teacher) and does not necessarily imply a continuous tradition. Certain statements in this account are incredible and certain others absurd on the face of it. The number of years allotted to the different Saṅgams is incredible, not only on account of the length assigned to the three periods but also on account of their symmetry. The length of the period of each Saṅgam is a multiple of 37, and the total duration is $37 \times (120 + 103 + 50)$. This shows how artificial the figures are. These figures are incredible for another reason also. In those early ages, in fact till the VIII century A. D., no era had been invented or adopted in the Tamil country and so there was no means of keeping count of years for any length of time.

The other figures in the account are all equally artificial, and incredibly big. Moreover it is absurd to say that 59 kings reigned for 3,700 years, whereas 549 of their ancestors reigned only 4,440 years. Agattiyānār is made to endure for 8,140 years, the period of the first two Saṅgams put together. Nor can we believe that the 49 members of the last Saṅgam lived for 1,850 years, though 49 kings died during the period. Therefore not one of the figures in this account can be believed.

Not merely the figures in this account of the Sangams, but many other facts stated therein are incredible. It is said that all the poems in the Puram and other collections were composed by members of the third Sangam or by poets working under their supervision. But we find in those collections poems congratulating certain Solka kings on their defeating and putting to disgrace Pāṇḍya kings.⁷ It is impossible to believe that the authors of such poems could have become members of the Sangam maintained by Pāṇḍya kings or could have been countenanced by the Sangam itself, or that such poems would have been included in anthologies authorized to be made by the kings of Madura. The collections were made in later times merely to preserve from destruction all available old poems.

Nor can we believe that men of different parts of Tamil India from Musiri on the West Coast to Mylapore on the East, living under the patronage of kings who were so often fighting with each other, could be summoned at the fiat of the Madura king and sit, we are not told, how often in the year, in judgment over the works of poets, most of them short odes, a few lines long. The idea of an organized Academy is a very modern one and it is surely a violent anachronism to transfer it to many hundreds of years ago.

Numerous poets must have flourished before the age of Agattiyānār; for he could not have composed a grammar of literary Tamil and its literature without having previously studied innumerable poems. But the existence of these poets is not even hinted at by the commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporul.

⁷ Vide Puram 31, 33, among several others.

Glaring absurdities can be pointed in this account of the three Saṅgams. It says that the eight anthologies named were composed by the poets who worked under the last Saṅgam ; but the very first ode in the Puram anthology is by Muḍināgarāyār, who, in this very account, is called a member of the first Saṅgam. Similarly poems composed by men whom the commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporul assigns to the Middle Sangam are found in these anthologies. Thus No. 105 and No. 228 of Nappinai are by Muḍattirumārān^{*}, the last royal patron of the second Saṅgam. But a technical objection may be raised that he was also the first patron of the last Saṅgam. This objection cannot apply to another fact, viz., that Pāṇambūrānār, who was a fellow-disciple of Tolkaṇṇiyār, and certainly belonged to the Middle Sangam is the author of No. 52 of Kuṇḍogai.

If the commentator on Agapporul with these anthologies before him could say they were all composed by men of the third Saṅgam, whereas they contained poems belonging to the members of the first two Saṅgams, as described by him, we are bound to conclude that he is a very unreliable witness.[†]

* It may be noted that this royal poet wantonly uses the Sanskrit word, cāpa, where the Tamil vil would very well have done, quite as unhesitatingly as Kadīyalūr Uruttirangāṇār in Perumbāṇāppuppadai, 1, 120.

† There are three other poems in Puram, viz., No. 355, No. 355 and No. 366, respectively by Vānumigiyār, Mārkandēyanār, and Gaudamanār, who are all claimed to be poets of the first Saṅgam by Naccinārkkiniyar, commentator on the Tolkaṇṇiyam, (vide Śendamil III. ix. pp. 303-312 for a discussion on this subject by M. Raghava Iyengar). I am of opinion that these were

Another inaccurate statement made by the commentator on Agapporūl is that three Pāṇḍya patrons of the last Saṅgam were poets. But in the Kuṛundogai, the Neḍundogai (i.e. Agam four hundred) Puṣṭam and Nerrinai, are found poems by not three Pāṇḍya kings, but so many as nine, not counting six Śōla kings represented in the above four anthologies; they are

- (1) Ollaiyūr tanda Pūdappāṇḍiyan, author of Puṣṭam 71, Agam 25.
- (2) Kaḍalur Māynda Ijamberuvaludi, Puṣṭam 102, Nerrinai 121.
- (3) Pāṇḍiyan Āryappaḍai Kaḍanda Neḍuñjeļiyān, Puṣṭam 183.
- (4) Pāṇḍiyan Talaiyūlangānatte earuvenṭa Neḍuñjeļiyān, Puṣṭam 72.
- (5) Ukkirapperuvaludi, Nerrinai, 68, Agam 26.
- (6) Pāṇḍiyan Māran Valudi, Nerrinai, 67, 301.
- (7) Pāṇḍiyan Arivudai Nambi, Kuṛundogai, 230, Nerrinai, 15, Agam, 373.
- (8) Pāṇḍiyan Pannālu tandān, Kuṛundogai 270.
- (9) Mālai Māṇan, Kuṛundogai 245.

Besides these nine, the wife of Pūdappāṇḍiyan, named Perungōppendu, sang Puṣṭam 246, when she wanted to mount her husband's funeral pyre and a Kuṛuvajudi, son of Aḍdar, a Pāṇḍya prince, sang Kuṛundogai, 345 and Agam, 150, and 228.

not early poets; Vānumīgiyar was made an early poet because he was believed to be identical with Vālmīki, the contemporary of Sri Rāma. Similarly Mūrkkaṇḍēyanūr was identified with Mūrkkaṇḍa, the ever young Rsi; and Gaudamanūr was made an old poet, because in his ode he sings the praises of one Agravōn Magan, which word is a literal translation of Dharmaputra, the title of the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas.

If the commentator on Agapporūl could be so very inaccurate with regard to the poems of the Saṅgam nearest to him in time and the books which he had before him, I should think most people would agree about the worthless of his testimony with regard to the first and second Sangams.

Probable historical facts in the legend :

The commentator on the Irāiyanār Agapporūl may have heard traditional stories of old Pāṇḍya kings and mixed them up with legends, some current in his time and others invented by him to make it up into a finished account. It is not impossible to extricate probable facts from improbable fiction in the legend so circumstantially narrated by him.

Indian Rājas have from early times been known to have had poets in their cortege. Kings have always hungered for praise and bards have always hungered for meat and thirsted for strong drink. The kings of the Vedic age had their sūtās and Tamil kings their pāṇar to sing their praise, and from early Tamil poems we learn that the Tamil kings were lavish in the distribution of food and drink to their bards and their kinsfolk. For instance one poet speaks of his relatives being plied "morning and evening with food made by boiling in milk mixed with honey the grains of ragi which grows on dry land, which resembles the eggs of pigeons, along with the fat meat of the rabbit roasted".¹⁶ Another des-

¹⁶ தாலை மக்கிய மாலை மக்கியும்
புறவுக் கருவன்ன புண்புல வரலின்
பாற்றுபெய் புண்க் கேதுளுமி மயக்கிக்
குதுமுயற் சொழுஞ்சு¹⁷ சிழித்த வெங்குடையு.

cribes how the king "gathered the bards who crowded round pots of liquor and how they drank it all up."¹¹ These bards sang in praise of the kings whenever the inspiration seized them. Thus must have been composed the odes that are found in the early anthologies. None of these poems were scrutinized in an Academy or subjected to the fire of criticism.

Was any poem at any time recited before a meeting of scholars for criticism, when the king sat in durbar (*koluviruttal*), surrounded by courtiers and bards? There is reliable testimony about one such event. When Tolkaṇṇiyānār composed his famous grammar, he recited it in the court of a Pāṇḍya king, called Nilandaru Tiruviṭ Pāṇḍiyan. In this assembly a Brāhmaṇa scholar of the village of Adangōḍu and master of the four Vedas which teach the Dharma acted as critic. This event is testified to by Panambāruṇār, a friend and fellow-disciple of Tolkaṇṇiyānār, in the Pāyiram or prefatory verses to the *Tolkaṇṇiyam*.¹²

¹¹ தலைபுண ரயமூரடி தசம்புடன் குறைஷ்சி
விரும்பா ஜொக்கந் கமிப்பு புக்கதங்கம்.

Pur., 224, ll. 2—3.

¹² சிவக்கரு திருவித் பாண்டிய எஜவய
தங்கார நாவி அன்மனை முற்றிய
வத்தோட் டாக்காத சரிறபத் தெரிக்கு.

Ib. ll. 9—11.

This king is referred to in *உதாரக சாக்தி*, ll. 60—61 where Nedūñjaliyan is called

கவக்கத் பெருதவிப் பொலக்கார மார்பி ஜெத்தே
ஷம்பல்; the commentator misinterprets the passage.

Naccinārkkiniyar adds to this perfectly reliable statement a legend that Tolkāppiyānār frequently requested Adāngōṭṭasūn to attend the royal court (avai) on the occasion of the publication of the Tolkāppiyam, but Agattiyānār forbade Adāngōṭṭasūn's doing so. As a compromise, this scholar of Adāngōṭṭu attended the ceremony as a kind of devil's advocate and made a carping criticism of the Tolkāppiyam. But Tolkāppiyānār stood his ground firmly and parried off all the attacks. This story was manufactured to explain the phrase 'ariṭaba', 'faultlessly' in the Pāyiram. Naccinārkkiniyar adds that the king's name was Mākirtti and he reigned for 24,000 years; but there is no instance known from early literature of any Pāṇḍiya or Sōla or Sēra king having a Sanskrit name or title till we came to Ugra Pāṇḍya in the V century A.D. and the title or name Mākirtti must therefore be a late invention. Besides this there is no other instance of an early Tamil work being formally published and criticized in a royal court and it is ridiculous to claim that short occasional odes about all sorts of subjects were thus presented to an Academy.

In the two thousand and odd pieces that constitute the eight anthologies there is no word or phrase indicating that there continually existed academies of poets or scholars. If there were any such it ought to have been mentioned by Neđuñjeļiyan, the victor of the battle of Talaiyālangānam, in his ode where he boasts of his heroism and invokes, in case he should not defeat his enemies, several misfortunes on him, the last being, "may the limits of my kingdom no more be sung by poets whose fame is acknowledged by all in the world, the chief of whom is Māṅgudi Marudan of great glory

and excellent scholarship."¹³ As this, passage does not mention a Sangam, we may take it that it did not exist or at least that the name Sangam was not used in Nedunjeliyan's time as the name of the body of court-bards. En passant it may also be remarked that this passage gives the lie direct to the popular belief that Nakkirar was the president of the "third Academy," if ever there was one.

The three Capitals :

There is no reason to discredit the information contained in the legend of the three Sangams that the Pāṇḍiya kings changed their capital twice. The fish-emblem of this dynasty means that they originally belonged to a tribe of fishermen-sailors. Moreover the Pāṇḍiya country it was that was mainly concerned with the export trade of South India from pre-historic times. It is therefore likely that their first capital was a Madurai on the sea and it was the 'Madurai that was swallowed by the sea.' From the title we can infer that it was a seaport town; it was situated probably in the south of the west coast of South India, and as this coast underwent frequent upheavals and depressions, the place might have been wiped out by the sea. The scholar says vaguely "Probably during that period the Pāṇḍiya country was swallowed by the sea." Apparently he had heard a vague tradition about the event and was not sure of the time when it happened. In ancient Tamil literature

¹³ நூல்கிய சிறப்பி தமிழ்க் காலத்தில்
ஏற்கும் மருதன் நலை ஒரு
வளக்குமரு விலையை பலத்துக்கு சிறப்பித்
புவங்க பாடாது வரைக்கேன் அளவுக்கார.

there is a reference to some such catastrophe. In the Mullaikkali, the fourth of the Kalittogai, it is said, "when the surging sea stole his territory, he was not discouraged, but proceeded against his enemies, won (a piece of) their dominions, removed their tiger and bow emblems and with his strong arm planted (instead) his carp ensign. Hence the Pāṇḍyan earned everlasting fame."¹⁴

The Silapadigaram also refers to the same incident, "May the Southerner (i.e. Pāṇḍya) prosper, who ruled over the South, after conquering the Gāngā and the Himālayam in the North, because the cruel¹⁵ sea swallowed the Comorin hill to which is attached many ranges of hills, along with the river Pāhruji, in revenge for an old feud, (that caused) by his throwing the sharp spear at the ocean, (at the same time) indicating to kings the extent of his domain with his feet."¹⁶

¹⁴ மல்திரை பூத்துதான் மண்டபல் வெளவிலின்
மேலியின்றி மேற்கொண்டு மேவர்ந் முடம்படப்
புலிமூடி விள்ளிக்கிப் புத்துப்பூத்த சிரம்பகங்கை
வளியினுங் அணக்கிய வரடாச்சிர்த் தென்னவன்.

Kalittogai, 104, ll. 1-4.

¹⁵ The word koṭum has been explained as bent or round by the commentator.

¹⁶ தழுவித் தங்கை வரசுக் குணர்த்தி
வழுவே வெறித்த வாஸ்பக்க பொருது
பங்குவிரி யாற்றுத்தன் தங்கையை யடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கேடுக் கொடுக்கபல் கொன்ற
வட்டிக்கைக் கங்கை மிமயழுங் தோன்று
தென்றினை யன்ட தென்னவன் வருதி.

Silappadigaram xi, ll. 17-22.

It will be noticed that while the Kalittogai makes the Pāṇḍiya recoup himself by defeating the Śōla and the Śēra kings, the Silappadigaram makes him add the Ganges region and the Himalayas to his dominions. Adiyārkkunallūr, the commentator on the Silappadigaram, has recorded while commenting on another passage, a tradition that, in the days of the first Saṅgam, when Nilandaru Tiruvir Pāṇḍyan, one of the seven royal poets of that Saṅgam, helped to publish the Tolkāppiyam the river Pahruji, which was the northern boundary of the southern face of Tenbālli, the river Kumari¹⁷ (presumably a stream that drained off the rain that fell on Comorin hill) and the intervening district the Tēngā nādu seven, Madurai nādu seven, front desert seven, back desert seven, hill nādu seven, east karai nādu seven, short palm nādu seven, also the land of several hills, including Kumari and Kollam, the fores and the river and the town up to the big hill north of Comorin were swallowed by the sea.¹⁸ The rivers Kumari and Pahruji were probably two small hill rivulets flowing down to the sea and the strip of coast between them must have been lost. Pērasiriyar one of the commentators on the Tolkāppiyam, says this district was called Panai nadu, the land of palms¹⁹.

¹⁷ The Mahābhārata mentions a Kumāri nādi Bhīṣ Par. ix 36 (Kum. Ed.).

¹⁸ Commentaries on Silappadigaram viii II, 1-2. The word seven probably refers to the number of villages in each district. One of the meanings of the word nādu is village. Adiyārkkunallūr says that the extent of the lost territory was seven hundred kāvudam (i.e. one thousand miles), which is an intolerable exaggeration; if it were true, the Pāṇḍyan was certainly entitled to compensation by annexing all North India as the poet declares!

¹⁹ Commentaries on Tol. Poruḷ, ix, 94.

Hence what was swallowed by the sea was a small bit of the modern Travancore, the southern part of which belonged to the Pāṇḍiyas in ancient days. Adiyārkkunallār in his commentaries on the passage above quoted, where the poet attributes the conquest of the Gāṅgā and the Himālaya to the Pāṇḍya, naively says that he got the Muttūrkūppam on the boundaries of the Śōla country and the Kundūrkūppam of the Śāra country to make up for the lost districts. The acquisition of two small districts in South India is converted by Ilāṅgōvadigal, the author of the *Silappadigaram*, into practically the conquest of the whole of Northern India. Such fearful exaggeration is commonly indulged in by this poet; yet some modern investigators regard the poem, containing such exaggerations, to be so historical, that every word of it can be taken as literal truth, and build far-reaching theories on the strength of solitary phrases of this poem.

One of the districts lost in this catastrophe is called Madurai Nūḍu; this perhaps means Madurai, the first capital of the Pāṇḍiyas and its hamlets. It is perfectly possible that after this district was drowned in the sea, the capital was shifted to Kabādapuram. This word is but an adaptation of the Sanskrit phrase pāṇḍyakavāṭam, meaning 'the door of the Pāṇḍya country.' The Tamil name of the place was Koṛkai. When this place was abandoned, the present (Northern) Madurai became the capital. The transfer of the capital from Koṛkai to Madura is noted by Pliny.²⁰ When the king changed his residence, we may presume, his poets also shifted their quarters to the new capital. The fact of the three capitals gave birth to the legend of the three Sangams

²⁰ Warmington, op. cit. p. 167.

Another Sangam legend :

At about the end of the V century A.D. North Indian Āgama cults—the Śaiva, the Vaiśnava, the Jaina and the Bauddha—burst the dam that separated the ordinarily life of the Tamils from that of the followers of the Northern cults in the Śōla, Śera and Pāṇḍya countries. The probable cause of this will be discussed later. Devotees of Śivan and Viṣṇu and Bhikkus of the Jaina and Bauddha cults swarmed in the land calling upon the Tamils to seek mokṣha. The worshippers of Śivan were called śivansdiyār or nāyanmār; those of Viṣṇu, ālwār. Numerous temples arose in different villages of the Tamil country dedicated to Viṣṇu or Śivan, where these devotees worshipped and miracles were performed at these shrines owing to the potency of the devotion of these Bhaktas. Each shrine produced a crop of legends proving its supreme holiness. The formation of these legends is a process that is going on even to-day. Often these legends find literary expression when a poet becomes a devotee of the god of the temple to which the legends pertain. The poems narrating these stories were generally composed in Sanskrit and called Sthalapurāṇams, and later adapted in Tamil. These Sthalapurāṇams, unlike the Purāṇams attributed to Vyāsa, do not contain any historical material; for their inspiring motive is purely local patriotism and consuming desire, to magnify the miracle-working potency of a particular idol.

The miracles performed by the presiding deity of the chief Śivan temple of Madura were called ‘holy sports,’ tiruvilaiyādal, and two Sanskrit works and two Tamil ones exist on the subject. Though these books were composed in comparatively late times, they embody

legends which were born in the VI century A. D. and have gone on gathering volume like a snowball. A pseudo-historical appearance is given to these legends by the mention in them of a number of kings of Madura. But the fact that Sanskrit names have been given to these kings shows that they were all invented names, for except in the case of the latest of the Pāṇḍiya kings, Ukkira Pāṇḍyan, no early Pāṇḍiya king but had a Tamil name. One of the legends says, in the reign of Vangiya āggaran (Sanskrit Vamśa sekhara), Brahmā quarrelled with his wife Sarasvati, in Benares city, and ordained that of the fifty-one (Sanskrit) letters that constituted her body, the forty-eight from 'ā' to 'ha,' should become incarnated as mortal poets, and that the first letter 'a,' which was the life-principle of the rest, and also the god of Madura, would become an embodied being and a poet, and that along with the other forty-eight would form a Sangam of forty-nine members. The forty-eight letters were born as men in this material world and after conducting learned debates in various places, proceeded to Madura. They were met by Sivan in person who advised them to worship the god of Madura. They did so, composed poems in his eulogy and then presented themselves before the Pāṇḍyan. The monarch built for their residence a hall to the North-West of the temple and gave them many presents. This roused the jealousy of the poets who were already receiving royal patronage. The new arrivals defeated the latter in debate, and then begged Sivan to give them a sitting plank, wherewith to test the scholarship of candidates for poetic fame. Sivan then stood before them in the form of a poet, carrying with him a plank two spans square. They offered incense to the plank and Nakkirar first set upon

it; then the rest, Kapilar, Paranar, etc., one after another. The plank grew in size, just enough to afford accommodation to true scholars. Then there arose quarrels among the poets as to whose poem was superior to the rest. Sivan again appeared among them and settled their disputes. This tale is of no use for historical purposes. The only thing in common between this legend and that which is found in the commentaries on Iraiyanār Agapporul is the name of the poet Nakkiranār. This legend contemplates the existence of only one Śāngam and not three. Though so fully charged with mythology, modern writers have given it more credence than to the soberer one and speak of the Śāngam, as if there were only one such. It should not surprise us if the devotees of Sivan should speak of the Śāngam, for the object of their devotion, Sivan, took part in only one Śāngam. Hence in a poem found in the collection of hymns (Tēvāram) composed by Appar (VII century A. D.) there is a reference to Sivan's sport in helping a poor poet, Tarumi, to gain a purse of gold in the Śāngam.²¹ Probably the story of this 'sport' was current in the VII century A. D.)²² But it is really surprising that so-called critical scholars of the present day should speak of one Śāngam. Either

²¹ செப்பட்டுப்புவாங்மீத சுக்காமை
பூர்வகாலி தருமிஸ்ரங்கி சென்ற சென்.

Tirupputtūr Tiruttāndagam, 2. 1. 2.

²² Another 'sport' of Siva described in this poem is the teaching of Tamil by Sivan to Agattiyānār; when exactly the story was invented we do not know but now for the first time the human author of the Agattiyam was turned into a semi-divine being.

they ought to speak of three Sangams; or of none at all, according as they regard the scholiast's statement as credible or incredible. It is really curious that the critical method should lead any one to prefer the pure myth of the *Sthalapurāṇam* to the mixture of fact and fiction of the Scholiast.

The word *Sangam* and its compounds:

The word *Sangam* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *Saṅgha*, first popularized by the Jainas and the Bauddhas. The former used the word to indicate the organized body of the followers of Mahāvira, composed of the Bhikkhu, the Bhikkhṇi, the Śrāvaka and the Śrāvikā. The former two were men and women ascetics, who followed a strict code of laws, involving extreme self-mortification and practised a difficult course of yoga practice, generally ending in the *sallekhana*, suicide by starvation. The latter were lay disciples of both sexes, who were candidates for asceticism. The whole was a systematically organized body of aspirants for jinahood. The Bauddha Saṅgha was the association of men or women ascetics who lived in monasteries, followed a code of laws much less severe than those of the Jaina Sanyāsins and even of those of Brāhmaṇa ascetics and practised a Yoga system of their own. The Bauddha monks taught the Dharma to the lay public but did not include the laity in their organization. These Jaina and Bauddha ascetics migrated to the Tamil country from the IV century B.C., onwards, but lived at first in natural mountain caves and later in groves outside the capital cities; but till the V century A.D., they did not influence the lives of the ordinary Tamil men: so no mention of them is found in the early poems of the Tamils. They

are for the first time mentioned in the *Pattinappälai* and the *Maduraikkāñji*²³.

A Jaina Sangha was for the first time established in the Tamil country at Madura in 470 A.D. "In a Digambara Darśanasāra, lately obtained from Anhilwād Pūṭhan, Devasena, who gives his own date as 909 (apparently from his constant use of that era, samvat 909 = A.D. 863), tells us that Vajranandī, the pupil of Sri Pūjyapāda, founded the Drāviḍa Sangha in Mathura of the Deccan in the year 525 'after the death (sic) of Vikrama,'"²⁴ It has to be noted that this was not a Tamil sangam as we understand it, but an organization of the Jainas of the Tamil country for teaching the Jaina Dharma to lay disciples. The first Buddhist sangha of the Tamil country is mentioned in the romance called *Mayimēgalai* as existing in Kāvirippāmbattiṇam. Among the sounds heard in the early morning in that city were "the right whorled chank-shells' inarticulate sounds and those of the (Buddhist) sangha's teaching of wisdom, pregnant with meaning."²⁵

²³ Paṭ, I, 53, Madur, II, 476—485.

²⁴ Siri pumja pādasīso dāviḍa sangassa kārago vusṭho |

nāmena vajjanandī pāhuny vedi mahāsattho ||

pamea sae eavīsa vikramarāyassa maranya pattassa |

darikanā mahurājālo dāviḍa sangho mahāmaho ||

J. B. B. A. S. vol. xvii, Part I, No. xlvi, p. 74.

²⁵ வாம்புரீசு சங்கம் அதிர்த்துக் கார்ப்புப்

பும்புரீசு சங்கம் குருவெறு முத்து.

vii, 113-114.

The paronomasia was rendered possible because the native word for chank and the borrowed word sangha, were pronounced alike.

The "three Jewels"—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha—are mentioned later in the same poem.²⁶

When the Śaiva cult began to compete with the Jaina and Baudhāyaṇī cults in Madura in the VI century A. D., the Śaivas naturally desired to boast of a Saṅgha of their own, as a rival to those of the heretics; and so arose the legend of Śivan himself leading a society of scholars and poets who sang hymns about him, such as the one described by the *Tiruvilaiyālal Purāṇam*; as members of that society were named the few poets of the early anthologies, who alone referred to Śivan in their odes, or who might otherwise be associated with Śivan, such as Iraiyanār, Uruttirar, Kapilar, Nakkirar, Parunār, Maduraippērālavāyar. Thus apparently the word saṅgam was used at first in Tamil for a religious association and its function was to teach Dharma or to sing about Śivan. For the first time the scholar on the *Iraiyanār Agapporul* used it in the sense of a lay, literary academy in his legendary account of the three saṅgamams.

The first phrases having the word saṅgam as an element were saṅgamali tamil, saṅgamugattamil, gaṅgat tamil. In these phrases tamil means Tamil verse and not the Tamil language; and saṅgam has the connotation of a body of hymnists of Śivan or Viṣṇu, or is at least associated with religious poetry.

Thus the great Brāhmaṇa Śaiva hymnist, Tirūṅgānambandar describes the group of ten stanzas composed by him in praise of the god of Tiruttēvū-

²⁶ புத்த தமிழ் சங்க சென்று

புத்திற மனிஷய புத்தமலின் வணக்கி.

Ib. xxx II. 34.

temple, "the ten Tamil (stanzas) pertaining to the Sangam sung by Nānasambandan."²⁷

In another hymn to the same god, he calls himself "one able (to compose) good sendamij."²⁸

Tirumangai Ālvār, the Vaiṣṇava hymnist, contemporary with the above, ends almost every one of his decades by describing his poems as having been composed in pure Tamil, calls in a certain one of his decades, "the Ten (stanzas) which form a garland for the head (?) of the Sangam."²⁹

Another he calls "the Ten (stanzas) which are in Tamil belonging to the Sangam."³⁰ The great Vaiṣṇava poetess, Āndal, daughter of Periyālvār, calls her delightful poem, Tiruppāvai, "the thirty (stanzas which form) a garland of sangattamij, composed by the daughter of the great Paṭṭir."³¹

Another phrase which has become common among modern writers on Tamil history is Saṅgakālam, 'the Sangam period.' Seeing that no single assembly of poets was called a Sangam, the phrase is meaningless. According to the commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporul it was

²⁷ குருவாசல்பக்த தூரைதெப்ப சுங்கமலி செகிதறியுத்த பத்த.

Tiruttēvūr Tēvāram, ii. 10, 11-3-4.

²⁸ நலை செகிதறியுத் தாங்கவள்.

Ib. i. 10, l. 2.

²⁹ சுங்கமுத்துத்தமிழ் மாணவத்து.

Periyatirumoli iii. 4, 10.

³⁰ சுங்கமலி தமிழ் மாணவத்து.

Ib. iii. 9-10.

³¹ பட்டச் சென்ற செருத செருள்வ சுங்கத்துமிழ் மாணவ முப்பது.

Tiruppāvai, 30, 1, 5

a period of 9,900 years. Some modern writers rightly reject this figure, unreasonably dismiss into non-existence the authors of the various grammars and poems attributed to the first and second Sangams, restrict the word Sangam to the third, and use the phrase 'Sangam period,' for what they imagine was the period of that Sangam. The commentator on the Agapporul says vaguely that the eight anthologies and certain other works, not now extant, were sung by "them", i.e. by the 449 poets who worked under the supervision of the 49 members of the third Sangam. We do not reach either figure by counting up the poets of the eight anthologies. I have already pointed out that members of the first and second Sangams according to the commentator are represented in the anthologies. But certain modern writers have persuaded themselves that all the poets whose poems constitute those anthologies lived in one or at the most two generations. This is absurd, for it means that ancient Tamil literature flashed like a meteor on the South Indian horizon, preceded by abysmal darkness and succeeded by a long prajaya. It reminds one of the crude theories of most unscientific people that the manifestation of life on our globe took place suddenly on the extinction of beginningless chaos and life will be quenched equally suddenly and endless night will supervene. On the contrary, Tamil poetry, like every thing else in the universe was the result of slow growth during many centuries and has had from its birth till today an uninterrupted course of evolution.

Conclusion :

I may sum up the results of this long discussion :—

- (1) Tamil poetry arose about 1,000 B.C., if not earlier, but almost all the poems of the I millennium, including

those on which Agattiyanār, Tolkāppiyānār and other early grammarians based their grammatical researches have perished. Yet we may be sure that they were all occasional odes on one or other incident of love or war, as described in the Poruladigāram of the Tolkāppiyam.

(2) These poets flourished in the sunshine of royal favour in the courts of the Tamil kings, not only Pāṇḍiya but also Sōla and Sēra. The kings were lavish in the distribution of meat and liquor to bards and their kinsfolk.

(3) The Pāṇḍiya kings had three capitals one after another, and that was why the legend of three Śangams arose.

(4) The numbers of years of the durations of, and of the members of, the Śangams are absurd inventions.

(5) The Tamil Śangam was first imagined as a religious body in imitation of a Drēvida saṅgha established by Vajra Nandi in 470 A. D., and a few of the poets of the V century who happened to sing songs in praise of Śivan were spoken of as leading members of the Tamil Śangam which was graced by Śiva's presence, off and on, according to legend.

(6) In the VIII century or later, the name Śangam was given to the royal darbars of ancient times, which were described as three Tamil Śangams.

(7) The Sōla and Sēra kings must have had similar darbars since early times, but as these dynasties were under an eclipse from the end of the V century A. D., to the IX century A. D. or on account of the absence of famous temples like that of Madura, or other causes which

cannot be discovered, the Śivans of other places were not credited with helping Śāṅgams there. Hence the Pandiyas alone got the honour of possessing Śāṅgams.

(7) The legend of three Śāṅgams is not a genuine tradition handed down from one generation of scholars to another but a hotch-potch of vague memories of royal assemblies, surmises with regard to allusions in poems and legends of Śivan's miracles.



CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST HALF-MILLENNIUM A. D. LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

The old Tamil ways still going strong:

Notwithstanding the existence in their midst of Brāhmaṇas and the attempts of Agattiyānār and Tolkaṇṇiyānār to import Aryan culture into the Tamil country, the bulk of the people continued to live as if Aryan culture did not exist. They lived and loved just in the same ways as their forebears did in the olden times. Their occupations, customs, and beliefs, superstititious or otherwise, did not at all alter. The following extracts will enable the reader to realize that the simple rural life of the pre-christian centuries continued intact and will also show that notwithstanding its contact with Sanskrit culture, the Tamil Muse still sought inspiration from the humble scenes around, which it deserted a few centuries later when the artificial poetry of Sanskrit subjugated the Tamil mind and for all time destroyed the beautiful realistic poetry of the early Tamils.

Raising of food in the hill-country:

The raising of food was the chief work of the people and is frequently described. "In the red high land where is the Vēngai (*Pterocarpus bilobus*) tree which grows well in the heat, the field gets well soaked in the rains of the rainy season. They plough it many times so that the sod is well turned. They sow and harrow and in the proper season pull out the many-branched weeds. The stalks grow leaves plentifully and like the pea-hen

which has recently laid eggs, their black stems rise tall and grow many spikes of corn from head to foot. They reap the ragi and the panicum in the proper season, when the sesamum becomes dark and the white fruit of the bean which grows from stout creepers is ready for cutting, and they distribute in the huts covered with straw the liquor that has been buried in the earth and is ripe; they fry the ground-nut in sweet smelling oil and cook food."¹ But raising food-stuff by ploughing was not an absolute necessity in the hill-country; food-stuff got without ploughing is described in the following. "(Your country) produces four crops which do not require ploughing by farmers. First, the rice grows in the bamboo which has small leaves. Secondly, the sweet pulp ripens in the jack-fruit. Thirdly the tubers of the sweet potato descend from the thick creeper. Fourthly, the ripe blue honey comb bursts when the

1 வெப்புங் விளைக்க வேங்கைச் செஞ்சையற்
காப்பொயற் கலீத் தெரும்பட்ட ஏத்துப்
பூழி மயங்கப் பலவாழுத வித்திப்
பல்லி யாதிய பல்லினைச் செய்விட
களைகால் கழாவிற் கோடெலிபு சுதி
மென்யாற் புளிந்துப் பெட்டாலிப்ப கூத்து
கருத்தால் போகி யொருங்குமீன் விரித்து
கீழு மேலு மெஞ்சானமைப் பலகாய்த்து
வாலிதின் விளைக்க புதுவர கநியத்
இனைக்கொய்யக் கல்லை ஏறுப்ப மயங்க
கொழுஷ்கொடு விளர்க்காம் கோட்பத மக
கிலங்குதைப் பழுணிய மட்டங்க் கேறல்
புல்வெப் குரம்பைக் குடிதொறும் பகர்த்து
ஏற்றுவெய்க் கடலை விசைப்பச் சோத்டு,

beautifully-coloured monkey jumps on it and the long hard hills drip with honey¹". "The dwellers of the hill country were loth to part from it, because from bough to bough, are hanging the honey combs, large fruits are ripening in bunches, bright rivulets are running down the hill looking like garlands, on the hill-sides are being raised various kinds of grains and pulses all the year round and the mountainous country is very fertile,"²

The life of the hunter:

By way of recounting the exhortation of a maiden made to her lover not to visit her during nights, exposing himself to the dangers of walking in the dark through the hill-country, a poet describes several incidents in the life of the hunter. "Lord of the high hill, the boar, whose neck is covered with bristles, along with its mate whose breasts are dried up like leather, destroys the millets on their stalks : the hunter, through a hole in the thicket in the road, shoots the

² உழவு குழாதன ராக்குபய தூங்கட்டுத்
ஒங்கே, சிறமிலை யெதிரி கொல்லினை யும்மே
இரண்டே, திங்களைப் பலவின் பழஞுற்கி கும்மே
ஞங்கே, கொழுங்கொடு வக்கிக் கிழங்குவீழ்கி கும்மே
ஈங்கே, அவனித்த வோசி பாய்தலின் மீதழிக்கு
திண்ணிக்கூடின் குந்தக் கேங்கொசி யும்மே.

Pur. 109 II. 3—5.

* பிரசக் அங்கப் பெரும்பழக் குணை
வகைவென் எருவி மாலையி ஸிழிதாக
ஒன் மென்னாம் புலம்புக வானு
மங்கலத் தம்மலிம் மலைக்கழு வெந்தபெணப்
பிரச்சோ சிரக்கும் பெருங்கன் ஞடி.

Nar. 33. I 1—5,

boar with an arrow from his bow. The black-haired lady of the house decorates the white tusked boar, cuts it up and distributes pieces of its meat to every house in the village. You (lord of this village), are coming here in the night without fear, when the strong, angry elephant is standing expecting the tiger. The thought of it strikes me with fear. Do not henceforth come along the road, where the bear, like a cloud, stalks round the snake's nest, which has a wet hole, searching for prey."⁴

In the Valleys:

In the low lands, "the stork feeds from the tank and sleeps on the corn-stalk. The farmers, who reap the beautiful fields where the lily grows, drink from cups made of the lily leaves from whose opening bud the petals have dropped off and dance keeping time to the roaring waves of the clear sea. May I, eager for reward, not return, after praising you, lord of these lands, empty handed and disappointed as do the birds that fly high in the sky and, desiring the jack-fruit, go so that the mountain-eaves resound with the noise

* பின்செயற் பன்றி தொன்முலைப் பின்வேநு
 கீர்த்தர வெள்ள கைம்பிக்க எவ்வதீர்
 கல்லத ராம்புறை யல்லிக் காணவன்
 விஸ்வத் தக்க கூண்டேட் பேந்வைப்
 புணவிருங் கதுப்பின் பலையோார் கெண்டுக்
 குழுங்கற பகுக்கு கெமேலை காட
 வாரவுசின வேழ முதபுவி பார்க்கு
 மிரலி னஞ்சா யஞ்சாவ வாவி
 எரிவோப் புற்றங் காடோ முற்றி
 மின்வேத தெங்கின மஞ்சும்
 வாரசேர் சிதுகூறி வாரா ஜீமே,

of their flight, and find that the tree has ceased to bear fruit."⁵

The commonest objects and the most ordinary incidents of the agricultural region elicited the most sweet poetry from the poets of the Tamil country, before they came under the cramping influence of the artificial poetry of the later ages of classical Sanskrit composition. Thus sings a Tamil poet :—

" The water of the magnificent tank is flowing into the irrigation-canal ; the horned Vālai-fish tries to swim against the current, but is borne down to the slushy fields ; its white scales are dotted with dirt from the feet of the buffaloes that draw the plough, and the ploughman who ploughs up and down many times beats it with his stick. It then rolls in the edge of the furrow."⁶

⁵ பொம்மை நானை போகவிர் கூகு
கெம்தலங் கழனி சென்னி தொழுவர்
கும்புவிடி மூன்பினி யலிந்தித் தாம்ப
வகள்ளட யரியன் மாச்சித் தெண்டடத்
படுதிகர விச்சிஸ்ப் பரணி அக்கு
மென்புள வைப்பி ணன்னுட்டிப் பொகு
பல்கனி ஜோடி யங்குவிசும் புக்கு
பொய்மை விட்டரகஞ் கிண்ப முன்னிப்
பழஞ்சுடப் பெருமரச் சிர்தெனக் கையற்றப்
பெருது பேயரும் புள்ளினம் போவரின்
ஊசைநா வர்த்துகின் ஊசைதுவல் பரிசிலேன்
யதுவிழைக் பெயர்வே,

Pur. 209, 1-12.

⁶ மாண் பெருங்குள மகட்சிர் விட்டுதெனக்
காலனீணக் தெதிரிய கணைக்கேரட்டு கூவை
யங்களங் கழனி புன்னா வோடுப்

This is another extract relating to life in the river-valley. "In the midst of lotuses whose flowers look like forked flame, the reapers who have cut the stalks of the red paddy throw the sheaves. If the carts in which these reapers carry their liquor get stuck in the mud, they heap up below the wheels of the cart the stalks of the sugar-cane: O lord of this land where flows the river, you have lost all sense of shame. For they say you are constantly playing with your mistress in the flood. Her fair face makes effulgent the broad ford of the river on whose banks the *Butea frondosa* bears flowers looking like fried paddy. Her thick tresses are pleasant to see and smell sweet with flowers. Her looks are pert. On her beautiful breasts the garland of pearls heaves up and down. Her beauty pierces the mind" (*).

பகுடீச ரங்கத் புள்ளிவெண் புறத்துச்
செஞ்சா ஹழுவார் சோந்புகை மதரிப்
கூபங்காந் சேதுவி வைனமுதற் புரஞும்.

Nar. 340, II, 3-8.

த எரியகங் தன்ன தாமகர விடையினை
யரிக்குதால் குவித்த செக்கெல் வினைகுர்
கட்டெங்கும் பறகுஞ் சாகா டைத்தறி
ஞுங்கும் படுக்கும் பாய்புன தூர
பெரிய கால்லிலை மன்ற பொரியெனப்
புள்ளவி புகன்றுக்கப் பொலிய வொன்றுத
ஏறுமகாக் காண்வருங் குறும்பஸ் கட்டன்
மாலை ஓக்கிற் காழியும் வணமுலை
யெல்குகை வெழினெலத் தொருத்தியொடு கெருகை
வைகுபுன வயக்கீன.

Agam. 116, II, 1-10.

In the littoral tracts :

Fishing was the chief occupation of Neydal, the littoral tract, and the poet did not think that this occupation was too lowly a subject for his craft. "For throwing into the sea, which roars like thunder, the great net woven of ropes twined tight, the heavily laden punt was propelled with poles by men who looked like uncontrollable elephants . . . The village near the clear sea is surrounded by a hedge of Kandal trees; and in its gardens spread with new sand the fine pollen from the opening buds of the Alexandrian laurel is blown by the east wind on the white backs of the herons."¹⁴ A fisher-girl in the following beautiful ode requests her lover to stay overnight, for the men of her house were not likely to return soon. "The girls who are adorned with bright bangles welcome from their houses the dark-eyed eventide which announces the sad news that the sun who, rising from the eastern ocean had spread his fair-hued rays to make the day bright, has vanished behind the western hill. The village is filled with the sound of the beating of the waves of the broad sea, which is blue like the light of

" வடக்கத்திர் திரித்த அன்றாட பெருவளை
 விழக்குறத் புணரிப் பெனவத் திடீமார்
 சிவரயப் பெய்த மம்பி காரூசர்
 சிவரயகுங் கனித்திற் பாதவ ஹாஸ்யம்
 போதலிட்
 புதுமணற் கானாக் புன்னொயன் டாது
 தொண்ட யகசயனி தாக்குதொறுக் கருகின்
 யெண்புற மொசிய மார்க்குக் தெண்கடற்
 கண்டன் யேவிய ஆர்.

the lamp in which is burnt the fat of the fish. Will you lose anything if you stay here with us? My relatives who have gone to kill the cruel shark which runs away tearing the beautiful net whose feet are made of red thread and head is bent, will not return empty-handed".⁹ The amenities of life on the sea-coast are described in one ode. There "the great farmers who reap the paddy in the heat of the bright sun, jump on the waves of the clear sea; the sturdy sailors, who own strongly built boats drink the hot (i. e., strong) liquor and dance the Kuravai measure; they take hold of the bright-bangled hands of the women who are wearing the garlands made of the soft clusters of the flowers of the Alexandrian laurel (punnai) which has leaves wetted by the droplets of sea-water and drips with honey; in the cool groves in which bees swarm round the flowers, women wearing bright bracelets and garlands of Pandanus flowers, drink the juice of the pulp of the palmyra fruit, mixed with that of the

* குண்ட வியர்த்த குஞ்சக்கிர் பரப்பிப்
பக்கெழு செல்வன் குடமலை மறையப்
புலம்வர் திறத்த புங்கன் மாலை
விலங்குங்கள் மகளிர் வியங்க ரயர
மீனினாக் நொகுத்த ஆனேப் பொண்டார்
கீனிறப் பரப்பிற் ரயங்குதினை முறைப்பக்
ாவானேர் பிழுர்த் கல்லெலன் பரக்காற்
தின்றுகி விவணை யாகி மெம்மோடு
தங்கி ஜெவ்ரேனு தெப்ப செங்காற்
நொழிமுடி யங்கலை பரியப் போகிய
கோட்கலூச் குறித்த முன்பொடு
மூட்டம் வரயா தெமர்வா ரவார,

shining sugar-cane and the sweet water of the round cocoanut which grows on sand, and leap into the sea." 19

A poem in which the foster-sister exhorts the lover to stay overnight and console the heroine gives another picture of the coastal region and its ways. "Crowds of fish-eating, yellow-legged storks fly in the red sky and look like the garland of pearls on the breast of Murugan. The many-rayed sun has spent the day little by little and set behind the western sky. This maiden of great modesty and delicate beauty has lost heart; her fair eyes

¹⁹ கெல்வரிய மிகுங்கொழுவார்

செஞ்சுருவிற்கு வெயின்முனையிற்
கெங்கடத்திலை பிளைப்பாவுது
தின்டிலில் வண்பாதவர்
வெப்புகடை மட்டுண் ①
தண்குரவைச் சிரதுக்குங்கு
ஊற்ற வளிந்த தேம்பாப் புன்னை
மெங்கிணர்க் கண்ணி பிஸுங்க அம்கத
ஒங்கை மகாநிச் தலைக்கை தழுஷ்து
யண்போட மலர்க்கத் தண்ணாதுக் கானன்
முண்டகக் கோங்க யொன்வெடாடு மகனி
ரிகும்பசீனவின் குகும்பைக்கும்
பூங்கரும்பின் தீஞ்சாறு
மோங்குமண்ற குங்குத்தானாதுத்
திசோர உடன்விராது
முக்கி குண்டு முக்கீஸ் பாயும்.

Po. 24, II, 1—16

In the last line there is a fine pun. They drink the three waters—palmyra, sugarcane and cocoanut—mixed together and jump into the 'triple-water,' the name of the sea-water, because it contains the water of springs, rivers and rain.

have begun to shed tears. My lord, your mule, which has been wounded in the leg by the shark of the lagoon, cannot wade through its dark waters, hence do not go back in the night in the company of your young followers who carry the strong bow. There in the sandy garden where the palmyra grows and the nightingale calls for its mate, is a place surrounded by the long backwater, which belongs to us who wear small clusters of lilies. What will you lose if you go there and take rest?¹¹

In the sandy desert:

In the bleak desert region, Pālai, the conditions of life were difficult. "The summer lingers long on the hill-side and the hot sunlight looks like a long white piece of cloth spread wide. The hungry wolf kills and

¹¹ தெருவேண் மார்பி அரம் போல்
தென்வாய் வாணக் கிண்டி கிளருத்தும்
பைக்காற் தொக்கின சிரைப்புத் தவப்ப
தெவ்லை கூப்பைக் கழிப்பிக் குடையிற்
கல்லேங்கி தங்கேற பல்கதிர் குருத
மதரெழின் மயைஷ்வன் கறுத விவளே
பெருநா ஜனார்த் திறமென் காயன்
மாணவஞ் சிதைய வேங்கி யானு
தழிரெட்டுக் கிளனே பெரும வதஞுற்
கழிச்சலு வெறிக்க புட்டா ஜத்திரி
கூடுகி ஸிருங்கழிப் பரிமெலிக் காசலு
வாலி விளையாரை தெல்லிக் கெங்காரது
கேர்க்களை செல்லேன் சிதைய துண்டோ
பெண்ணை மோக்கிய ஜென்மனைற் படப்பை
யன்றி வகை மாக்கட
திறகுர ஜெந்தவெம் பெருங்கழி எட்டுட.

eats the emaciated elk ; what remains of the meat after the wolf has eaten, is alone the food available to the man from other regions who travels in the Pälai. It is wearisome for one to go on the difficult paths there."¹² The desert region is not without beauties of its own. "On the fine sand where the water has all dried up, are visible the lines which form the tracks of the birds which have bent feathers. As the gentle north wind plays upon the sugar-cane, its white flower spreads out and, looking like the fly-whisk waved before a king, beautifies the thicket. When the clouds are deserting the sky, the sun shows himself and disappears, as if he opened and shut his eyes alternately; the day departs, evening comes on ; and then the mid-night when the dew falls heavily."¹³

¹² துகில்வீரித் தங்க வெவிவை குருப்பி
வெங்குத் தீடிய குன்றத்துக் கயாது
ஞேப்பசிச் செங்க முயங்கும்பூர் தெரிவெச்சி
யார்த்தன வெறழித்த மிச்சில் சேய்காட்
டருஞ்சாஞ் செங்கேவர்க்கு வல்சி யாகும்
வெங்கம் யாரினை விரத்தல்.

Nar. 43, II, 1—6.

¹³ கொடுஞ்சிகற
யுள்ளடி பொறித்த யரியுடைத் தலைய
கிடத்தி மகுங்கி வீராய் சேரன்ற
ஊரா வரண்ட யுள்ளபுக்கு திண்டவின்
வேழ வெண்டு விசிவன பலங்கள்
கூக்குவிச் கவரியிற் பூம்புத வண்ணிய
மகாநகழி விசம்பின் மாறி ஞாயிற
விழித்தியைப் பதுபோல் விளக்குப் பண்ணய
வெள்ளோகிய பொழுதி ஜென்றுதப்
பனிக்காற் கொண்ட கையுள் யாமம்.

Nar. 241, II, 1—10.

But yet this region is desolate enough, though people have to cross it frequently. "The men that have passed along the track have cut the vine called pirandai (*vitis quadranularis*) ; the cut creeper looks like a piece of the green snake chopped by the thundrbolt, shrivelled on the track. In the hearth made of stones left by the salt-vendors the youthful archers boil meat and rice till the smell rises and eat it with delight."¹⁴

In the pastoral regions:

The Mullai, pastoral region, was a very pleasant one to dwell in. Thero, "in the last day of the rains which pour in streams from the sky, the shepherd carries suspended from his hand a hoop made of many strands, (with a milk-pot in it) and on his back a rolled up palm-leaf mat and a leather-bag containing the fire-churn and other tools; when he goes on shouting the price of milk, one side of his body is wetted by the rain-drops, he leans his stick on the ground, places one foot on it and screws his lips and whistles his call to his small-headed sheep so that they may not stray to another man's land and the sheep stand motionless. The virtuous, fair lady of this truly fertile pastoral village, though it is night, is delighted to feed her guests."¹⁵

¹⁴ சூததென் மாக்கள் எறத்த பிரண்டை
யேறுபெறு பாம்பின் அபக்துணி கடுப்ப
சூறியற் றெங்கு மத்தம் வெறிகொன
முமண்சாத் திரக்க வெறுபிக எழுப்பி
ஞோங்கிலை மழுவ ருஷ்புமுக் கயகும்.

Agam, 119, ll. 5—9.

¹⁵ வாளிகுப் பெரித்த வைங்குபெயற் கண்டாட
பாளி கெங்கட் பல்கள் மென்றுறி
கெங்கோற் கலப்பை யத்தொடு கருக்கிப்

The spring is the pleasantest season in the pastoral district. "The shrub, pidū, from which the yellow leaves had dropped down, has now put forth innumerable buds; the nullai (creeper jasmine) which climbs on thickets has flowered; the cassia (konrai) has produced golden flowers; the short-branched Kāyā (memecylon tinctorium) shines with efflorescence which looks like sapphires; in the morning the clouds have commenced to shower. Look! the stag full of love runs about in search of his mate, who has run away from the herd along with her timid-looking young ones on the barren ground."¹⁶

பறிப்புநக் திட்ட பாடங்கள் விகடம்
நூல்பால் நூலை பெயருதித் தனைப்பத்
தண்ணோல் வைத்த வொழிக்குசிலை மதவினி
சிறத்தீந் தொழுதி யேமார்த் தல்தும்
புறவி எதுவே பெரும்யா யான
ராவி வாயிலும் விருக்குவரி ஜுவக்கு
முஸ்லை சாங்ர ஏற்பின்
மெஸ்லியற் குறுமக ஞுகரவி ஜூர.

Nar. 142.

¹⁶ இலையில் பிடவ மீச்சவ ராகும்புப்
புதலிசர் தனவும் பூஉக்காட் யலிழப்
பொன்னெனக் கொன்றை மலர மனியெனப்
பன்மலர்க் கரவங் குறுஞ்சினை கலைக்
காங்கொடும் கிங்கே காலை
குவக்காலை
கழிப்பெயர் காரிற் போகிய மடங்கள்
விழிக்கட் பெத்தவொ டன்ளிரிச் செட்டக்
காமர் செஞ்சமொ டகலாத்
சேலை சிங்ர விரலை யேர.

Nar. 242.

The sounds of the Mullai country are pleasant to hear. "In the darkness of the midnight when, like the sky (bright with stars) the mustundai (*Ipnoea candicans*) with folded leaves has put forth its white flowers on the sides of the hills from whose top drips the honey. The shepherd who gathers together the kids and carries (on his back) the mat made of palm leaves, wears the garland, from which water is dripping, made of the cool sweet smelling mullai flowers mixed with the novetember flowers on which bees are falling. He utters a long-drawn cry to drive off the jackals; while is glowing in his hand a slender burning-brand. This sound, and the sound of the long horn which is blown by the watchmen of the millet-field for driving away the large herd of small-eyed pigs, are characteristic of the dry land of the forest tract."¹⁴

"The houses (of this region) are built on short posts and are provided with plenty of food. (In front of

¹⁴ தெம்பு சிமைப் பாக்கம்ப் பும்பிய
குறையிலை முசன்னட வெண்டுக் குறைய
வானினப் புத்த பாருட் கங்குள்
மறித்துருஉத் தொகுத்த பதிப்புற விவையன்
தண்ணமற் முக்கிலை தோன்றியொடு விரைவு
வங்கிபாடத் தொடுத்த ஸ்ரீயார் கண்ணிய
வோதுபாலி தொன்றி வங்கை காயக்
குறாசி புளம்புக் காரிரு ஜெவிலிலி
திருட்ட பங்கிப் பெருக்கூர கடிய
முகைப்புக்குக் காவவர் சிளைத்திருக் குதுகு
கருங்கோட் போகையொர் தெருக்குகுக்
தினசக்கும்
வன்புவக் காட்டுக்கூட் துறே.

them) is placed as offering to the gods, red rice cooked and the black-eyed Karunai-tuber fried and the round-eyed and sharp-mouthed she-crow, embraces her young ones whose feathers are trembling, calls her friends, and picks up the offering."¹⁸

This description of the life of the common people might well end with a picture of a poverty-stricken house. "The high, crooked hearth has lost all memory of cooking; and fungus has grown on it. She is suffering from hunger which emaciates the body; her dry breast being without milk has become a wrinkled skin, its vent-holes have been blocked up, and the child, is chewing it, weeping. My wife looks at the face of the weeping child and her eyes and both eyelashes are filled with tears."¹⁹

Minor Professions:

By this time life had become sufficiently advanced to require the exercise of all the professions now found

¹⁸ தொட்டுக்கட் காக்கூக்கட் காவுரம்ப் பேஸ்ட
வீக்குசிகைப் பிள்ளை தழிதுக் கிளைபவிர்க்கு
கருக்கட் கலுளைக் கூட்டுக்கூண்ட் சோத
குருகடப் பலியொகி கங்கிய குறுக்காத்
கழுதட் கண்மீன்.

Nar. 367, II, 1—5.

¹⁹ துருவனி மத்த கொடுய சுடுப்பி
ஞம்பி பூப்பத் தெம்புப்பி யுறுவாப்
பாது வின்கையிற் குருவொடு திருக்கி
வில்லி நூர்க்க பொல்வர அறமுலை
கணயத்தெர தழுவுக்காக் மகத்து முச்சேக்க
கிரோடு சிகார்க்க வீரிதழ் மணமுக்கெண்ண்
மனையாக்.

Pur. 164, II, 1—7

in villages. These occupations furnished poets with similes. A warrior is described "to be as strong as the anvil in the smithy where the blacksmith with strong arms forcibly strikes the iron and turns it into the lance,"²⁰ "The broad leaves of the lily growing near the rivulet, caught by the long vine of the cane, which grows near the banks of the tank and has small thorns like the surface of a rasp, are moved by the fitful gusts of the north wind, and look like the bellows which are blown in the smithy and grow tense and lax alternately,"²¹ "Let us eat bits of meat soaking in oil which reduces the anger of the fire and makes them look like the carded cotton wool used by women for spinning and let us drink liquor from the big bowl alternately."²² "The reapers of pulses eat the food made by husking and cooking the ragi grain which comes from the forked stalk, and also the sour porridge cooked by the cowherdess by boiling in white curds the

²⁰ இரும்பு யானபுக்குக் கருங்கைக் கொள்ளன்
விசாத்தெறி கடமோடு பொருள்
மூலைக்கல் வண்ண யங்கான்.

Pur. 170. ll. 15-17.

²¹ பொய்னக யங்கையாப் பிரம்பி
நாவா யங்ன யங்மு ஜெகும்போடு
யருவி யாம்ப யங்கை தடக்கி
யங்கையால் வாடை தாக்கவி நூற்றை
விசாவாங்கு தோலின் யெங்குபு வெடுக்கும்.

Agam. 96 ll. 3-7.

²² பருத்திப் பெண்டுன் பறைவ வண்ண
பருப்புச்சினங் முயிக்க விசாக்தயங்கு கொழுக்குணர்
பருங்கன் மண்ணடையெர ஓழ்மரது பெயர
அண்கும்.

Pur. 125. ll. 1-4.

white flower of the Vēlai (*Cleome pentaphylla*) which grows early in the evening in the street full of the droppings of cattle.²³ Even the most prosaic work does not quench the poetic fire. Thus :—"The festival has commenced in the villages. The warrior who must attend the festival, finds that his wife is about to be delivered of a child, and he wants also to be of help to her. The sun has set in the cloudy sky ; he stitches strips of leather supplied by the pulaiyan to the cot. Faster than his needle plies, the hero who wears the garland of Ātti (*Bauhinia racemosa*) flowers goes to meet the enemy who has invaded his country".²⁴ Apparently in those old times potters acted as heralds proclaiming occasions of festivity to the public, for a lady says to a potter, "Oh, wise potter, who are wearing a garland of the clusters of white nocci (*Vitex negundu*) flowers, bright like the stalk where the buds are just forming, and who are passing along the street broad as a stream and proclaiming that a festival is going to be celebrated, proclaim this also, when you are going to

²³ கணக்கதிர் வரல் கணமெப்புது காக்க
ரூபத்து மறுகிற் போதோடு பொதுவிய
வேளை வெண்டி வெண்டவிர்க் கொள்ளிடு
யாம்புச் சட்ட வங்குள் மிதவை
யுயங்க வொம்புக் கார் மாக்கும்.

Pur. 215, II, 1-5.

²⁴ சாறுதலைக் கொண்டிடெனப் பெண்ணீத்தற்கெறனப்
பட்டமாரி ஞான்ற ஞானிந்த்தக
உட்டி எரியைக்கு மிழிசினங் கையது
பேஷ்டுதான் சேமின் விளைக்குத்து மாடோ
ஆர்த்தகால வந்த பொருக்குளே
தார்புனை தெரிய கொடித்தாக பொடு.

Pur. 82.

the village which has large fields where the lily grows in plenty in large tanks, ' ladies with sharp teeth and broad forelap, the troubles caused by the musician (pāṇan) who plays on strings are many; guard yourselves from his words which are a bundle of lies '²²⁶'. The potter was also a priest in some kinds of sacrifices ' In the broad place of assembly of this famous place festivals are held, when the old potter wears the garland of Nocci flowers whose clusters look like sapphires and, with his hands fit for making offerings (places them on the ground) and calls (on the demons and the crows to eat them ')'.²²⁶ The magic hand of the potter has not quite lost its cunning even to-day, for when children get herpes, their mothers take them to the potter and he paints all round the eruptions, with his

²²⁶ சென்னி கட்டிய கதிர வண்ண
கொண்குர இனுச்சித் தெரியங்குட
யாறுமிடப் தண்ண யகவைகிர் தெருவிற்
சாலீரா நாவது முதுவாய் குயவ
விதாயு மாங்க நூயன்றிகிள் மாடோ
வாம்ப வமன்ற திம்பெரும் பழனத்துப்
போம்பக ழுர்க்குப் போவே யாகிக
ங்கங்கர் கரம்பிற் பணுவற் பாணம்
செப்பு வல்லல் பல்குக வையெயிற்
நைதக ஸல்குன் மகளிரியன்
போம்பொதி கொடுஞ்சொ ஓவாம்புமி ஜெனவே.

Naf. 220.

²²⁶ மணிக்குர இனுச்சித் தெரியல் அடிப்
யலிக னார்க்கப் பார்முத குயவ
எரிபெயி நாவது மகன்றலை மன்றத்து
விழுத்தலைக் கொண்ட பழவிதன் முதா.

Naf. 223, ll. 1-4.

stick dipped in a solution of red ochre, the figure of the imaginary beast called *yāli*, and the children are rid of the disease—in a few days!

The washing and starching of clothes was not felt by poets to be too humble a subject for poetic treatment. "The washer woman who washes clothes ceaselessly, applies to the fine cloth, decorated with flower-work, starch which has been curdled over night,"²⁷ The spreading of the ragi on a rock to dry is described by another poet. "Girls who wear on their forearms rows of bangles and (in other parts of the body) beautiful jewels, spread the red panicum on the broad surface of a large rock."²⁸ Even the spilling of sour buttermilk on boiled milk to make it curdle, affords a simile. "Like the curdling fluid spilt on a pot of milk from the sharp nails of a languid looking cowherdess."²⁹ The spicing of curry and rice by throwing on it, fried aromatics is also frequently referred to.³⁰

²⁷ உண்டுமார் பாங்கமயிற் பெருங்கை அவர்
அறநிலை புலத்தி மெல்லிந்த சேஷ்டத்
புதப்புக் கொண்ட புன்னுக் கலிங்கம்.

Nar., 90, ll. 2—4.

²⁸ சிராவளை முங்கை சேரினை மகளி
சிருங்கல் வியவறைச் செஞ்சிலை பாப்பி.

Kurundogai, 335, ll. 1—2.

²⁹ மடப்பா வரப்புக்கா் யங்குகிறத் தெறித்த
குடப்பாற் சில்லாயற் போல.

Pur., 276, ll. 4—5.

³⁰ குவக்கொள் சொழுக்குவை, 'curry of spiced
fat meat,' Pur., 160, l. 7.

குப்புகை வடிதில், 'rice with fried spice
thrown on it.' Pur., 127, l. 7.

The amusements of the boys and girls are frequently referred to by the poets. "Though children cannot enjoy the pleasure of riding in a car made by carpenter and dragged by small horses, they delight in dragging with their hands a toy-cart,"²¹ "The small sand-house built on the sandy plain by girls whose shadows resemble a double bamboo, while they were bathing in the sea,"²² "Girls with bright bangles throw the pestle, made of black heart-wood with which they have bruised rice flat, on the paddy separated from stalks and play with clay,"²³ "With her unrivalled companions, she played in the water of the spring and her large, cool eyes became red on account of the play of the waves,"²⁴ Swinging was another popular amusement; ("she got on) the hanging swing made of the black fibres of the palm well twined, and it was

²¹ தச்சன் செய்த சிறுமி கலவய
முர்த்தின் புதுத ராய்ஜூங் காவி
வீர்த்தின் புதுட மிளையோர்.

Kur. 61. II. 1-3.

²² அனைத்த சூதாகைப் பளைப்பெறுக் கோவைனர்
கடலாடு மகனிர் கால விளமுத்த
சிறுமைன.

Ib. 326. II. 1-3.

²³ பாசுவ விடத்த கருங்கா மூலக்கை
யாங்கதிஸ் ரெங்லின் வரம்பளைத் துவிற்றி
பொன்னெடாடு மகனிர் யண்ட வயரும்.

Ib. 238. II. 1-3.

²⁴ பெருவிர வரயமேர டருவி யாடு
க்ரஸ் கிழக்க பேரமா மனங்கோன்.

Nar. 44. II. 1-2.

swayed to and fro by her playmates who had flower-like eyes."³⁴

"Boys who have not gone to school draw, under the spotted shade of the neem tree, rectangles with a pebble like the assay-stone (of the goldsmith), and with the fruit of the Nelli as a ball, play the game called pāndil."³⁵ "Girls with short bangles (spread) the nuts of the kajāngu (Guilandina bonduc) on the sanded floor in front of their houses to play with them."³⁶ A certain girls' game frequently referred to is the ērai. A doll is made of scedge-grass and decked with flowers and used in the play by a party of girls of the mullai tract.³⁷ Another girls' game is that called alliyam. Two dolls, one male and the other female, were used in this game.³⁸

Superstitions :

Now for a few superstitions which prevailed among the people. As now, so in those old days, the crow announced by its cries that a guest was coming to the house. "The sweet food made from the white rice

³⁴ பெருக்கவித எறு மிருமயனம் பிளையத்
புக்க அயை முக்க.

Nar. 90. II. 6-7.

³⁵ வேம்பின் புள்ளி கீழ்
கட்டிலை யன்ன வட்டாக் கிழங்க்குதுக்
கல்வாச கிழுதுர் செல்லிவட் டாக்க.

Nar. 3. II 2-4.

³⁷ கன்மனைக் குறுக்கதொடு மக்கிர்
மண்ணாடு அழுக்கு.

Nar. 79. II. 2-3

³⁸ Nar. 155. I. 1, 68. I. 1, Pur. 176. I. 1.

³⁹ Pur. 33. I. 17.

grown all round Topdi, mixed with the ghi given by the many cattle of the herdsmen living in the forests of Nalli of the strong ear, was placed on a plate as a small offering to the crow that announced the arrival of the lover on whose account the strong shoulders of my companion have become lean."⁴⁰ Belief in omens was rampant. The directions of the flight, and the cries, of birds indicated the future success or failure of attempts. "(Poets) will blame the hour of starting and the indications of birds" when they do not get reward⁴¹. Demons were believed to reside in trees and, in the grave yards;⁴² demonesses frequented battle-fields, dug (with their fingers) into the wounds of the fallen and combed their hair with red, bloody fingers and hence looked red.⁴³ "Demonesses embraced the dead

⁴⁰ தின்டேர் களில் காலத் தண்டர்
பள்ள பயக்த வெய்யிற் ரெங்க
முழுதுடன் விசைக்த வெண்ணென் வெஞ்சோ
ரெருகுவைத் தேக்தியூந் சிறிதென் ரெழி
பெருக்கேதா ஜெகிழ்தச செல்வற்கு
விருத்தயாச் கநந்த காக்கை யதுபவியே.

Kur. 210.

⁴¹ புன்னும் பொழுதும் பழித்தல்.

Pur. 204. I. 10.

⁴² பேரவா யமோகி பொட்டாங்கு வழக்கும்
ஏது.

Pur. 238. II. 4-5.

⁴³ பொருதான் பொழித்த மைக்தப் புண்டெட்டுக்
குருதிச் செங்கைச் சுத நீட்டு
சிறகின குருவிற் பேஷப் பெண்டு.

Ib. 62. II. 2-4.

and ate the white flesh.⁴⁴ Devils possessed Pulaiya women; then they jumped about like cattle.⁴⁵ The best way to drive it away was to burn white mustard.⁴⁶ They also "cut the throat of a goat, placed a dish of millets, sounded many musical instruments in the high road, blessed the demon along with others which have not possessed the girl, and proclaimed that the girl had been possessed by a devil."⁴⁷ The demons are fond of raw human flesh and blood; so they surround wounded warriors even when alive and once they touch the raw wound, it will refuse to heal and the man dies soon. To prevent devils from touching the wound of a man his wife, "sticks into the roof the leaves of the sweet-fruited ironwood tree (iravam) and of the margosa, gets the bent-trunked yēl and other musical instruments to be sounded, slowly lifts her hands and rubs (the house) with lumps of blacking, scatters mustard all over, gets flutes to be blown, bells to be rung, and the tune called Kāñji to be sung, and smokes

⁴⁴ பேளப் பகளிர் பின்சுதழூஷப் பற்றி
வளருன் தின்ற வெங்புலால்.

Ib. 359, II. 4-5.

⁴⁵ முருகுமெய்ப் பட்ட புலாத்தி பேவந்
தாவுபு தெறிக்கும்.

Ib. 259, II. 5-6.

⁴⁶ ஓயவி புக்கப்பைம்.

Ib. 98, I. 15.

⁴⁷ மறிக்குர எறுத்துந் தினைப்பிரப் பிரிலுச்
செவ்வாற்றுக் கவைப் பல்லியங் கற்காத
தோற்ற மல்லது கோம்ப்கு மருக்கான
வேற்றுப் பெருக்கெழக்கம் பவாடன் உஞ்ச்சிலி
பேங்க்கேர எழிய வணைப் படிதல்.

Kuf. 263, II. 1-5.

the whole of the house with sweet-smelling incense."⁴⁸

Religious rites :

The ancient rites of worship have been referred to in chapter V and described in great detail in my Pre-Aryan Tamil culture.⁴⁹ Besides the gods recounted there, other divinities were worshipped by the ancient Tamils. The moon was one such. "Like the lamp on a boat in the middle of the ocean the red star twinkles in the broad sky."⁵⁰ In its zenith stands the full moon, on seeing which the danseuse who wears small bangles and stands in the narrow path like the peacock in the forest as well as myself quickly worshipped it, did we not? For we thought that the moon resembled the white umbrella of the King."⁵¹

⁴⁸ தீங்களி பிரகமோடு வெங்ப மனைத்தெர்கு
வாங்குமலூப் பியந்தோடு பண்ணியங் ஏற்றங்
காபயப் பொய்த்து அமலிழு திழுகி
யையவி தெறி யாம்ப ஞாகி
மிசைமலை யெதிக்கு காஞ்சி பாட
தெட்டோக் குணரப்பிற் கடக்கந்த புக்கடி.

Pur. 281, II. 1—6.

⁴⁹ Ib., pp. 21—31

⁵⁰ மாகாலிக்கூப் rendered here the broad sky, is an obscure phrase, variously interpreted by various commentators, and not explained by the commentator of Puram. It occurs only in late poems, such as Puram 35, I. 18, Agam 253, I. 24, Maduraikkāñji, 1.454, Pari-pādal, 47.

⁵¹ முக்கீர் நாம்பட் துமித்தெடு பூரவா
செம் வீரிகைக்கு மாக விசும்பி
ஸுச்சி விக்க விவுவுமதி எண்டு
ஏட்சி மஞ்சலுமிற் சுருதல் செங்கு

Feeding the crow was a daily religious rite practised in every home. "In the midday the sun shines so hot that the feet of walkers are scorched. For feeding the guests who may come to the big, rich town, ladies, who wear gold bangles, cook food and place rice resembling the claws of the crane in the yard as offerings to crows. The green-eyed crows eat it and in the evening go to the broad fish-bazaar for picking the fresh prawns heaped up in the shifting shade and then perch on the mast tied to the idle boats that are tossing in the wind."⁵²

The major religious rites in ancient days were compounded of sacrifices, ritual music and ritual dancing. One such is referred to in the following:—
“The God Murugan shines in the little village on the sides of the high hill where the white rivulet sounds. The men wear clusters of Vēngai flowers dripping with honey and along with their women dance in the streets.

சில்லை விதமியும் மாலை வல்லிகாக்கு
தொழுதன மல்லமே வளவு
மாலை திருத்தமை மூல்குமார் தென்றே.

Pur. 60. 1-6, 10-12.

52 கிரிஸ்டல் வெம்பக் கல்காஸ் குருவிற்றத்
திருவுகட வியனார் வருவிருக் தயர்மார்
பொந்தெழுடி மகளிர் புறங்கடை யுகுத்
கொங்குசிர் திமிரண் மாங்கி பெற்பட
உகவங் காடி யடை விழுந் குவித்த
பச்சிருக் கூர்ச்சு பசுங்கட் காக்கை
தங்கல் வங்கத்துக் கூம்பித் சேங்கும்

Nar. 259, II. 3-9.

keeping time with the Toñdaga drum,"⁵³ "The rocky floor of the yard in front of the small village surrounded by hills is beautifully strown with the golden flowers smelling sweet and blown from the gem-like buds of the Vēngai tree under which the village assembly is held. There the Kuravar with their matrons dance the Kuravai dance and very noisily celebrate the festival."⁵⁴

In another poem it is said, "the fish move below the water, on the surface of the water blossoms the blue lily which is like the eye; on the fertile fields surrounded by channels the birds are driven away by the sound of the drum. From the long canal where sounds the cool water on the sand, the slow flying young bird flies away, for the Kōśar drink the sweet liquor with delight and dance the

⁵³ கந்துவென் ஏருவி விறகுமலைக் காந்து
ஒற்கம் பின்ற மேங்கை குத்த
தொண்டப் பதறசீர் பெண்டுரோடு விகாடு
மறகிற் தாங்குக் கிறகுடப் பாக்க
கியன் முருகு.

Agam, 118. ll. 1-5.

⁵⁴ கிறகுடயாங்கன்

மன்ற மேங்கை மணாட்ட புத்த
மணியே ரகும்பின் பொன்வி தாந்த
வியலறை வரிக்கு முன்திற் குரவர்
மணிமுதிர் மதவி ரொடு குரலை தங்கு
யார்களி விழுவு.

Agam, 232. ll. 6-11.

Kuravai."⁵⁵ This dance of the Kōśar, who were great warriors, was a military dance. A more fierce military Kuravai dance is thus described:—"The thatch of dangling stalks of red paddy spread on straight rushes shone in different ways like a field on which a festival is celebrated. In the broad place sounding with a noise greater than that of the pestle constantly pounding corn, the angry warriors who wore the yellow war-garland of flowers with petals made of gold and inserted (in their ears) a waving ear-ornament of the palmyra leaf, dance the Kuravai and make a noise greater than that of the sea."⁵⁶

" இந்த ராண் மீண்வழக்குத்த
பீரிராற் கன்னங்கள் மலர் பூக்குத்த
கழிச்சறிய விழைச்சுவரி
யரிப்பக்கறயாற் புள்ளோப்புக்கு
கொடிர் கூட மணற்றண்ணகள்
மென்பக்கறயாற் புள்ளிரியுக்கு
நனைக்கன்வின் மனைக்கோசர்
தில்லேற எறவுமதிழுக்கு
தின்குரவைக் கொள்ளாங்குத்த

Pur. 396. II. 1-9.

" மலங்கு செங்கெந் கதிர் ஒவ்வேந்த
யாம் கரும்பின் கொடுக்கூயை
சாறுகொண்ட வாம்போல
வேறுவேறு பொலியுதோன்றக்
குற்றுனு ஏலக்கையாற்
கலிச்சுக்கமை வியலங்கட்
பொலங்தோட்டுப் பைக்குத்தைப்
மினையை குளைய பனைப்பேஷ் செரீஇக்
சினமரக்கர் வெறிக்குரவை
யோத நிரித் பெயஸ்பு பொங்க.

Ib. 22. II. 14-23.

In the V century A. D. Aryan culture burst like a flood into the Tamil mind and altered every phase of life : music and dancing among other activities, were affected by it; very soon the tunes of the ancient Tamils gave way to the artificial and elaborate melody-types of the Aryans and their primitive dances were superseded, by complicated ones divided into various classes. The original dance was either the exposition of ideas of love and war by gesture unaccompanied by words or pure dancing as a part of religious ritual. With the infusion of the Aryan culture several forms of the art were developed, and grammars on the subjects of music and dancing were composed. Those books are now lost ; but the *Silappadigaram* contains many references to the arts as practised by professional artists and its commentary describe them in great detail. The original place of dancing was the open field (*mangam*) ; but this was superseded by a stage which is elaborately described in the third canto of the epic. But these changes took place in towns and not in villages.

Towns :

After the great development of trade with Roma, towns became wealthy and prosperous. In one ode of the Agam the Sōla, Pāṇḍiya and Śāra capitals, are briefly described. " For the purpose of obtaining jewels I have finished a task such as all people will approve of. Those jewels are as hard to obtain as is Uraiyyūr which has an assembly for maintaining justice. This town of Uraiyyūr belongs to the Sōlas who when they fight wear a garland (of the leaves and flowers) of the Ātti (*Bauhinia Racemosa*) and who rescue their relatives from harm, elevate their kindred and who desire and strive to

turn enemies into friends. My black-hued sweetheart has a sweet-smelling forehead and long black locks emitting scent like the bazaar street of Madura which belongs to the Pāṇḍyan who wears an evergreen garland of margosa leaves and who possesses an army which can defeat foes who have crossed their several forts. The large town of Karūr is filled with the wealth of the Śēraṇ who possesses numerous war-chariots and a brigade of elephants in rut, full of the fierce ardour necessary for piercing the enemy's ranks and possessed of terrible arms and strength, able certainly to kill the foes, and with a wrinkled face. In this Karūr may I embrace my mistress in the lamplight on a soft matress of flowers resembling gathered foam, placed in a house which is so tall as to reach the sky and looks like a tunnelled hill. May I embrace her so tight that her jewels will leave a stamp on her breast, more often than there are sands heaped up on the banks of the clear-watered Anporunai river in the principal ford of Karūr.⁵⁷

57 செங்கே உண்டால் தினானு ராவுயங்
கொல் கூவிர் கெழிலீயின ரொழுகால
மாண்வினைக் கெதிரிய ஆக்கமோடு புக்கிறக்
தாரங் கண்ணி முடிபோரச் சேழ
ஏற்கெழு எல்லாவை யுத்தங்க வண்ணை
பெறக்கு கண்கள் ஜெய்தி காடிஞ்
செயல்குஞ் செய்வினை முற்றின மாவி
ஊர்க்கபல எட்டு முகண்மொ டானை
ஊடா வேம்பின் அழுதி கட
ஞானக் காடி காற கந்தக
எல்லிருக் காக்கன் யாதி யோவோடு
கொருபிக் நங்க வான்க்ரூப் கெதிரை

Towns increased in importance because kings resided there and the wealth and importance of kings increased with the expansion of towns. The three kings of the Tamil land began to wage wars with each other, not as in old times as an amusement for idle days or as a means of establishing personal prowess but for the purpose of extending their dominions and becoming the suzerain lords of other kings. Hence the poems of this age celebrate the military exploits of kings, though the praise of royal generosity still continues. " You, born in a line of excellent and famous heroes, who decorated the heads of bards with faded lotus-flowers made of the gold, from the face-plates of the elephants of your enemies: oh lord of Mullür, which has such dark groves, that the night stays always in them, and rivulets which sound like the drum, may you live long with your invincible retinue of relatives! Kabilan, the Brāhmaṇa of spotless intellect, superior to that of all other men on the earth, has praised you so well that no other beggar bard has anything more to say.

துரைமுகச் தன்ன மெங்குத் சேங்கா
விவக்த பள்ளி கெடுஞ்சுடர் விஸ்வத்து
ஈவந்தோ முரும் புண்ணலூப் பொறிப்ப
முயக்குக்குத் தெங்கோ கெஞ்சே வரிதாங்
வயக்திகந் தியிழ்தகும் வாய்ப்புகு டாக்து
தீவி மொய்ம்பொடு தில்லையெச் குறை
யாட்டோட் பிழையா வஞ்சவரு தடங்காக
ஏழ்பகட் அயானை கெடுக்கேர்க் கேங்கா
திருமா விவங்காக் கருப்புர் முன்றங்காத
தெங்கை குயர்க்காக் குணக்கிய
தன்னுஞ் பொருஙா மணல்லூம் பல்லை.

Just as other ships cannot approach the western ocean, where the ships of the Šeran, who possesses an army of fierce warriors, bring him gold, so we cannot approach (Kabilan in poetic powers); yet, whether we are learned or unlearned, we have praised as well as we could but a small bit of your excellences, for having our distresses relieved; you are the lord of the land near the Pennaiyāru, where your drum roars like the thunder which terrifies the serpent whose teeth are like thorns, and, along with your powerful elephants, you stay the rush of your unequal enemies and scatter them on the battle-field whose noise is difficult to bear.”⁵⁸

“ ஒன்றுர் காசை யோகைப்பொன் கொண்டி
பாளை சென்னி பொலியத் தூது
உடாத் தாமரை குட்டிய விழுச்சி
நோபாப் பூட்டை யுருவோன் மருத்
வல்லே மக்லே மாயிறும் வல்லே
நின்றயிர் கிளக்குவ மாயிற் கங்கு
துயின்மடக் தன்ன காங்கிரு விதம்பிற்
பறையிசை யகுவி முன்னூர்ப் பொருசு
தேறலரு மரபினரின் கிளையோசிம் பொலிய
நிலமினசைப் பரந்த மக்கட் கெங்வாம்
புலனமுக் கற்ற வக்த ஞன
ஏரிச்துதென் மாக்கட் கிணியிட ஏரின்றிப்
பரங்கியச் சித்தப் பாடன அதற்கொண்டி
கிணமிகு தாளை வானவன் குடகடற்
பொவங்கரு காவா யோட்டிய வக்கழிப்
பிரகவஞ் செங்கலா நலையே மத்தை
மின்னம் தூப்ப விளைதா வக்துறின்
வண்ணமயிற் கிருத்தனம் யாமே முங்கொயிற்
நாவெறி யுருமின் முரசெழுக் தியம்ப

War was still regarded as the sacrifice of blood to the war-drum, or rather the spirit resident therein. The drum was placed on a special seat reserved for it. Says a poem :—" The war-drum was taut by being bound faultlessly with strips of leather. Its black sides were bright, being made of black wood. It was decorated with the bright plumes of the peacock, and the uliñai (Oerna lanata) flower whose golden petals are streaked and covered with spots which are blue like sapphire. The thundering drum desires the sacrifice of blood. Its seat is covered with flowers which appear like the foam of oil scattered."⁵² The hankering for the older victory-sacrifice to the demons was still rooted strong in the minds of the Tamil kings, so that even after the relatively milder Vedic sacrifices were instituted at the end of this age, a poet thought it necessary to eulogise a great Pāṇḍiya warrior-king as follows :—" As the ship tears the waters of the deep sea when the wind blows upon it, so the elephant splits the

வண்ணல் யானையாடி கேங்குகளத் தொழிய
கருஞ்சமக் தகதயத் தாங்கி என்ற
கண்ணுத் தெங்காரத் தாங்கும்
பெண்ணையம் படப்பை காடுகிழ் வோயே,

Puf 126.

52 மாசற விசித்த அரச்புற அங்பின்
வைபுடி மகுங்குல் பொலிய மகுங்கு
வெயாவிடெடும் பீவி வெயங்பொறி மணித்தார்
பொலங்குலம் யுழிகலுமொடி பொலியச் சூட்டிக்
ஞேதி வேட்கை யுருசெழு முரச
மண்ணிரி காரா வாங்கல வெண்ணையம்
நாரமுகக் கண்ண யென்புஞ் சேக்கை.

Puf. 50. ll. 1-7.

enemy's ranks into two. In the broad space thus produced on the battle-field, you bore the spear with the shining broad point and killed the king and threw his army into confusion. You earned fame by capturing his war-drum. You arranged crowned heads like the stones of a hearth, used the blood-stream as water in which to boil, poured on it (the foes') brawn and brain, stirred it with your arms which wore the gauntlet of heroes as a spoon, and offered the food thus cooked to the demons."¹⁰⁰

Harlotry in Towns :

Town life means the growth of civilization, in its literal as well as its figurative sense. One unmistakable, if unenviable, mark of civilization is the institution of harlotry. Harlots were trained to sing and dance and were attractively dressed and beautifully decked. "The *vipali* (dancing woman) had a forelap, high and broad, which shone with rows of gems; languid looking eyes

" வளிகட விருங்குட்டத்து
 வளிபுகைட்டத் தலம்போவல்
 வளிஹரசன்ற சொனகற்றவுக்
 சொனகற்றிய வியலாங்க
 தணுவிற்கூப வெளிகேஞ்சி
 யகரசுபட மமருத்தக்கி
 யுகரசெல முரக்கவெவலி
 முடித்தலை யுமிப்பாகப்
 புன்றுகுறதி யுலைக்கொலீடுத்
 தெரடிதோட் உடேப்பிற் தழுந்த வல்லியி
 அடிகளம் வேட்ட கட்டிபார்ச் சுத்திய.

painted with collyrium, and a bright face,"⁶¹ They induced susceptible husbands to play with them in rivers or tanks. One harlot, confident of her powers of charming the husband, sent the following arrogant message to the wife. " We shall insert the stiff buds of the lily in our hair and go to the big ford for playing in the flood. If she is afraid of us, let her guard her husband's breast, along with her relations, as many as the soldiers of Elini (a petty chief) of many spears with which he changed the front ranks in the fields of battle."⁶² These women swarmed, where festivals were celebrated, to tempt men. " The beaver sleeps without hunting the Vālai fish which looks like a sword when it rolls in the tank of the town of Venni belonging to the generous Sōla king. Let me decorate my broad forelap with the stiff leaves of the lily-plant growing in the fields surrounding that town and repair to the place of festival. For if the lord of this fertile place

⁶¹ தினதபணிப் பொலிக் கெங்குகோட்ட டங்குன்
மடவர ஒன்றை வானுதல் விறல்.

Pug. 89, II, 1-2.

⁶² கந்த சாம்பன் மூழுகெறி யகடச்சிப்
பெரும்புனால் கந்த விருக்துறை விரும்பி
யாமலீ தயர்க்கு சேறுக் காணலீ
தஞ்சைவ துடைய சாயின் வெம்போர்
துக்கப்படக் கடக்கும் பல்லை செலழினி
முளையான் பெருங்கிர போவக்
கிளையொசி காக்கந் கொழுங்க் மார்பே.

Kur. 80.

happens to see this bright young girl, he will not fail to marry her".⁶³

When these harlots went about the streets on the war-path, husbands had to be carefully guarded. Thus the foster-sister warns her friends who form the companions of the heroine of a poem. "This virali, with languid looks, with her hair scented with unguents, broad shoulders, straight, white teeth, rounded thighs pressing each other, and the beautiful garment of leaves, has come by herself making the festival-yard bright with her presence. Rise, rise and guard our dear one from her seductions."⁶⁴ Here is another passage describing the predatory pursuits of dancing women. "The festival is over. The drums are sleeping. I will tell you what this woman is contemplating to do. One day this young woman wore

⁶³ காலை வரவிற் பிறழ காலும்
பொய்கை சிர்காய் கைகுதையி ஜேந்குங்
கைகுண் கிள்ளி வெண்ணி குத்த
யய்வெள் எாம்ப தாருய செற்றைய
யைதை வல்கு கணிபெறத் தைது
விழவிற் செல்லியர் கேண்ட மன்னே
யான குரன் ஏற்றுக் குவின்
உதாயா அம்பேர கரிசுத.

Nar. 390. II. 1-8.

⁶⁴ மட்டகண் டாரக் காத்தற் பின்னத்தோக்
உரங்க உரவெயிற்றுச் சேர்ந்ததெறி குறங்கிற
பின்னய வந்தழைத் தைதுத் துணையிலன்
விழவுக்கூம் பொலிய உக்குதின் நன்னே
எழுமிழே கெழுமினைக் கொழுப்பற் காக்கம்.

Nar. 170. II. 1-5.

the leaf-garland waving over her forelap and walked along the streets. The whole town laughed with as much noise as rose when Kāri who killed Ori, the famous warrior, entered the street and his enemies shouted ; when the noise of laughter was heard the women, who wore bright bangles and whose complexion was like, in colour, to the tender mango leaves, guarded their husbands.”⁶⁵

Resorting to hetairae caused domestic broils. The quarrel between a husband and his wife, called ūḍal, is a well-known subject of poems belonging to the class called marudam. The following ode is devoted to this incident. The injured wife says, “Frightened by the noise of the drum beaten by the agricultural labourers who reap the white paddy-stalk, the birds in the fields rise and fly away ; hence the marudam tree, which grows in the fields and has bent boughs, sheds its flower-clusters, in the village of Iruppai, which belongs to Virāu, who gives gifts of chariots. Even if my beauty, which resembles that of this place be similarly destroyed, I will not let you approach me ; if I let you do

“ விழவு முழக்கன்ற முழவுக் காங்கின
தெங்குறித் தண்டனை வெங்கி யாவிற்
நாயுயனிஸ் தவமரு மல்குற் தெருவி
விரினாயே விறக்க வீணத்தற்குப் பழவிற
ஒங்கிக் கொண்ற சொகுபெருக் கெருவிற்
காரி புக்க சேரார் புகம்போற்
கங்கென் தன்று ஓரோ யதற்கொண்டு
காவுக் கெறிய மாட்டு யாம்பெடு
யெழின் மாமேனி மகனிர்
விழுமாக் தனர்தாக் கொழுங்கைக் காத்தே.

so, my enclosed hands will embrace you. The sandal paste daubed on the strong round breasts (of your harlot) sticks to you. Your garland is faded. Hence to touch you is like touching a pot discarded for pollution. Do not come (near me). May the woman who stands in the street live long." ⁶⁶ Sometimes the wife condoned the husband's fault. "Come, bard, my wife who is wearing beautiful jewels gave to my house a son and heir; she was then anointed with ghi, with many mustard seeds sparkling in it. I approached her timidly and said to her, you lie on the mat, brightening the house (with your presence). You have become the mother of a son; your name has changed (from maid) to matron and you have beautiful lines on your forelap. I then pressed her blessed belly with lily flowers; she looked at me, smiled so as to display her jasmine-like teeth and covered with her hands her eyes painted with collyrium, and I laughed with joy; now she is angry with me."⁶⁷ But at other times her fury could

⁶⁶ வெண்கிண ஸ்தார் தன்றுமை கேள்கிட
பழனப் பல்புன் விரியக் கழனி
கங்குசினை மகுதை அங்குதண ருதிலுக்
தேவன் விராத் விருப்பப் பன்னவென்
கேஸ்வரின் கேஸ்விதூங் தோனை சார
விடைன் விசிக்குவ குவித் கடைதிக்
வெஷ்க்கை நாங்கு மதவையுள் குக்குமுளை
சாதிய சாக்கினை சாதிய சோந்தவை
யாகிள் கண்கழிதி யற்றும்
ாரால் வாழிய கவுக்கின் கேடுவே.

Nar. 350.

⁶⁷ வாராய் பாண குகும் சேரினை
கும்புஷடக் குமிஞ்சு னங்குயாக் குதவி
ஓராய்வேர டுஷமக்கு வையவித் திருக்காழ்

not be abated; and if the husband sent his bard-friend to bring about a reconciliation, it was of no use. The wife said "Bard, my clothes are stinking of ghi and the smoke of fried spices; and stained with the eye-paint of my son and with dirt. My shoulders have evil smell, because I carry my baby dripping with sweet milk from my breasts which are full of beauty-spots. Hence I am unfit to meet my husband who is riding about in a car in the streets where well-bedecked harlots reside. Hence take away your lord of many cool fords. You are skilful in playing upon the *yāl*, the sweet-toned strings of which are like gold, but do not sing to me. The horses of the chariot which have stood for a long time, (are restive and) resent your standing here singing to me. Do not speak to me vainwords which do not please me".⁶⁸ This contumacy of the wife is explained

வினங்குரகர் விளக்கி சிட்டதோட் குறகிப்
புதல்வ ஏன்றெனப் பெயர்பொர்த் தம்வசித்
திதலைப் யல்குன் முதலெண் டாகித்
அன்கதி யோமென் வஞ்சி வோதிவயனப்
பன்மா ஜாக்ட்டிந் குவளை யொற்றி
ஷுண்ணினை ஹுரைய மெத்கண்டு மெல்ல
முகை ரண் முதல் கிருத்தித்
கணகமல் குண்கண் புண்தத்து வக்தகுவை.

No. 370.

* செய்யுக் குப்பு மாற அம்பொடி
மாசபட் டங்கே கலிங்கமுக் தோனுக்
திதலைமென் முலைத் தீம்பால் பிலிந்தப்
புதல்வர்ப் புல்லிப் புனிதார தங்கே
வாவிழை மகாரி தேரித் தேரன்துக்
தேரோத் தொத்தென மல்லே மதனுந்
போங்புனை காம்பி வின்குரத், திற்யா

by the fact that there was no limit to the follies of men caught in the toils of these women of easy virtue. Thus reports the foster-sister to the neglected wife. "Lady with the sweet-smelling forehead, I foolishly thought that I could catch him when he was wearing earrings, garlands, and short golden bangles and, in the festival, dancing the Tunganai along with girls; he came upon me by a long circuitous road at the end of the long, straight street and I said, 'will no one take notice of your conduct'. He pretended to be a stranger to me and said that my pale colour made me look fair. I replied, 'get away, you shameless man' and have returned to you. His haughtiness was such as to charm even enemies."⁴⁹ The Tunganai was a dance in which

தெழுநால் வங்கை மாவிழுக் கொழுநால்
கொண்டிரெல் பாணகிள் நூல்தங்க முருளைப்
பாடுமலைப் பாடுக் கடாது சீரிலைப்
புரவியும் பூணிலை முனிகுய
விரகில் தெழுவியல்வாம் கெட்டதில் வழியே.

Nar. 380.

- 49 அறிய கூவி கண்ணோ யஞ்சிக்
குண்யன் கோஷதயன் குறம்கைபக் கொதுயன்
விழவயர் தணக்கை தழுவகஞ் செல்வ
கொழுமிர் கெகருவிற் கைபுகு கொழுமினை
கொதும வாணன் கதுமெனாத் காங்கலின்
கேட்பா குங்கொ வில்லைகொல் போற்றேன
யாண்து பசுலை யென்றன ஏதனெதிர்
காணிலை பெறுவ கென்றுவக் திரினே
கெறிக்கும் விழபுயும் கெம்ம கேவனை
கதுகுத வரிகை போற்றேன்
கிறுமை பெருமையிற் ஏற்குத தண்ணோ.

Nar. 50.

men and women took part; while they danced, they bent their arms and with them kept beating their sides. It was a dance common to human beings, as well as to demons. "The terrible-gaited demoness gouged the eyes with her fingers so that her sharp nails were covered with gore, and lifted the black head with her bangled hands, sang about the field of victory where the foes were conquered in an open fight, shrugged her shoulders and the carrion-eating demoness danced the Tungāgai."¹⁰

The bard (pāyan), the dancing men and women (kūttar, kūttiyar), and the harlot (vipali) generally formed a group and helped each other in the exercise of their professions. And they were all patronized largely by kings and chiefs. A group of them once met a chieftain noted for being a great archer. The bard being the head of the group turned to his followers and said "Vipali, while I sing, beat the drums; tune the yāj. Play on the hautboy which has a trunk like the proboscis of an elephant; sound the cymbals; beat the small drum (āguli), tap gently the padalai (another kind of drum) on one side. Give me the rod of cassia."¹¹ It

¹⁰ குருதெழு சௌலவி அஞ்சையுற பீப்பகள்
குபுதி யாதை குருதிச்சு சோலவிர்த்
கண்டெடாட் சௌல குமிழுஷடச் சுருத்தை
பொன்டெடாடுத் தடக்கைவி சௌலதி சூருவர
வெங்குறுதி விற்றுஞம் பாதுத் தெங்வெயரா
சௌலதின காய இணம்கை துத்த.

Tirumur. 51-56.

¹¹ பாதுவன் விறல வேர்வைண்ண கிரு
மண்முத்த வணமின் பண்யாத் திறமின்
சௌலதி அம்பித் தனித்துவிஸ் தொலில்

is needless to add that the chief plied them amply with meat and drink and gave them gold ; in the words of the bard, " He gave them the boiled fat flesh of the deer he killed with his arrow, liquor which looked like melted cows' ghi, and good gold and heaps of gems born in his mountain."⁷²

Seaports :

With the great development of trade with Rome in the very beginning of the Christian era, seaport towns rose to great importance, and so were mentioned in poems. The northern-most port of the East coast to be so mentioned is Māvilāgai, probably identical with what later was called Mallai and still later, Mahābalipuram. " It possesses water-ways which sound always ; the girls with bright bangles, crowded together for playing ērai, stirred the dark mud which the hog had turned up and got from there the turtle-eggs smelling of flesh and the tuber of the lily smelling of honey."⁷³

தொல்லை தொடிபி ஆகுன் தொடுபின்
பதலை யொருங்கள் அபவூரை வியக்குபின்
மதலை மாக்கோல் அகவர் தருபின்.

Pur. 152, II, 13-16.

வேட்டத்திற்

ருஹயிர் செகுத்த மாணினப் புழக்கோ
ட்டுஜுருக் கன்ன யேரினை என்கிற்
தன்மலைப் பிறத்த ராவி ஞங்பொன்
யன்மணிக் குகை யோடும்.

Ib. II, 25-29.

72 ஒரை யாயக் தொண்டெடாத் மகவர்
ஒறு ஒழுத விருந்தேறு கிணபையின்
யானமயின் புலவு காறு மூட்டெடையத்
தெனு கும்பற் கிழுக்கொடு பெறு.
மிழுமென செவலிக்கும் புனாம் புதலிற்
பெருமா விளக்கை.

Pur. 176, II, 1-6.

This place is also described as one "whose shores are struck by beams of sweet-flowered nāgam (calophyllum longifolium), agallochum (agil), and sandal wood, which form floats for the shoulders of girls bathing in the flood. The old, great Haṅgai cannot be destroyed by any".¹¹

At the mouth of the Kāviri stood Pugār or Kāviripūmbhattam, famous from ancient days. It is therefore mentioned in various poems. Pugār had such a good harbour that "big ships could enter it without changing the mast and sails or (being, eased by) its heavy load being taken off ; and labourers could throw (the goods coming from the sea) in the middle of the street".¹² "Pugār belongs to prosperous kings who derive revenue from (goods landed on) the expansive seashore where is spread white sand heaped up by the sand-shoals caused by the sand brought by the great Kāviri which has broad fords, where flowers open out and in which water flows fast. In this town surrounded by tanks, brides, after beautifying the yard under the banyan tree where resides the three-eyed Lord of the old books of the four veṇas whose blessed sounds spread throughout

¹¹ சுலை காகமு மதிலு மரமுக்
துறையாடி மகளிர்க்குத் தோட்டுவினா யாலிய
பெருபுள நலைக் கூரக்கு மரபிற்
ஏழ்பார விவக்கை.

Sirupān, II. 116-119.

¹² நீப்பாம் களையாத மினைப்பார் தோன்டாத
புளங்கப் புதுத் பெருக்கலுக் காா
சினடப்புலப் பெருவழிக் கொரியும்.

Pur. 30, II. 11-13.

the world, make images with their hands and drop them in the ford. The mansions of this town, which has battlements reaching the sky and a gateway with a top like the (imaginary beast) Magaram, are as tall as the sky." "The town on the broad (banks of) the renowned Käviri in the midst of long-salt marches where flowers grow."¹¹

Puruiyāru (or Purandai) was another East coast port, described in two odes.

" During the night when the big waves are roaring and the clouds are motionless, the lamp set at Purandai, by the fishermen who hunt for fat fish, to remove the darkness of the black sea, shines like the bright light placed on the moving face-plate of the elephant which waves its trunk in the camp of the king who wears jewels on his arms. Purandai has on

“ புவிரி யகன்றாறை கிளவிலைக் கடுகிரி
காலிரி பேரியாற் நயித்தென் உண்ட
வெக்க சிட்ட குப்பை வெங்கமாலை
கவப்பின் யானைர் வளம்பெழு வேந்தர்
ஞான காறு வலக்கெழு எவ்விலை
ஈளம்மறை மூததுல் முக்கட் செல்ல
ஞா முந்தங் வளிக்கெபறத் தாடிப
பொய்க்கை குப்பித் தொழின்மணை மகளிர்
கைசெய் பாலை துறைக்க வீறுக்கு
மகர தெற்றி வாங்கேறுப் புரிசைக்
கிராக் தோன்றுக் கேந்தூயர் விலீர்
புகாதர்.

Agam. 181, II. 11-22.

¹¹ புவிரி கெடுக்கழி எப்பட் வெருக்கெயர்க்
காலிரிப் படப்பை பட்டினம்.

Agam. 205, II. 11-12.

its beach groves of the Alexandrian laurel on which flowers grow in clusters ; its chief is Periyan, the great patron of singers to 'whose chariot horses are yoked.' The harbour of Pugundai, in the midst of groves of the screw pine, is very noisy."¹⁷ "Pəcāiyāru, which is smelling of toddy, whose chief is Periyan who is sitting on his beautiful chariot, after having drunk sweet-smelling toddy."¹⁸

Kōkai was the chief seaport of the Pāṇḍyas. "In the broad expanse of the sea near this harbour of Kōkai grow pearls of excellent water."¹⁹ "The valiantly fighting Pāṇḍiyar guard with justice the fair, large port of Kōkai which produces pearls."²⁰ "Kōkai belongs to the

¹⁷ பெருந்தூர் முதுக்கமொ டியக்கலிக் திருத்த
கொண்ட சிரவி வரிசுக்கடன் முற்ற
கொழுமின் கொங்பவ சிருவீல் கொண்ட
கோபாப் பூட்டை கேஞ்சன் பாசுநா
வாடியல் யானை யனிமுஷ் தகைத்த
கோடை யூங்கட ரெப்பத் கோள்ளும்
பானிஸ்த் கொடுத்த கையன் கோமான்
பஸியுடை ஏத்தேர்ப் பெரியன் விரிவினர்ப்
புன்னையங் கானத் புற்றை முன்னுங்கா.

Agam, 100, II, 5-13.

¹⁸ எறவுமகி திருக்கை ஏற்றேர்ப் பெரியன்
உட்கம்ப் பொன்ற யாது.

No. 131, II, 7-8.

¹⁹ முத்துப்புடி பரப்பித் கொற்றை முன்னுங்கா.

No. 23, II, 5-6.

²⁰ மதப்போர்ப் பாண்டிய ரந்துகிற் காக்குக்
கெற்றையும் பெருக்குதை முத்து.

Agam, 27, II, 9-10.

Pāṇḍiyar who possesses a beautiful chariot to which are yoked beautifully trotting horses whose hoof-marks cannot be traced on (the ground covered with) the cool-rayed pearls which the surging waves yield."^{**} "The brilliant pearls from the harbour of the famous Korkai which belongs to the valiant fighter, the Pāṇḍyan."^{***} "They barter for the sweet-smelling toddy, filtered in the web of the palmyra leaf, the pearl-oysters brought by the men who fish in the broad sea."^{****} "The fishermen who from white boats dive into the black sea, avoid the attacks of the shark and bring up the right-whorled shank, blow on the sounding shell and thus a great noise rises in Korkai."^{*****}

The chief Sera port was Muṣṭi. "The flourishing town of Muṣṭi, where the large, beautiful ships of the

^{**} இகந்தூர் காத மீங்கநிர் முத்தங்
கங்கையைப் புவிச் சால்வடித் தபுக்கு
சுற்றைச் சமுதி கொற்கை முன்றுகை.

Agam, 130, II, 9-11,

^{***} வித்தபோரிப் பாண்டியன்
புசுப்பாலி திறப்பிற் கொற்கை முன்றுகை
உவிச்சிதிஸ் முத்தம்.

Agam, 201, II, 3-5,

^{****} பஞ்சின் கொங்பயர் முக்கத் விப்பி
காரி ஏறவிள் மிழ்கொகைடக் கூட்டும்.

Agam, 236, II, 7-9.

^{*****} இரும் பரப்பி கொற்கை கீல்கு
யலம்புரி முழுவிய வான்றிமிற் பரதை
கொலிதையைப் பணில் மார்ப்பக் கல்லெண்ண
உவிகெழு கொற்யை.

Agam, 320, II, 10-13

Yavanas which bring gold and take pepper, come disturbing the white foam of the little, fair Periyaru of the Seralar."^{**} "They sell fish and bring on boats heaps of paddy which fill the house. The pepper heaped in the house is put into bags which are thrown in confusion on the noisy beach. The gold brought in the ships are brought ashore in the boats which ply in the backwater. The products of the sea and the mountain are mixed together and are given away to guests. In Muguri which belongs to the Kuttuvan who wears a gold garland and where the roar of the sea is heard, toddy flows like water."^{**}

* 6

சேவகர்

கன்றியம் பேரியாற்று வெண்ணுக்கு எவ்வக
யவனர் தாது வினைமா வென்கவம்
பொன்னூடு உங்கு சுரியோடு பெயரும்
வளக் கெழு முசுறி,

Agam, 149, II, 7-11.

*7 நிடுத்துத் த செற்குவைது
நிதையம்பியின் மனைமதுக்குத்து
மனைக்குவைதுய சுறிமுகையாற்
கலிசும்மைய கரைகவுக்குத்து
கவுத்துத் தொற்பரிசுக்
சுழித்தோனியாற் கைசேர்க்குத்து
மனைத்தாரமுக் கடந்துரமுக்
தலைப்பெய்து வருக்கியும்
புவங்க கன்னின் பொலக்தார்க் குட்டுவன்
முழங்குகடன் முழவின் முசுறி.

Pur, 343, II, 1-10.

It may be noted that the place is called here Muguri. Certain lines in the ode are rather obscure.

The people living on the sea-coast were used to ship-wrecks, from which the striking simile in the next ode is derived. "As when the wind grows strong and the storm beats, the ship is upset and the terrified crew fall down and many men seize one plank, so my friend, in the street where the small, beautiful *yāj* is humming like the fair bee, the bejewelled harlots, who once had possession of your heart and are shedding hot tears because you have deserted them, catch hold of you and are pulling you in different directions. I have seen with my eyes this your distress ; but how can I help you?"**

In the many poems quoted in this chapter may be specially noted the fundamental characteristics of Indian art—literary or plastic. The aim of Indian art is primarily decorative and not imitative. The artist does not desire to reproduce natural objects, more or less idealized, but to decorate the thing he has in hand; there is no limit to the amount of this decoration. Every inch of the material worked on is beautified with a bit of decoration such as it is

** சண்டனை எதிர் சண்டயேங் தெவ்கோ
பாணை வகுது பண்புலடச் சீலியாற்
யாணை வண்டி விழுமென விழிரு
வேர்தரு தெருவி வெதிர்ச்சி லோக்கிதச்
மாஸ்புதலைச் சொண்ட மாணிக்கு மகளிர்
கவுசை முற்ற வெய்துவி முசிப்பனி
காடுல முற்றப் பைதரு காலைக்
ஈடன்மரங் கலிழ்ச்செலக்க கலங்கி புடன்வீற்பு
பலர்தொன் பலங்க போல
வாங்க வாங்களின் அங்கலூர் கிளையே.

susceptible of. Hence in poetry every noun is furnished with an adjective, and if the adjective happens to be a phrase, the noun within that phrase is provided with an epithet, till the whole poem looks like the entrance-tower (*gopuram*) of our temples, studded with decorations, which to a mind trained in the principles of Greek art is maddening, and which renders translation into English very difficult. The South Indian artist's mind is apparently influenced by the profusion of the growth of leaves and flowers in the tropical forests, the contemplation of which has inspired Indian art through the ages.



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CHAPTER XVIII.

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE FIRST HALF MILLENNIUM A. D.

The time of Augustus:

In the time of the Emperor Augustus there was a great development of India's trade with Roma. The increase of Roman influence at Palmyra and the consolidation of Roman power in Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between the East and the West, were the causes of the sudden expansion of this trade. The internal dissensions that eventually led to the disruption of the Imperial power had not then begun: hence arose an unrestrained indulgence in Eastern luxuries on the part of the leaders of fashion among the Roman men and women.

Trade in living animals:

Of the articles that were imported into the Roman Empire from India, there is ample information in the Greek and Latin books of the period. The trade in mammals and birds was indirect and conducted through the land-route. Fashionable ladies had as pets "Hanuman, Madras, Malabar and Nilgiri langurs of India.....On a silver dish found at Lampsacos India is represented as a woman surrounded by a parrot, a guinea-fowl, a tiger, a leopard, and hanuman monkeys; though the guinea-fowl was certainly African, the others were Indian."¹ "The four specimens of (Indian) tigers

¹ Warmington op. cit. p. 147.

exhibited by Claudius created perhaps a great impression, for on a mosaic found near the arch of Gallienus are represented four tigers eating their prey. A passage in Petronius appears to indicate that a tiger was carried about in a gilded cage, probably in Nero's reign and gorged with the blood of human victims . . . Several more were exhibited by Domitian.² The other South Indian mammals which were imported into the Roman Empire were the buffalo, and the elephant. The white elephant was a special attraction at Rome in the time of Augustus, who had large numbers of elephants killed. Under the Empire elephants were used for drawing the ceremonial cars of the Emperors.³

Several species of parrots formed favourite cage-birds of Roman ladies and were frequently engraved upon classical gem-stones. "In the time of Augustus (they) were kept in wicker cages, but by the time of Martial and Statius in cages of ivory or tortoise shell adorned with ivory and provided with silver wires—a pretty picture of Roman luxury ministered to by the far East . . . Supplies increased during the second century, for Pausanias speaks of parrots and other terata (monsters, marvels) brought from India, and Arrian declines to describe the birds, while Elgabalus obtained such large supplies that he could create table luxuries out of the heads of parrots, and feed his lions and other animals upon them."⁴ Other birds that went from India were pheasants, (the "Phoenix" that was exhibited by Claudius in 47 A.D. being probably a golden pheasant) the

² Ib. p. 148.

³ Ib. p. 152.

⁴ Ib. p. 154.

peacock, and dwarf fowls. Snakes were also obtained from India by Hadrian and others.⁵

Trade in animal products:

Animal products were taken by the sea-route. Hides and furs were the chief of them. "Pliny's reference to 'Chinese' iron, tissues and skins is now taken to refer in reality to products obtained not from the Chinese but from 'Chera' kingdom in South India, so frequently visited by Greek merchants from the reign of Claudius onwards,"⁶ 'Seres' named as the source of these goods being used for 'Sera' as much as for China. The next animal product sent from India was butyron, i.e., ghi,⁷ prepared from the milk of the buffalo. No doubt it was sent in leather skins. "Fryer, in 1672-81, speaks of tanks of ghi in the Deccan, 400 years old, of great value medicinally and of high price."⁸

Ivory was one of the most important animal products sent from India to Rome. Indian ivory is mentioned frequently as soon as the Roman Empire begins. That the Roman commerce in ivory was enormous is shown by the large number of uses to which it was put—the references in ancient writers being very common and the surviving articles in ivory endless. In literature alone we find it used for statues, chairs, beds, sceptres, hilts, scabbards, chariots, carriages, tablets, book-covers, table-legs, doors, flutes, lyres, combs, brooches, pins, scrapers, boxes, bird-cages, floors, and so on, and extant examples in their multitudes would add

⁵ Ib. pp. 155-157.

⁶ Ib. pp. 157-8.

⁷ Periplus, 41.

⁸ Schoff's Periplus, p. 177.

to an already remarkable list."⁹ South Indian supplies of it were sent from Musiris, and Neleynda.¹⁰ References to the Indian tortoise shell are frequent from the beginning of the Empire; it was used as a veneer for rich furniture. This was partly derived from the turtles of the Indian coasts and also from the sea round the Malay peninsula.¹¹

The costliest animal product that was imported from India by the Roman Empire was the pearl from the gulf of Mannar. Madura and Uraiyyūr had the chief pearl-marts whence the Roman merchants got it. Pearls became so fashionable with ladies that "beginning with the Jewish philosopher Philon of Alexandria and St. Paul, we find moralists lamenting the wearing of pearls by women and girls."

Drain of Roman gold:

In 23 A. D. the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A. D.) deemed it necessary in the public interest to write to the Roman Senate, "If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets which drain the empire of its wealth (Tiberius meant gold) and sends in exchange for baubles the money of the Commonwealth to foreign nations?"¹² In the time of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A. D.) Arabian domination in the Red Sea was well brought under control. By the close of his reign was developed a great direct sea-trade

⁹ Warmington, op. cit. p. 163.

¹⁰ Periplus, 56.

¹¹ Warmington, op. cit. pp. 166-187.

¹² Tacitus, Annals, iii. 53.

in gems and pearls. This trade grew to enormous proportions in the time of Claudius and Nero (54-68 A. D.) so that Pliny complained in 70 A. D. that India drained gold to the value of nearly a million pounds a year, "giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully a hundred times their first cost."¹³ Pliny had good cause to complain of this drain of gold, for the chief imports of the Tamil country were gold and silver Roman coins (South India did not seem to have developed the art of coinage by that time) and wine. Roman coins were buried in the earth in different places along the breadth of Tamil India from the Malabar to the East Coast.

Trade in plant products:

Of the plant-products exported from South India to Rome the chief were aromatics and spice. Early in the imperial era pepper became a staple article of Rome's sea-trade with India. Pepper went chiefly from Malabar and Travancore. It was so eagerly sought for by the Romans that in this age the name 'Yavanapriya,' 'dear to the Romans,' (by now the name 'Yavana' was extended to the Romans both in Sanskrit and Tamil), was given to pepper. White pepper was specially prized because it was less pungent but more tasty than black. It is said that pepper formed more than half the cargo of many a west-bound ship; for it was more important than salt or sugar in the cookery-books of the day.¹⁴ Ginger was also imported from India, but more as medicine than for culinary purposes.

¹³ Pliny, Nat Hist. vi, 26.

¹⁴ Warmington, op. cit. p. 182.

Cardamom was used both in medicines and in perfumes; so too cinnamon. It is curious that cinnamon-leaf, called malabathrum, was known to be Indian, but the Romans thought that 'cassia' its root, and the wood were grown in Africa; so cleverly did the Arabian traders conceal its origin from the Romans. The oil of the spikenard was another highly prized article. Under the name 'nard' was included various articles, including the oil of ginger-grass and lemon-grass. Nutmegs and cloves were begun to be imported in the period of Rome's decline. Gingelly-oil, and sugar, i.e. jaggery, called by Strabo 'honey obtained from trees in India without the aid of bees,'¹⁵ were minor articles of trade.

Cotton cloth was a very large item in the exports from South India. The "Argaritic" muslin, sent from Uraiūr (now Trichinopoly), called Argaru by the *Periplus*,¹⁶ was the chief of them. Cotton was also exported from South India.¹⁷ The edict of Diocletian shows that stuffed mattresses and pillows were made from Indian cotton . . . Palestine also received much Indian cloth.¹⁸

Of the woods imported by the Romans from India, some were ornamental and timber woods and others, fragrant ones used as unguents and medicines. Of the former the chief were ebony, rosewood and teak wood.¹⁹ Of the latter the chief were sandal-wood, red sanders, agil, and makeir (supposed to be 'Tellichery

¹⁵ Warmington, op. cit. p. 209.

¹⁶ Ib. 59.

¹⁷ Warmington, op. cit. p. 212.

¹⁸ *Periplus*, 36.

bark."¹⁹ The *Periplus* testifies to the export of coconut oil and Pliny, of the banana, rice, millets, and various medicinal plant-products, like nutmegs, and tamarind; the betel-leaf and nut, are also mentioned by various writers.

Trade in mineral products:

Of the products of the mineral world, the diamond ('adamas') was the costliest article sent to Rome from Muziris and Neleynda. "The ancient Indians seem to have checked the exportation of large diamonds, but still the Romans obtained large and famous specimens, perhaps used as amulets after the Indian example."²⁰ Agate, carnelian, sard, onyx, and bloodstone, besides, were largely exported from India. Cups hollowed out of precious stones were much prized. From Pliny²¹ we learn that Nero paid one million sestertes for one cup of emerald (which the Roman writer calls Indian agate). Rock-crystal glasses stained so as to look like precious stones were also obtained from India by the Greeks and Romans.²² The ruby and the sapphires were also sent from South India; so also beryl.²³

"The Roman trade in Indian iron and steel was an important one . . . (The) excellent Parthian metal was perhaps really Indian. Eventually they (the Greeks) learnt the secret of production, for Sauvaise points out a special Greek treatise on the tempering of Indian steel . . . The bulk of Roman importation consisted

¹⁹ Warmington, op. cit. pp. 215-216.

²⁰ Ib. p. 236.

²¹ Nat. Hist. vi. 26.

²² Warmington, op. cit. p. 246.

²³ Periplus 58

not of large quantities of ore, but objects made of iron and steel. The Romans worked it into fancy cutlery, as Clemens shows, and perhaps into armour at Damascus (whither Indian metal was sent)."²⁴

Imports from Rome:

In exchange for these articles the Romans sent chiefly coins, but also coral and wine, and lead and tin.²⁵ But the adverse balance, adverse to Rome, was so great that the Indian trade seriously affected the coinage of Rome. The influence of this trade on the fortunes of this imperial city has been thus described by Schöff, the editor of the *Periplus*. "This extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange, was the main cause of the successive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency leading finally to its total repudiation. The monetary standard of Rome was established by accumulations of precious metal resulting from its wars. The sack of the rich city of Tarentum in 272 B.C. enabled Rome to change her coinage from copper to silver. After the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C., gold coins came into general use and through the wars of Cesar gold became so plentiful that in 47 B.C. its ratio to silver was as 1 to 1.9, lower than ever before or since. Under Augustus the ratio was about 1 to 9.3, the aureus being worth 25 silver denarii. Under Claudius the sea-route to India was opened, after which came the reign of Nero, marked by every form of wastefulness and extravagance, during which the silver

²⁴ Warmington, op. cit. pp. 267-8.

²⁵ *Periplus*, 56.

denarius fell from 1.84 to 1.96 pound of silver, an alloy of 20 per cent copper being added to it. Under Trajan the alloy reached 30 per cent, and under Septimus Severus 50 per cent. Finally, under Elagabalus, 218 A. D., the denarius had become wholly copper and was repudiated. Even the golden aureus was tampered with. Exported in large quantities to become the basis of exchange in India, the supply at home was exhausted. Under Augustus the aureus weighed 1.40 of a pound of gold, and under Diocletian it weighed but 1.60. Under Constantine it fell to 1.72 when the coin was taken only by weight (Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, i. 51-2; Brooks Adams, *Law of Civilization and Decay*, 25-8). It was this steady loss of capital, to replace which no new wealth was produced that led finally to the abandonment of Rome and to the transfer of the capital at the end of the 3rd century to Nicomedia, and soon afterwards to Byzantium.²⁶

The Periplus on South Indian ports:

The author of the *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea (Guide-book to the Indian Ocean) who wrote about 60 A.D. describes, besides North Indian ports, those of the Tamil Country. He mentions, among others, Tonji, Musiri and Comari (Cape Comorin, Kumari in Tamil), where "came those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy; and women also did the same, for it is told that a Goddess once dwelt here and bathed."²⁷ It has already been pointed out that from the rise of the different Āgama cults and of various ascetic orders,

²⁶ Schöff's *Periplus*, pp. 219-220.

²⁷ *Periplus*, 58.

Bhiksus and Bhiksūpis sought refuge from the tumult of the world and performed tapas in the remote corners of the forests of Southern India. We now learn from the Periplus that, as now, even in the I century A.D. Sādhus and Sanyāsīs travelled to Cape Comorin to bathe in the sea, and that, at this early date, had arisen the legend of some (probably mortal) maiden waiting for Śiva to marry her at Cape Comorin, where her effigy still stand patiently. Perhaps this legend existed from the days of the Mahābhārata. But yet the Śiva-worshippers of the North do not seem to have actively attempted to spread the Aryan cult of Śiva in the Tamil country, for the bulk of the Tamil people continued to live in the I century A.D., unattracted by the desperate anxiety of the Āryas to seek by devotion to Śiva, means of escape from the ills that flesh is heir to.

After Comari the Periplus describes Colchi (Korkai) "where the pearl-fisheries are; they are worked by condemned criminals, and it belongs to the Pandian Kingdom."²⁸ Beyond Korkai was the "Coast Country," by which the Periplus means the coast of the Śēla nādu. It has a region inland called Argaru (Urāiyūr) probably from the Sanskrit form Uragapura, where "and nowhere else, are brought the pearls gathered on the coast thereabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic."²⁹ To the north of Urāiyūr lie the Salem and the Cuddappah districts, then, as now, famous for cotton manufacture.

The author of the Periplus did not travel beyond Korkai and his account of the East Coast, being based

²⁸ Periplus, 59.

²⁹ Periplus, 59.

on hearsay, and that, not so searching as Ptolemy's, is very unsatisfactory. The Śōla ports he mentions are Camara, Poduka and Sopatma. The chief Śōla ports of the time were Kōdikkarai, Negapatam and the mouth of the Kāviri. The Periplus says that from the ports on the south part of the East Coast, large vessels, called Colandia, sailed to the Ganges and to Chryse (probably Barom, then called Suvannabhūmi). "There are imported into these places everything made in Damirike, and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirike and of those that are carried through Paralia (Travancore coast)."⁵⁰

A Roman colony in Madura

In this age there was a Roman colony at Madura, for besides the gold and silver Roman coins found in several places of South India "innumerable copper coins have been found in Madura in the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months. The presence in many different places in the same town of Roman copper coins found lying in the ground and in the sandy bed of the river, seems to imply that these coins were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place."⁵¹

These copper coins must have been brought to the place by Roman merchants for their own use. They could certainly not have been imported for use as currency in the Indian bazaars (as gold and silver coins were) for their bulk would have made the provision of

⁵⁰ Periplus, 60.

⁵¹ J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 610.

shipping accommodation impossible. It is equally absurd to hold that they could have been imported for the purpose of melting for making pots and other useful articles, for in those days India got all the copper she wanted from her own mines. The Peutingerian Tables which are a kind of maps copied from the fresco paintings in Rome, at a date somewhat earlier than Ptolemy, place near Muziris (Musiri) on the west coast, a temple of Augustus. Ptolemy who composed his geography about 150 A.D. tells us that he obtained part of his knowledge from people who had resided in India for a long time. These facts prove that colonies of Roman merchants lived in several commercial centres of the Tamil Country.

Romans in South India :

There is, besides, plenty of evidence in the Tamil literature of the period, to prove that Roman merchants, Roman soldiers and Roman artificers, lived in various parts of the Tamil country. The Roman merchants brought wine and gold coins into South India, and the name 'yavana' which originally meant 'Greek' was by this time extended to the Romans too, the Greeks having sunk to insignificance in matter of international relations. A poem refers to "the cool, sweet-smelling wine, brought by the yavanas, in beautiful vessels (vases, presumably) and drunk daily from gold cups held by damsels who wore bright bracelets."¹² Another poem refers to the import of gold coins. It says that "the beautifully built ships of the yavanas came, agitating the white

நெ மனாந் சௌஷத் தித சூக்காந் பேதாந்
குராந் குராந் குராந் குராந்
குராந் குராந் குராந் குராந்.

Pur., 56, ll. 18-20.

foams of the Pēriyāru, with gold and returned with pepper, and Muśiṇi resounded with the noise.”³³

Roman soldiers settled in the Tamil country and were employed as bodyguards of Tamil Rājas. They are described in the following terms:—“The valiant eyed yavanas whose bodies were strong and looked terrible and who wore besides a coat (lit. body-bag) a long piece of cloth (toga) hanging low and with many folds in which was concealed the whip with which horses were whipped.”³⁴ Hence they acted also as the gate-keepers of palaces. “The yavanas with murderous swords, excellent guardians of the gates of the fort-walls.”³⁵

Roman military engines in South India:

Besides merchants and soldiers, many Roman engineers and artificers settled in the Tamil land. The Roman engineers made for the use of Tamil Rājas battering rams with which to destroy the walls of forts as well

³³ பேரியாற்று செல்லுவதை என்க
யவனர் தட்ட விழினார் சூர்க்கவம்
போன்றெழுது வக்கு ஏறியாடு பெயரும்
ஏங்கிக்கு முசிறி யாப்பெறு.

Agam, 149, ll. 9-12.

Pūgam 343 refers to the same fact but does not mention the Romans.

³⁴ மத்திகை கண்ணிய மற்குதுவீங்கு செறியுடை
மெய்ப்பை புக்க இயருயருக் கோற்றக்க
வலிபுணர் யாக்கை வள்ளுவ யவனர்.

Mullaippāṭṭu, ll. 59-61.

³⁵ கழுமதில் வரவில் காலவிற் சிற்க
வடல்வரச் யவனர்,

Sil, xiv, ll. 66-67.

as numerous engines of defence which were planted in front of the fort-gates. Tolkāppiyam defines Ujīhai, one of the stages of war, as comprising the siege and the defence of a fort.¹⁶ Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator, explains that forts possessed engines made by Yavanas. In this explanation, the commentator records an old tradition which says that the Romans manufactured engines of war for the ancient Tamil Rajas. That the walls of forts were provided with engines is indicated by the phrase "the small entrances of the fort-gate provided so thickly with engines that even the moon could not pierce through."¹⁷ In the Śilappadigāram is given a list of engines kept at the gates of the royal palace at Madura. They were "mechanical bows which shot arrows, engines like the black-fingered monkeys for biting foes, mechanical slings which vomited stones, engines that scattered boiling oil, pots with boiling copper, fires boiling steel and throwing them in all directions, baskets which discharged stones, mechanical angling-rods, chains, mechanical fowls for pecking at the brain of assailants, iron forks, stakes, bundles of arrows, machines for shooting small arrows, pig-machines bamboo-machines, beams so arranged as to fall on those that forced open the gate, strong beams, missiles, spears, etc."¹⁸

¹⁶ முழுமுத வரண முத்தங் சோட்டு
கனிசெறி மரபித் துக மென்ப.

Tol. Por. ii. 10.

¹⁷ திச்சனு காலமுய வெக்கிரப் பதியும்.

Pur. 177. 1. 5.

¹⁸ வளைவித் பொறியும்
கருவிர ஒசமுக் கல்லுமிக் கவுதும்
பரிசுத் வெக்கிரப் பாகி குழிசியுக்
ஏப்பொன் ஜீலியுக் கல்லு குடையுக்

Another poem, the Sivakasindūmani, though belonging to the next half-millennium, may be usefully quoted in this connection. "The hundred-killer and machines for throwing down and beating people, visible demons, mechanical elephants and snakes that swallowed (men) and eagles looking like Yama, chains, lances, and (mechanical) tigers, mechanical bows that shot their own arrows, mechanical cruel horses, (that of themselves charged the enemy), swords that went on killing the foe, engines that threw stones, human statues and figures of swans that spat red flames, burning balls of iron made by black-smiths, big storks, owls, beams which crushed heads, machines that poured boiling copper, boiling steel, and boiling oil, that threw arrows, spears and stones, machines invented by the Yavanas made by the help of their intelligence: pigs made of iron, angry looking snakes, carts that were propelled (by machinery), monkeys, battering-rams, and thin ropes that cut off (heads)."¹⁰

தாண்டதாக் தொடக்கு மாண்டலை யிற்புக்
கலையுக் கழுவும் புதையும் புறைய
ஆயவில்த் தாவரமும் காபெய ருகியன்று
தெள்கெறி சிரதும் பன்றியும் பகிளைய
தெழுங்கு சிபு குழுவிற்ற வினையமுக்
தோறுக் குத்தமும் சௌகம் பிறவும்.

SIL xv. 207—216.

¹⁰ துற்றுவகைக் கொண்டியோடு
நக்கி யெறி போறியுக்
தோற்றமுற பேங்களீர துற்றுப்பெரும் பாம்புக்
உற்றமன கழுகுதொடர் குத்தமூடு கொண்டமா
விற்பொறிகள் கெய்ய விழுகுதிரை தொடக்கவில்வாச்
கந்பொறிகள் பாளையென வெட்டும் கெங்கீக்

Besides Roman military engineers, Roman artizans settled in South India. The workmanship of yavanataccar, Roman artizans, is frequently praised in early Tamil poems. E.g., 'the bowl of the lamp held in the hands of the statue of beautiful workmanship made by the yavanas.'⁴⁰ The yavana artizans are mentioned in the Maṇimēgalai, along with the expert workers of Magada, Marattā, Avanti and the Tamil land.⁴¹

The Perungadai, a long epic composed in the second half-millennium A. D., frequently mentions the yavanas. It mentions 'yavana ornaments',⁴² 'the beautiful lamp on statues made by yavanas',⁴³ a magara vīcāi, ornamen-

கொற்புளைகள் தாங்கிலிப்புத் தொல்தொழில்கள்
த. 204

ஏற்றலே சுடிக்கும் வளிரெருக்கு மாசிலையே
செம்புகுகு யெக்காலை ஆபிட்டுவதிரி தெக்கும்
யம்புழிந்து வேறுமிழுக கல்லுமிழுக வளில்
தம்புண்ணங்கால் யவனரத்தெப்பக்குத் தொற்றுய
கரும்பொ வியின்பங்கி சுதாங்கம் விசோகடக்
குருக்கு பொருத்தகரிஞ்ஞுடி கார்த்திவ தங்குங்க.

Śivakāśindāmaṇi I. st. 101—104.

The word மாடம் above is obscure.

⁴⁰ யவன ஸியற்றிய வினோமான் பாகல
கூடுயேர் அதெட்கல்

⁴¹ மாத வினைஞரு மாட்டைச் சம்மரு
மாங்கில் தொங்கலும் யவனத் தங்கரு
தங்கடமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடி உடி.

Maximēgalai, xix. Cl. 107—9.

⁴² யவன மஞ்சிலக.

Perungadai, i. 32. l. 76.

⁴³ யவனப் பாகல யவனி விளக்கு.

Ib. i. 17 l. 175.

ted with the beautiful handiwork of yavanas,⁴⁴ and a yavana chest,⁴⁵ and the cart adorned by the ḥryas with the gold lotus made by the yavanas.⁴⁶ The yavanas must have settled in large numbers, because the village (śeri) of the yavanas is referred to.⁴⁷

Ptolemy's Geography and South India:

Ptolemy in his Treatise on geography (c. 150 A. D.) gives a much more detailed account of the Tamil country than the Periplus. He derived his knowledge of South India from persons who had resided in South India. The general impression left on our minds from his account is that South India was divided among the traditional three Kings and a number of tribal chiefs, that the three kings were of more or less equal standing and that the age had not commenced when a Śōja King like Karikāl could claim the lordship of the whole of South India. On the contrary, according to Ptolemy, "the cholas were partly nomad." Their name "is hidden in his Soretus, Soringoi, and Sorae, with a capital apparently at Areot, and in his king Sornas (the

⁴⁴ யவனாக் கைக்கொண்ட
நிலைப் புதைக்குத்துறை முடிவு விளை

Ib. iii. 16, II, 22—23.

⁴⁵ யவனாக் கூடும்

Ib. iii. 22, I, 213.

⁴⁶ யவனாக் கைக்கொண்ட மற்றும் புதைக்கொண்ட

தமிழியக் கிழவுறை பாலகர் புதை

..... என்றும்

Ib. i. 38, II, 233—4, 239.

⁴⁷ சூழ்வினரிடில் யவனாக்கூடு

Ib. iii 4, I, 8.

Such a cart is also referred to in iii. 5, II, 48—9.

name is obviously the racial title) whose palace was at Orthora (Urandai, another name of Uraiyan). The Pāṇḍiyas, too, had in Ptolemy's time but "a limited area."⁴⁴ This, by itself, would indicate that the period when one of the three dynasties acquired imperial power over the others had not commenced. Moreover while Ptolemy in dealing with North India speaks more often of Kingdoms like Indo-Scythia, Abiria, Arsa, etc., in the case of South India speaks but of tribes e.g., Aioi, Kareoi Pandionoi, Soretoi, Batoi, Aruvarnoi, Thoringoi. This shows that the power of the kings was not consolidated as in the age of Karikāl or Nedunjeliyan. The very first province of the Tamil country going down from the North, he calls Limyrice or Dymirike. This name has been wrongly taken to indicate the whole the Tamilagam but both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy use it only as the name of the Sēra territory. The country north of it was to them Ariake, belonging to the Āryas, in the restricted sense of Marāṭhas which the word has in several passages of ancient Tamil literature. The name Dymirike, belonging to the Tamils, was apparently taken, by foreign merchants, to apply to the Tamil province immediately South of Ariake, i.e., the Sēra country. Most of the tribes Ptolemy mentions can be easily identified. The Aioi were the Ayar, Kareoi, the Karaiyar; the Pandionoi the Pāṇḍiyar; the Soretoi, notwithstanding the intruding the Sōjas; the Batoi, probably the Paradar, here of the South-eastern coast; the Aruvarnoi, the Aruvālar, people of Aruvānūlu, the East coast districts of S. Arcot, Chingleput, North Arcot and probably Nellore;

⁴⁴ Warmington, op. cit. pp. 114-5.

the Thoringoi, which Ptolemy uses as another name of the Soretoi, was a corruption of Sōjas or Sōjyas. Ptolemy mentions four dynasties of Kings as ruling over Dymirike, the Pandionoi, the Soretoi, and Aruvarnoi, viz., Kerabothros, (the Keralaputra of Asoka), Pandion, Šorongagos and Basarnagos. The elements—nagos of the latter two, it is impossible to understand, unless it is taken to be a mistake for rāja: and the last dynastic name Basarnagos is quite unlike any Tamil dynastic name. Probably the Pallavas had begun to rule over the districts of the Aruvarnoi in Ptolemy's time; if so, Basarnagos may be a corruption of Pallavarāja. The capitals of these dynasties are correctly enough given by Ptolemy: they were the inland towns of Karoura (Karūr), Modoura (Madura), Orthoura (Uraiyyūr or Urandai, Uragapura in Sanskrit), and Malanga, (Māvilāṅgai, probably near Kāñcipuram, or Kāñcipuram itself). Ptolemy gives also the names of numerous places both on the sea coast and in the interior: a few of these can be identified, e.g., Tyndis (Tondi), Mouziris (Muśiri) and Pounata (?Punnata, the place where beryls, vaidūrya, were found), besides Karoura (Karur) in Dymirike (the Sēra country); Kotiara (Köttar) and Komaria (Comorin) in the country of the Aioi: Kolkhoi (Kerkai) in that of the Kareoi, Kory (used both for Dhanuskōṭi and Ramēśvaram), Beringkarai (Perungarai), besides Madura in the Pāṇḍiya country: Nikama (either Negapatam or Niyamam), Kalligikon (Point Kalimir) in the country of the Batoi: Khaberis (Kāvirippetṭinam), Magour (Mohur), besides Orthoura in that of the Toringoi or Soretoi: Malanga, (Māvilāṅgai, the port of Kāñcipuram, called Mallai, now called Mahābalipura, and perhaps also the town of Kāñci also), in that of the Arvarnoi.

Ptolemy names also a number of rivers in the Tamil country. The very first river, the chief one then as now of the Sēra country (called by him Dymirike), is Pseudostomos (i.e., False mouth). This name refers to the fact that Pēriyāru does not enter the sea direct but loses itself in the backwater near Orangamore. The next one, that at the South of Dymirike, was the Baris. This is certainly the Paruvūr river. The next one, not far from Kolkhoi, was Solen. This name seems to be a corruption of Porunai, the Tamil name of the Tūmrāpārnī, the river near Koykai. The next river Ptolemy mentions is the Khaberos, which is the Kāviri. It is to be noted that Ptolemy gives this name a long e, in accordance with the Sanskrit form of the name, i.e., Kāvēri and not the Tamil form, which is Kāviri. Probably Ptolemy got his information from Brāhmaṇas residents of Alexandria, (for according to Dion Chrysostum there was a colony of Brāhmaṇas in that place in 100 A. D.⁴⁰) or from traders who had come under the tuition of Brāhmaṇas. The last river Ptolemy mentions in South India is the Tyre. This must be a corruption of the Penner, the letter T being an easy error in greek for P. Numerous other towns and marts, both on the sea-coast and inland, are mentioned by Ptolemy and a lot of misplaced ingenuity has been spent in trying to identify them with modern places; but all these attempts have proved vain.

Roman trade after the death of Nero:

From the death of Nero the Roman trade in precious stones and superfine muslins began to decline, on account of the disputes about succession and the civil wars that ensued. When Vespasian became

⁴⁰ Or. xxxii, 373, McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 177.

Emperor he issued enactments, to suppress the excesses of the nobles. The age of luxury was succeeded by one of self-denial. But the trade with India did not die out altogether. Some writers imagine that because Roman coins of the evening of Rome's glory have not been found in South India, Tamil trade with Rome died out altogether in the III century A. D. This was not so for trade in pepper and ordinary cotton fabrics continued. This is proved by the fact that "when Alaric spared Rome in A. D. 408 he demanded and obtained as part of the ransom three thousand pounds of pepper,"⁵⁰ and "four thousand silk robes."⁵¹ Moreover "Roman coins reappear in South India as well as in the north from Constantius upwards, increasing in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, and Constantine received an Indian embassy in the last year of his life, while Julian (aggressive in the East like Trajan before him) received embassies from various oriental peoples, including Indian tribes."⁵²

Under the Byzantine emperors from 376 A. D. the upper classes of Byzantium had leisure as well as wealth. Placed nearer to the East, the demand for Indian luxuries developed. As a result, in India have been found coins of these Emperors. In the VII century the Arabs conquered Syria, Egypt and Persia and became again the intermediaries of Indian commerce. Hence the name *yavana* gradually came to be applied to the Arabs and later on to Muhammadans in general.

⁵⁰ J. R. A. S. 1894, p. 68.

⁵¹ Warrington op. cit. p. 140

⁵² Ib. p. 139.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DISTRICT OF KĀNCIPURA.

The City of Kāncipura:

Patañjali, who lived about 200 B. C. singled out the name of one town in the Tamil Country, Kāncipura, and explained the grammatical rule by which was formed from that word the name of a native of that place, viz., Kāñcipuraka.¹ Why should Patañjali who was a Northerner have thought it necessary to explain the formation of Kāñcipuraka, and not Uragapuraka, native of Uraiyūr, or Madhupuraka, native of Madhuvā? Evidently he considered that the latter two words had not established themselves in the Sanskrit language; but men from Kāncipura were well-known to North Indian scholars. True there was commercial intercourse between North India and the Śōla and Pāṇḍiya capitals, but apparently there was no intellectual intercourse such as there was between Kāncipura and Pāṭaliputra. Kāncipura was the southe nmost outpost of Sanskrit culture in those days. Kāncipura is a Sanskrit word and the town, though situated in the Tamil country, has no Tamil name. Kacci for the first time occurs in the Perumbāñīgrappadai, a poem in eulogy of Ilандraiyan (V century A. D.)² The word Kacci resulted from the Tamilization of Kāñci, the shortened form of Kāncipura, which literally means 'the city of the girdle'. The word Kāñjiyūr occurs in early Tamil

¹. Bhāṣya on Vārttka 16 on Īśaṇ, IV, II, 109.

². சுந்தரகார். Ib. I, 420.

poems,³ but it does not refer to Kāñci-jura at all, for the word Kāñji in Kāñji-yūr is distinctly indicated to be the name of a tree.⁴

The ancient capitals of Tamil Kings were Uraiyūr, Vañji and Madurai and Tamil tradition does not connect Kāñcipura with the earliest Tamil Kings. It is situated far from the heart of the Tamil country being on its outermost borders. The district of Kāñcipura had in early times no specific name like the other eleven Tamil districts but was merely called Aruvāvudalai, the region lying north of Aruvāi, which was what is now called the district of South Arcot. It was in later times, i.e., long after the Pallava dynasty had established itself finally there and the district became a centre of Tamil culture that it came to be called by the specific name of Tondamandalam, lit. the district ruled over by

³. ஏஞ்சியர், 'man of the place surrounded by Kāñji trees,' Agam 96, l. 8. This village was in the Sōla country. The Kāñji is mentioned in poems of the marudam class. Vide Agam, 336. ஏஞ்சியர் also occurs in Kurindogai, 10, where the flower-clusters of the Kāñji are said to resemble those of ஊறு.

⁴. Kur. 10, referred to in the above footnote says
 முயற்சூர் எல்லை கூவிரது வீர தம
 சுபாகி வரங்கலை குற்று தென்னிடை
 ஏஞ்சியர். II. 2-4

* The man of the village where grows the Kāñji tree from whose flower clusters, like those of the green pulse, the pollen drops and in whose thin boughs, bent by the ploughmen, sweet-smelling flowers abound. The flower is also referred to in Pg. 18. I 7, and the tree in Pg. 251. l. 11 and Pg. 36 . l. 10.

the kings, or belonging to the people, named after the creeper *tondai*. Then the district of South Arcot became the *āḍināḍi*, the central district. We thus see that in ancient days the district of Kāncipura was conceived by the Tamils as practically outside the genuine Tamil country, the region north of the Tamil district of Aruvā.

The Andhras:

Beyond this region lay the great plateau where reigned the Āndhras, the Cis-Vindhyan Dasyus who were the earliest to absorb the Aryan culture, when it passed the Vindhyas and overspread the *lakṣaṇyāṭha*. The Āndhras were Aryanized early in the first millennium before Christ, for from among them rose two of the latest Rṣis, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. The Āndhras must have established an extensive Aryanized empire south of the Vindhyas in very early times. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the rise of Aryan law-givers among them; for lawgivers are not likely to have risen without royal patronage. Asōka hints at a vague sort of supremacy over the Āndhras; this merely means that the Āndhra Kings of the IV and III centuries B.C., acknowledged that the emperors of Magadha from Mahāpadma Nanda onwards were superior to them in might and entitled to receive presents as a mark of respect and does not mean that the Āndhra region was a part of the Magadha empire. Moreover V. A. Smith has pointed out that Fliny, probably quoting from Megasthenes, tells us that the Āndhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. If this information really comes from Megasthenes, it

shows that in Maurya times, the Āndhra Kings possessed a vast and powerful dominion. V. A. Smith is also of opinion that in the days of Asoka, the Āndhras probably enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy under their own Rajas.⁵

The Puranas begin their list of Āndhra Kings with Śimuka and modern scholars think that he reigned in the end of the II¹ century B.C. Does this mean that there were no Āndhra kings before Śimuka? No, for the Āndhra country described by Megasthenes was governed by kings of its own. The dynasties of the Kali Age enumerated in the Puranas refer only to the Kings whose influence was felt in Āryāvartta; and after the Āndhra influence began to be felt there, the Puranas commenced to note the names of the Kings of the Āndhra dynasty starting with Śimuka of the III century B.C. The Āndhra Kingdom must have begun to exist long before Śimuka, i.e. ever since it was Aryanized and Ārya laws and institutions spread in it early in the first millennium B.C.

Aryan influence in Kāncipura:

Almost since that time Aryan influence ought to have penetrated to the district of Kāncipura, for it lay in the outermost fringe of the Āndhra dominion in the region that was just outside the genuine Tamil provinces.

That Kāncipura was a centre of Aryan culture from very early times is confirmed by the tradition that Cānakya, the great minister of Candragupta Maurya was a native of Drāviḍa, that is Kāñ. i.⁶ Cānakya

⁵ V. A. Smith. Early History of India, pp. 217-8 and footnote.

⁶ Turnour. Mahāwanso. p. 21. J. A. S. B. v, 2 (Foulkes. J. R. A. S. 1885, p. 209.)

had several names viz., Vātsyāvana, Mallanāga, Kuṭīla, Dramīlī, Pakṣilasvāmi, Viṣṇugupta, and Āṅgula.⁷ There is no reason to discredit this tradition which will lead to the conclusion that the great minister not only helped to seat Candragupta on the imperial throne but also wrote on the Artha Śāstra and the whole circle of sciences, Kāma Śāstra, Dharma Śāstra, and Mokṣa Śāstra. There is nothing absurd in concluding that the works that go by the above several names were all composed by one man, for did not Madhvācārya who founded and organised the great Vijayanagara Empire and whose ministerial activities were very much more variegated than those of Cāṇakya yet found time to write extensive treatises not only on the four Puruṣārthas, but on other subjects too. Stray references such as to the Śāśakarṇis in the Kāma Śāstra, indicating a later date for this work are no valid objections to Cāṇakya's authorship of these works, because in India, especially in early times, books were never published as in modern days, but remained the property of the disciples of the master for several generations and it was not considered wrong on the part of the teachers of a later generation to insert illustrations from current events into the MSS. of ancient texts. Hence the antiquity of ancient Sanskrit works ought not to be decided on the strength of stray allusions which were added in later times. But whatever be the merits of the theory that Cāṇakya wrote on Artha, Nyāya and Kāma and that he was also the Dramīlīcārya referred to by Rāmānuja in his Śiḥhāsyā, it cannot be denied that he was one of the

⁷ Hemacandra, quoted by Law, *Anc. Hindu Polity* pp. x, xi; vide also K.V. Rangaswami Iyengar's *Anc. Ind. Polity*, p. 87 88.

most learned men of his age and the first of the series of great South Indian scholars e.g., Nārjuna, Dinnāga, Buddhadatta, Dharmapāla, Śāṅkara, hāṇuṇja, Ānandatīrtha, Mālhava, Śākyana, and others who were leaders of Indian thought and the torch-bearers of culture throughout the whole of India from pre-christian times. This fact, more than others, emphasizes the cultural unity of India and the continuity of its culture, though the land was always broken up into "fifty six" states, so far as the administration of public affairs was concerned.

One of the names of Kāñcipuram is Satyavrata ksētra and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that Satyavrata, (King of Dravidā i.e., Kāñci) became Vivasvān's son, Manu.⁸ This means that Satyavrata was the earliest Aryan or Aryanized King of Kāñci, and was affiliated to the Solar dynasty by Brāhmaṇas who constantly in the course of Indian History, invented genealogies tracing the ancestry of Aryanized kings to one of Purāṇa's gods or heroes. It may be remarked in passing that probably the kings who ruled over Kāñci before the Pallava period were spoken of as Satyaputras, descendants of Satyavrata. Asoka's Satiyaputto were probably rulers of Kāñci in his days.⁹

Whether the descendants of the Satyavratas were vassals of the Āndhras or no, there is no means of ascertaining, but it is certain that after the Āndhra country was Aryanized, Kāñcipuram became the southern-most outpost of Aryan culture and was not a seat of Tamil culture in early times.

⁸ Bhāg IX i. 2-3 (Pargiter)

⁹ As suggested by S. V. Venkatesvara in the Ind. Antiquary for 1919.

It has also to be noted that though the Northarners changed the word *Tamīl* into *Dravīda*, in actual use they restricted the name *Dravidas* to the people of the Kāncipura district to the exclusion of the *Sōjās*, the *Sēras* and the *Pāndiyas*. The *Dravīdas* are referred to as different from these others; for the *Dravidas* that attended the *Rājasūya* of Yudhiṣṭhīra and took part in the great war are mentioned as distinct from the *Cōlās*, *Cēras* and the *Pāṇḍiyas*.¹⁰ This name *Dravidas*, to designate specifically the Aryanized Tamils of the district of Kāncipura prevailed even in the VII century A.D. for Ywan Chwang calls the province Ta-lo-pi-la, which is *Drāviḍa* altered so as to suit the phonetic framework of the Chinese language.

The Āgama cults in Kānci:

The Āgamas and the Āgamika forms of worship were fairly widespread in India in the centuries that immediately preceded the Christian era. Seven great centres of Āgamika worship—it would tend to clearness if they are called seven temple-cities, seven places which were regarded as foci of spiritual influence whence radiated rays of Bhakti to Śiva or Viṣṇu—became prominent in early days and Kānci was one of them¹¹. This confirms the theory of the early affiliation of

¹⁰ M. Bh. ii. 34, 1271, iii. 61, 1988, v. 22.656, viii. 11.454.

¹¹ Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kānci Avantikā | Pūrī Dvāravatī calva saptai ā Mokṣadāyikā || Bhūta Suddhi Tantra, quoted in Śabdakalpadrumā. This Tantra may be a recent book, but the Sloka looks like one which has floated down the stream of time from antiquity.

Kāñcipura to Northern culture. By this time the genuine Vaidika cult was all but dead and hence neither Kāñcipura nor any of the other six cities were specially associated with the Vaidika yajña in those days but were centres of the worship of Siva or Viṣṇu or Kūḍī. This is further proof that Kāñci was from the beginning a centre of Aryan culture.

During the time when the Āndhra power was in the ascendant numerous Bauddha monasteries were built; and when on account of the pressure of the Śaka-Pallavas, Āndhra power gravitated to the East Coast and Dhanakada became the chief Āndhra Capital, there was built the great and beautiful monastery of Amṛāvati, in which traces of Yavana (Indo-Hellenic) art have been recognized. We may well believe that the Bauddha cult (and along with it the Jaina cult, besides the Śaiva and the Vaishnava cults) became established in Kāñcipura. This will explain the fact that Buddha images with faint reminiscences of Yavana art, and also stone reliques of the Jaina cult, have been found in that city.

The Fallavas:

The Śaka-Pallavas gradually succeeded to the dominions of the Āndhras in the I, II, and III centuries A.D. Sauñṭha, Mālva, Dhanakāṭaka and Kāñcipura districts, one by one, fell under the sway of one or other of the Śaka-Pallava dynasties. These Śaka-Pallavas were originally adventurers, who from the time of Daryavush Vishtaspa (Darius Hystaspes) poured into India by sea and by land and acquired sovereign power in different districts of the country. Religion seems to have sat loosely on these tribes,

for we find them accepting the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, the Baudha and Jaina cults; and as the religio-social organization of India was not one-tenth so hidebound as it is to-day, they found a place in the Indian social polity. They accepted some dialect or other of Prakrit as their court-language and Sanskrit as their culture-language. They gradually gave up their outlandish proper names and assumed Sanskrit or Prakrit ones instead. The branch of them that gave the final blow to Āndhra power and became masters of Dhanakṣṭaka were acknowledged to be Kṣattriyas of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, and called themselves Pallavas¹².

The early Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī.

Probably the first Pallava that established himself in Kāñcī was Bappa. He is said to have made donations to Brahmanas of the Ātreya, Hārita, Bhāradvāja, Kausika, Kūśyapa and Vatśa Gotras, of a hundred thousand ox ploughs, and many millions of gold coins. One of his successors Śiva Khanda Vamma, who mentions the benefactions of his ancestor, Bappa performed the Agniśōma, Vājapeya, and Aśvamedha sacrifices. These facts show that there was no dearth of Brāhmaṇas

¹² In ignorance of the fact that Pahlava was the Sanskrit form, rarely used, of Pallava, the Prākṛit form used from Gāndhāra down to Kāñcipura, a futile attempt has been recently made to separate the Paliavas of Kāñcī from the Pallavas of all other Indian provinces and to claim for them a Tamil origin. Pahlava and Pallava are the same word, the Indianized forms of Parthava, the tribal name which has become Parthian in the European languages.

(Southern Aryas) in the city of Kāñcipuram in early days; hence the city must have been Aryanized long before the Pallava rule began. Śiva Khanda Vamma's plates show that the administration of his province was conducted in the Aryan way, as described in the Artha Śāstra and developed by the law-givers that succeeded Cānakya. The sub-divisions of the dominions, the officers that carried on the administration, the taxes, and the exemptions from dues in the case of gift-lands, are all referred to by means of Sanskrit terminology. The grant was composed by a member of the Privy Council in his own handwriting, then it was engraved on copper plate and finally seen by the king who issued it as his own order accompanying it with libations of water. In the times of these early Pallavas, Brāhmaṇas were settled in Agrahārams in the Kāñcipuram district and were employed in secular offices as the grants prove. All these purely Aryan customs were not known in the heart of the Tamil country till it was Aryanized in the VI century A. D.

Siva Khanda Vamma's grants, like the Nāṅk inscriptions of the Andhra Kings, are in Prakrit, differing from the literary Pali in several respects. There are indications that this language must have been in use in Kāñci for a pretty long time and been to some extent affected by Tamil, which was the vernacular of the masses in that district; for as Buhler, when he edited the Hirahsagapati grant has remarked, "an utter loss of a feeling for the differences of gender" is noticeable in the person who composed it, for the neuter *pūvvadattam*, 'formerly given', has to be construed along with the masculine *sampadatto*, 'has been given'. This want of a feeling for gender shows that the Prakrit

of the author had been spoken long enough in the Tamil country for the lack of grammatical gender characteristic of the Tamil language to influence the Prakrit idiom prevalent in the Kāñcipurā district. Other influences of Tamil on the language of Śiva Khanda Vamma's grants there are, but they need not be discussed here.

The first Sanskrit inscription published in India is that of Rudradāman of Mālva, of the middle of the II century A. D. From this period onwards, Prakrit inscriptions were rapidly replaced by Sanskrit ones. This fact indicates that Śiva Khanda Vamma probably reigned before the beginning of the III century A.D., if not a little earlier. Foulkes has pointed that these early Pallava grants are dated in the manner prevalent among the Andhra inscriptions discovered in the Dekkan belonging to the II century A. D. by referring to the tithis of the Solar fortnights of one of the three seasons of the year; this leads to the idea that the Pallava power prevailed in the Kāñcipurā district in the II century A. D. or earlier. This tentative hypothesis is confirmed by a statement in the Mahāvamsa¹³ that Dīpāmani in 157 B.C. (according to the traditional date and 95 B.C. according to the date for Buddha's nirvāṇa fixed by some European scholars), erected a stupa at Anūḍhū-pura, and, on the occasion of its consecration, the wise Mahādeva came from the monastery of Pallavabhogga with four hundred and sixty thousand Bhikkhus. Foulkes identifies Pallavabhogga with the Kāñcipurā district, and thence concludes that the Pallava kingdom had risen in the II century B.C.¹⁴

¹³ Ch. xxix.

¹⁴ J. R. A. S. 1885 art. ix. and 1883 art. xiii.

Besides Bauddha institutions, there must have been Brāhmaṇa ones in the city of Kāñci. It has already been pointed out that eminent Brāhmaṇa scholars of this city were known to Northerners. About the end of the fourth century A.D. there existed at Kāñci a college for the teaching of Vedic and other Sanskrit lore, where studied Mayuraśarmā, who afterwards founded the Kadamba dynasty of Banavasa. Says the Telagundi inscription of his great-grandson, Kākustavarnā, Mayūrasarmā with his preceptor, Viśārmā, went to the city of the Pallava lords and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the gṛhaṭika (college) as a mendicant.¹⁵ I imagine that the gṛhaṭika was not a new one started when the power of the first Pallava dynasty of Kāñci was decaying but was an institution which existed ever since Kāñci became a centre of Aryan learning and sent learned scholars to North India to take part in the progress of Sanskrit scholarship there.¹⁶

Neither the city of Kāñci nor the early Pallava rulers of that place are at all referred to in the early Tamil poems that are now extant. This was because the city, though technically within the borders of

¹⁵ Yahi prayāya pallavendrapusum gurunā samam
Viśārmā pū |

adījiglām-uh pravaconam nikhilam gṛhaṭikām
vivesā-su tarkukah | Ep. Ind. VIII. p 32 V. 10 *

¹⁶ I have given a full account of the history of the early Pallava dynasty of Kāñci so far as information is available, in my Tamil book on the Pallavas, Vol. I. A similar account is unnecessary here, for the early Pallavas were not Tamils, as the latter Pallavas became.

the Tamil country, was in early times a home of Sanskrit and not Tamil culture and was ruled over not by Tamil kings but by Ārya (Aryanized) hājas. About the end of the IV century A D, as we shall see in the next chapter, it passed temporarily into Tamil hands, and this had a double effect, in that it led to the rapid subjugation of the Tamil genius by Aryan culture and to the spread of Tamil literary culture in the Kāñcipura district.



CHAPTER XX.

KARIKĀL.

The battle of Ven̄ni:

Karikāl is the first great Tamil King who is mentioned by name in early Tamil poetry; he is eulogized in three odes and two long poems, all composed by contemporary poets and therefore of great use in reconstructing his life. One of the odes is by a poetess called 'the Potter woman of Ven̄ni'. Ven̄ni otherwise Vennil, is probably the village now called Höyil-Ven̄ni, a small station of the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. In ancient days poetry was a matter of genius and not of scholarship, and the result of the inspiration of the muse and not of the artificial contrivances of pandits. Men and women of all ranks and classes composed poetry, as is evidenced by the ancient anthologies 'The Potter-woman of Ven̄ni'—V̄ṇnikuyattiyār—sings of Karikāl's defeat of an enemy in the bat field (perindalai, sandy stretch) of Ven̄ni and of the suicide of his defeated and dismasted foe. The ode runs thus:—"Karikāl, Sōla King who are descended from the powerful monarch who ruled the wind and drove the ship on the waste of waters, the sea, and who own very strong elephants, you marched against the enemy and exhibited your might by defeating him. The foe committed suicide on the battlefield of Ven̄ni, the revenues of which are always increasing, for he was ashamed of the wound on the back and desired to obtain

fame in the world; but he is not superior to you". This battle is also referred to in the splendid poem, Porunaröruppadi—'The Way to Wealth shown to Bards'—which is a description of Karikāl's patronage of poets by one of his protégés, by name Mudittāmak-kanniyār (the lame Wearer of Garlands of flowers), one of Karikāl's contemporaries. There the king is described as "Karikāl, the Sōla king, with terrible might and the beautiful garland of the flowers of the ātti (Bauhinia racemosa), fought in the battle-field two great kings who wore on their heads, respectively the tender leaf of the black palmyra and the garland of the black margosa leaves whose edges look like that of the saw."¹ The suicide of a king who was wounded in the back by cutting his throat on the battle field is technically called in old Tamil poetry, 'Being in the north with the sword'; the phrase 'being in the north'

¹ கனிமிஞ் சூத்திர காவலோட்டு
கனிபுரதை வாய்ந்த ஏரோன் மரு*
கனிமியல் வாய்ந்த சிலாங் வாயல்
சென்றால் கட்டுத்தின் ஜந்த பிருங்க
வெங்குஞ் சிஸ்ஸியு சுல்ல என் தீற
கனிமிடாங் யாணர் வெண்ணிப் பந்தலை
மிகப்புச் சூலங் பெய்திப்
புறப்புண் ஞானி வட்கிளுக் தேரனே.

Pug. 6).

திரும்பனக் போக்கதத் தொழில் கருஞ்சினை
யாவாக் கேம்பி எஃ் கைத் தெரிவது
மொக்கருஞ் சுக்கரி டும்பட விழுத்
விருதெரு பிக்கரு மொருகனத் தவிய
கெண்ணித்தாக்கிய யெறுகரு கொஞ்சும்.

Pug. II. 143-9.

means the giving up of one's life by either turning to the north and killing oneself or going to a Northern place and dying there by starvation. The enemies of Karikāl were one a Pāṇḍiya king and the other a Śera king. The latter's suicide at the battle of Venni is also referred to in Agam 55,³ an ode written probably many years after the occurrence for it is spoken of as a past event. In this ode he is called Śēral Ādan. It is also said that Puram 65 celebrates the same event, though there is nothing in the poem itself which refers it to this act of the Śera king.⁴ Probably the editor of Puram, finding that Agam 55 referred to Ādan's suicide thought that Puram 65 ought also to refer to the same event and has said so in the colophon he added to the ode. In this colophon he is called Peruñjēral Ādan, whereas the Agam calls him Śēral Ādan. Nothing is known about this Śera, his name occurring only in this colophon and not in any poem.

³ சிகால் வளவுறைத் தென்னிப் பறக்கலை
பொருது புண்ணமைய சேவங்க
அழிவோ மருவுகிற வாஸ்வடக் கிருந்தன.

Agam, 55, ll. 10-12.

'That Śēral Ādan fought with Karikāl, the Śēla in the field of Venni, and, ashamed of the wounds (he received), slew himself near the place in which he was defeated.'

⁴ தங்கோல் வேந்தன் முன்புகுறித் தெறிக்க
புறப்போ குணி மறத்தலை மன்னன்
வாஸ்வடக் கிருந்தனன்.

Pur. 65, 9-10.

'The valiant king got a wound on his back from one whom he regarded as a king equal to him in status and (so) slew himself.'

Early Life of Karikāl:

Porunaraippuppadai appears to have been written in the earlier part of Karikāl's reign before he changed his capital from Uraiyyūr to Kāvirippūmbattinam (Kāvēri-pattinam) at the mouth of the Kāviri. It refers to his being the posthumous child of Ilaiyōn meaning the younger. "The child of Ilaiyōn of the victorious spear and many beautiful chariots, he became a lord who inspired awe (in the minds of his foes) as Murugan's anger does; he inherited his right to the throne while still in his mother's womb. His enemies came to obey his behests. The countries of the kings who did not submit to him were filled with anxiety. As the young sun whose warmth is desired by all spreads his rays on the sea, before gradually rising high in the sky, so when he crawled (as a baby) on the floor, he carried on his shoulders (the burden of) his excellent land and daily increased its prosperity. As the whelp of the lion proud of its great strength, greater than that of the Lord of Death, harasses the deer while still at the breast of its dam, and soon kills the elephant when it hunts for the latter's head,"⁵ so Karikāl defeated the Pāṇḍiya and the

5

வெள்ளை

ஊருவப் பல்லேற நினையோன் சிறுவன்
 முருங் சிற்றக் தாருகெழு கருசி
 வூம்யவிற் திருக்கு நாய மெய்தி
 வெய்யாத் தெங்க சேங்க கேட்பச்
 செய்யார் தேங்க தெருமால் கவிப்பப்
 பெணவ மீழிகைப் பக்கதிர் பரப்பி
 வெங்கெங்கு செல்வன் விசம்புபட்டக் காங்குப்

Sōra kings. Here follows the passage already quoted about the battle of Venni. In a later passage⁶ is alluded to an incident of his boyhood. Two elderly people entered his council-chamber and laid before him a dispute that had arisen between them, and he settled it to the satisfaction of both.⁷ It is said in a fugitive stanza⁸ that on this occasion he wore a grey wig to conceal his extreme youth. In another passage of Porunārāppuppadai it is said that he ruled the

பிதக்ததவத் கற்றத் தெருட்டுச் சிறக்கண்
அடி செகிற் சொன்னு நாடைநம் வளர்ப்ப
வாளி கண்மா எண்ணக்குவடக் குருளோ
வீளி மொய்ம்பிள் மிகுவலி செகுக்கி
முலைக்கோள் விடாவ யாத்திரை தெருநேரைத்
தலைக்கோள் கேட்டால் வளிநட் புதுவ்கு.

Por. II, 129-143.

முதியோ

⁶ கலைபுகு பொழுத்தம் பணக்குருள் செலவும்.

Ib. II, 187-188.

⁷ உரைமுடிய காலை வரினோமையோ ஜென்ற
கைரமுது மக்களுவப்ப—உரைமுடித்துச்
உச்சவரன் முகைதசம்பதைச் செழியன் குலவிச்சை
கல்வரமற் பாகம் பழிம்.

Palamoiji. 25.

⁸ The grey-haired old men said that the young man could not come to a decision about their case. They were delighted to find that the Sōla wore a grey wig, and understood the case from listening to their statements. This proves that even before they learn the arts suited to their caste, men are ripe (for their duties).⁹

Palamoiji 25.

whole world under one umbrella.* This may mean that he established his rule over the whole of the Tamil world after defeating his rival monarchs, the Pāṇḍiya and the Śerā at Venṇi. But as he is in the last line of the same poem, specifically called "the Lord of the land which the Kāviri nourishes," we may take it that Karikāl did not annex the Pāṇḍiya and the Śera countries, but merely claimed homage from their kings.

Early patronage of poets :

During the years when he ruled the Kāviri valley from Uṟaiyūr, he was as great a patron of poets as Bhoja was in later times. This is Mudattāmakkanniyār's account of his reception at Karikāl's court. "Like a bird that flies to a tree bearing fruit, I went to the broad palace wall which resounded with a loud noise and entered the beautiful gateway which was never closed to the needy, without informing the porter. My emaciated body was relieved of its weariness. Playing on my small drum whose sides displayed, where my fingers touched them, marks like those on the expanded hood of a cobra, I sang keeping measure with the double beat of the drum, so that my poverty might be relieved. It was the dawn and Venus with her expansive rays was risen. The king desired to treat me like one of his relatives and spoke in such a complimentary way that I desired to be frequently a solicitor for his

" ஒரு குடையா தலூக்கு கூறப்
பெறிதான்ட.

Por. II. 228-229.

காவிரி புச்சு காட்டு சொல்ல.

Ib. I. 248.

help. He gave me a seat near him, that I might be always in his eye. He looked at me so kindly that my bones became soft like wax. He made me discard my clothes which teemed with lice, were torn and restitched in a number of places and gave me, instead, clothes so embroidered with flowers as to look like the skin of a serpent and so fine that the threads of which they were woven could not be traced with the eyes. His servant-maids, who were fair, bejewelled and smiling, frequently poured intoxicating wine into gold cups as unstintingly as the rain pours water. I had my fill of it so that my weariness was relieved. When evening came I was full of joy and then took rest in his beautiful palace. As ascetics keep up their bodies for a long time to enjoy (in their physical bodies) the benefits of their asceticism, so I was relieved of the weariness of the travel and the only agitation I had was the tremor of my limbs due to much drinking. People who had noticed my look of poverty the previous evening, were astonished to see me the next morning so charged with scents as to attract bees. I thought it was all a dream but was exhilarated to find that it was a reality. Other poor people were delighted to find me so. Boys swore that though altered I was the same man as the beggar of the previous day."¹⁰ Besides giving to

¹⁰ பழைய முன்னிய பறவையின் வாழுமல
விழுமலன் கண்ண விடதுகட வரைப்பி
ஏகசுவர்த் தலையா என்பெரு வரவி
விசையேன் புரிநென் விரிம்பை தீர
வெந்த மூல்யை வெங்கே ஞுபிப்
பைத்த பகம்பின் தந்தி யேற்ப்பக
கைக்க டிருக்கவென் கண்ணாகன் நடங்கி

posts food and drink in plenty the king gave them silk

யிருசீர்ப் பாணிக் சேற்ப விரிக்கிர்
 வெள்ளி முனைத்த என்னிருள் விடுவ
 வொன்றியான் பெட்டா வளக்கவி ஞென்றிய
 கெனிர் போல சேஷ்கொள் வேண்ட
 வேண்டன் வாயில் வேப்பச் குறிக்
 கண்ணிற் காண நன்னூவழி விரிதூப்
 பருகு வன்ன வருகா சேர்க்கவே
 தேரு பவவபோ வென்பு குயிர்கொள்கு
 மிரும் பேஞ் மிருக்கிறை கூட
 வேரொடு எளைக்கு சேந்தியை துகழுத்
 துண்ணற் சிதா அர் துவா நீக்கி
 ஓங்கு துழுவல்லா நுண்ணமய புக்கனிக்
 தாவுரி யன்ன வறுவை என்க
 மைழுவன மருஞு மகிழ் செங்காட்டு
 திழையனி வைப்பி ணின்னகை மகனிர்
 போக்கில் பொலுக்கல் நிறைவப் பங்கால்
 அங்குப் தாத்தா வருத்தம் வீட்
 அரா ஏண்டு பேரானுர் போக்கிஸ்
 செருக்கொடு நின்ற காலை மற்றவன்
 நிருக்கினர் கேயி வொருக்கிறத் தங்கித
 தங்குகெப்ப மரக்க டம்முடம் பிடாஜ
 ததங்பய மெப்திய வளக்கு மான
 வாருசெல் வருத்த மால நீக்கி
 யனக்தர் கடுக்க மல்வ தியாவது
 மனங் கவுன் பின்றி மாதாக் கெழுகுது
 மாலை யன்னதோர் புன்னமயுங் காலைக்
 கண்டோர் மருஞும் வன்னிகுழும் நீலையுங்
 கணவென மருண்டுவென் ஜெஞ்சே மாப்ப
 வல்லஞ்சுர் பொத்திய மனமகிழ் சிறப்பக்

clothes with the loose ends of threads knotted,¹¹ flowers made of gold in the shape of the lotus,¹² and tall chariots with crowns made of ivory and drawn by four white horses with waving manes.¹³

Later life :

The other long poem sung in praise of Karikāl is Paṭṭinappālai, 'the parting-song in which Kāvirippūm-paṭṭinam is described' by Uruttirāṅganānār of Kadīyalūr. Therein the author informs his mind which desires to go to Kāvirippūmbaṭṭinam for earning presents from Karikāl that he would not part from his beloved and accompany his mind to that city. From this poem we learn that Karikāl in the course of his reign changed his capital from Uraiyūr to this flourishing seaport. He gave up Uraṇḍai (i.e., Uraiyūr) whose mansions possessed high doors, after establishing in their palaces (its old) families, and building great and small gateways in its forewalls where the goddess of fortune resided and providing its bastions with bundles of arrows.¹⁴

கன்ன விளைஞ் சொல்லிக் கட்ட...

Por. 64-100.

¹¹

துவ

சொல்லெடுக் கரைய பட்டினை கஷ்டி.

Ib. II.

¹²

Ib. I. 159.

¹³

கோட்டை செங்க செய்துஞ்சி செய்தே

குட்டிர நய்வர வேறி தட்டுப்

பால்புர புதலி கால்குடன் மூட்டு.

Ib. 163-165.

¹⁴

பிறகு சிலை மாடத்துறக்கை போக்கிக்

கோவிலை அடிச்சிடு

வாய்வொழி புதையமைத்து

குமிழேற புதை நீர்டுப். Paṭ. II. 285-8.

This poem describes the martial exploits of Karikāl from his youth onwards. Being a posthumous son, he did not succeed to the Śōla throne without trouble. When young he was imprisoned possibly by usurpers and fought his way to freedom. As the poet says, "As the tiger-cub, whose claws are sharp and which bears (on its skin) curved stripes, grows in strength while confined in its cage, his might ripened when he was kept in the well-guarded house of his enemies; he decided to escape and, as the large-trunked elephant (caught in a pit) breaks the pit-wall, fills the pit with the earth and runs away to its mate, he with his sword cut his way through the thick ranks of the guard around his prison-house. He thus obtained the right to the powerful (Śōla) throne."¹⁵ Not satisfied with the royal rights he thus obtained "he proceeded against other countries. His elephants with (prominent) nails on their legs kicked the crowned black heads of his enemies and destroyed their fortifications and broke with tusks their gates."¹⁶ "He quelled with his fierce

15 கருகிச்ச
கெடுவரிக் குருளை கட்டுவ வாச்சதாய்குப்
பிறர், பின்யிகத் திருக்கு பீடங்க் முற்றி
யருங்கனர் எலியக் குத்திக் குழிகொண்ட
பெருங்காயாளை பிடிபுக் காங்கு
தாண்ணிலி மூணை ஏடி கண்ணுர்
கெறிவுடைத் தின்காப் பேறி வாக்கழித்
தகுகெழு தய மூழி கொய்தி.

Ib. II. 220-27.

16 பேற்றகவ மதிழ்தல் செய்யான் செற்கோர்
ஏடியான் டெரைத்த கதவுகொன் மருப்பிள்
முடியுடைக் கருக்தலைக் புரட்டி முன்கு
ஞுகிருடை ஏடிய வேங்கெழில் யாளை.

Ib. II. 228-31.

red looks the might of the Pāṇḍiya who used to boast of his fearlessness in facing his enemies and who was strong enough to destroy the forts of kings with his great army."¹⁷ He decided to enlarge his dominions in all directions. "He destroyed the power of the many Oḍiya chiefs; the ancient lords of the Aruvā country became subservient to him; the kings of the North lost their splendour; those of Kudanādu were depressed by him; all the branches of the low herdsman dynasty were rooted out as also the family of Irungōvē]."¹⁸ Of this list, the Irungōvē] chief ruled in the district south of the Śēla kingdom with Koḍumbālūr (an ancient town now in the Pudukotta state, on the road from Trichinopoly to Madura) as his capital. The Aruvā and Oḍiya chiefs ruled over the districts between the Śēla and the Pallava dominions. Having conquered these, Karikāl subjugated the Northern King (Vaḍavar) i.e. the Pallava

¹⁷ தென்னவன் நிறல் கெடச் சிறிமன்னர்
மன்னெயில் குதுபு மதழுகை சேங்குண்
மாத்தானை மற்மொய்ம்பிற்
செங்கன்னூற் செயிர்த்து கோக்கி

Ib. II. 277-280.

¹⁸ பல்வெள்ளியர் பணி பொடிச்சத்
தொல்வருவாளர் தொலில் கேட்ப
உடவர் ஊடச் சூடவர் கம்பத்
தென்னவன் நிறல்கெடச் சிறி மன்னர்
மன்னெயில் குதுபு மதழுகை சோங்குண்
மாத்தானை மற்மொய்ம்பிற்
செங்கன்னூற் செயிர்த்து கோக்கிப்
புன்பொதுவர் வழிபொன்ற
விருக்கோவேண் மருங்கு சாயக்.

Ib. II. 274-282

Rajas of Kāñci. He pushed beyond and brought under his sway the Poduva chieftains, who ruled over the Cudappa and Kurnool districts. The word Poduvar means herdsman chiefs and must refer to the rulers of the pastoral tribes that inhabited the Mūlai region north of the Marudam lands belonging to the Pallavas. The herdsman brought under Kariṭal's sway were Kupumbas, like those who inhabit these districts even to-day, and weave the famous kambaljs of that region. "The famous victor, the Sōla, Karikāl, protected the families of the Kupumbar who tend (flocks) on the hill-tops."¹⁹ There is also plenty of epigraphical evidence to support the fact deduced from this poem that Karikāl's sway extended north up to the Ceded Districts, which will be discussed presently.

The poem also says that Karikāl destroyed forests and turned them into habitable places.²⁰ The commentator explains that this was done in the Sōla country; but that country was fully inhabited from a long time before this monarch, and therefore this exploit must refer to the thinly populated districts Cudappa and Kurnool.²¹ "The local records reveal

¹⁹ குறம்பக்கர பயந்தான்
கெல்சுடி சிறத்த பெரும் பெயர்க் கிரிமல்
வெல்போர்க் கேருமன்.

Agam. 141 ll. 21-23.

²⁰ சுவி கொன்ற சுட்டாம்பி.

Pot. I. 283.

²¹ There was absolutely no desert land in the Sōla country, so much so that it was described as ஏஞ் ஏஞ் (the four regions) and not the five regions.

Por. I. 226.

the fact that people of Cudappa and Kurnool districts (the ancient Rēnādu) still remember the invasion of Karikāl. According to one Kaifyat, Karikāla Mahārāja of Sūryavamśa, having conquered the west, obtained possession of this country. He had the forest cleared on the southern slopes of Karigiri hill where he founded a village called Pottāpi. He encouraged the growth of a number of villages in its neighbourhood; and as Pottāpi was the most important of them, the group of villages around it acquired the name of Pottāpinādu".²² That the tradition embodied in the above extract is the correct explanation of the poet's remark that Karikāl destroyed forests and turned them into habitable places there can be no doubt. We may hence conclude that Karikāl's sway extended over the whole of the Tamil land and a part of the Telugu Country beyond and that under his rule the land was prosperous because he developed the agricultural activities of the people and encouraged trade.

The new capital :

He seems to have changed his capital from Uraiyyūr to the ancient seaport of Kāvirippūmbattinam, first because he could control his possessions by means of his naval power and secondly because he could better encourage foreign trade from that place and thus increase his revenue. The Pattinappālai tells us that he built round the city " strong walls in which the goddess of victory resided and furnished it with a door (made of beams)

²² N. Venkataramanaiya quoting from L. R. vol. 22, p. 141, in the Madras Christian College Magazine for Jan. 1929.

joined together, on which his tiger-crest was carved."²² This poem elaborately describes the city and its suburbs, Being the earliest description of a Tamil city, and, unlike the accounts in the Sanskrit literature, entirely realistic and without exaggeration, except in one phrase, it deserves to be reproduced here. "It was the day of the full moon. The big red-haired fishermen did not go on the broad black cool sea to fish. In the middle of the hamlet with low roofs against which were leant long angling-rods, in their huts in the front of which was spread sand with their nets drying thereon, looking like alternating patches of moonlight and darkness, they, along with their black women who wore the leaf-garment planted the horn of the gravid shark. In honour of the powerful god dwelling in the horn, they hung (round their necks) garlands of the cool flowers of the white convolvulus growing low at the foot of the screw-pine which has aerial roots, they wore on their hair the long-petalled flower of the Pandanus, they drank the toddy from the rough-barked palmyra and also rice-liquor and played on the sandy stretch of the beach. At the noisy mouth of the river where the Kāviri mixes its (muddy) waters with the clear water of the sea looking like the red evening cloud on a black hill, and the (red-haired) child at the breast of (its black) mother, they bathed to get rid of their sins; and, to get rid of the salt (of the sea-water), they bathed in the flood. They played with crabs and on the broad

²² புலிப்பூரத்து சுருக்கைதலை
நிருத்தங்கள் இன்னாப்பு.

wave; they made images [of grass], enjoyed many things which appealed to their senses, and played all day without being satiated. They then fell asleep on the sweet-smelling sands of the great Kāviri.

" Those who lived on the banks of the river which never fails, where flowers are strewn in mansions standing on pillars as high as the heaven which is difficult to reach and which has endured for long, listened to songs, witnessed with pleasure dramas;²⁴ women enjoyed the moonlight, drank strong liquor instead of toddy, changed silk clothes for muslins, and embraced their husbands and went to sleep in the last watch of the night. At such a time, (on account of intoxication) men wore women's garlands and women wore men's garlands. The fishermen when they went (early in the morning) with their boats on the sea could count the lamps set in rows in those mansions, which continued still to burn, while (their inmates were) sleeping.

" Near the well-guarded warehouses in the broad street of the merchants who reside on the beach where abounds the Pandanus whose long petalled flowers grow in clusters, endless articles lie crowded outside the warehouses so that they may be stamped with the terrible tiger-emblem (of the Sōlas) and the amount of customs due on them estimated before they are carried to the ships; and outside the ships lie pack-

²⁴ The word used is the Sanskrit *nātaka*, the first use of the word in Tamil poetry. It probably meant dumb-show, which was the form of drama prevalent in South India before it came in contact with Sanskrit drama.

ages stamped with the tiger-emblem, so that the dues on them may be estimated before they are taken away. This (alternate) importation and exportation resembles the pouring of the rain on the hills by the clouds which have taken in water from the sea, and the flowing of the rain which has fallen on the hills down to the sea. The officers famous from old times for safeguarding the revenues of the good king, collect the customs dues all day long without weariness, like the horses yoked to the chariot of the sun whose rays are hot like raging anger.

"The houses have a front yard where the sharp-clawed peacock, looking like the varudai (a fabulous eight-legged bird) on the hill on whose tops the clouds rove and on whose sides the bamboos grow, and the bent-legged bull and the ram gambol about. Round the houses run platforms with short steps below and long ladders leaning on them; they have a series of quadrangles and doorways both small and large, and long corridors. The houses are as high as the clouds and possess windows through which the breeze blows. Near the windows stand girls with red soles, thick thighs, yellow jewels (made of gold), broad forelaps, thin garments, complexion like the coral, looks like the deer, gentle speech like the parrot, and beauty like the peacock."²⁵

²⁵ சென்றாண்டின் காழ்ப்பக்கமிய
குத்தகைச் சுட்டாப்ப
விலவடைந் த விருந்போல
வீவுணங்கு மண்ணமுன்றில்
யீழ்த்தாறமுத் தாட்டாழ்த்த

The imports of the place were "horses which held

வெண்ட நாளத்துத் தன்மூல் கோணதயர்
 சினோச் சுறவின் கொடுக்கட்டி
 மனோச் சேர்த்திய வள்ளணக்கினுன்
 மடந்திரமூழ் மலர்மலைக்குதும்
 பின்ஸப்பெண் ஸீஸப் பிழிமாச்சியும்
 புன்றிலை யிரும்பாதவர்
 கைப்பதைமூழ் மக்கிரொடு
 பாயிகும் பனிக்கடல் யேட்டஞ் சென்லா
 துவங்குமதி தண்டாடியும்
 புலகுமணைற் பூக்கானன்
 மாமலை யனோச்ச கொண்ணுப் பேரவுக்
 தாவ்முலை தழுவில் குறுவி போவுக்
 தேநீரிப் புணிசியோ டியாதுதலை மணக்கு
 மலி யோதத் தொலிகூடற்
 நீதுகிங்கக் கடலாடியு
 மாச போகப் புன்படித்து
 மலை குட்டியு முராததிலை ஏழக்கியும்
 பாவை குற்க்கும் பல்பொறி மருங்கு
 மகளரக் காதலெடு பகல்வினை யாடிய்
 பெரத்தகருக் தொல்சீர்த் துரக்க மேய்க்கும்
 பொய்யா மரபிற் பூமலி பெருக்குதறத்
 துணைப்புணர்க்கு மடமக்கையர்
 பட்டிக்கித் துகிறுகித்து
 மட்டிக்கிக் மதுமகிழ்க்கு
 கமங்கர் கண்ணி மகவிர்குடிய
 மகவிர் கோணத அமக்கர் மலையை
 கொடுக்கான் மாடத் தொல்லெரி கோக்கிக்
 கொடுக்கியிற் பரதகர் குருஷ்கூட கெண்ணையும்
 பாட லோர்த்து காடக கயக்கும்
 வெண்ணிலவின் பயன்றுயற்றுக்
 கண்ணைடுப் புடைக்குலாகன்

their heads high, and pepper in bagfuls, (both of which

மாதுகாவிரி மண்ணட்டுத்
 தாங்கெக்கர்த் துயின்மாத்து
 வாவினர் மடற்குறை
 யேலாழி வியன்நெருவி
 னவினையன் பொருள்காக்கு
 தொன்னியசத் தொழில்மாக்கள்
 காப்பினத்த கதிர்ச்சென்யன்
 ஒத் புண்ட மாது போல
 அவாக்குறை மாசவின் நி
 யுஞ்சு செயக் குறைப்பாது
 வாங்குமக்கர்தீர் மலைப்பொழியவு
 மலைப்பொழி தீர் கடற்பரப்பவு
 மாநிலப்பெய்யும் பருவம் போல
 சிரினின் து சிலத்தேற்றவு
 சிலத்தினின் து நீர்ப்பரப்பவு
 மளக்தறியாப் பலபண்டம்
 அரமைப்பியாமம் வாட்டின்ட
 யாங்கடிப் பெருக்கூப்பின்
 வளிப்பட வல்வனக்கிழேஞ்
 புலிபொறித்துப் புறக்கேங்கி
 மதிசிறைத்த மலிபண்டம்
 பொதிமுடைப் போரேநி
 மறையாடு சினமய மாவ்வளைக் காவன்
 வகரவாடு கருவடைத் தோற்றம் போவக்
 கருகிர் குமவிக் கொடுக்கா ஓந்தை
 யேழகத் தக்கோ இக்கு முன்றிற்
 குறுக்கொண்ட கொடும்படிக்காற்
 கொடுத்தின்னைப் பலிறங்கப்பிற்
 புழைவாயிற் போகிளடக்கி
 மழைக்கொடி மூயர் மாடத்துச்
 சேவடிக் கெறகுறக்கிற்
 பாவகூப் பகட்டங்குற்
 நாக்கடத் துகிர் கீமனி
 மபிவியன் மாநேஞ்சிற்
 கிரீமழை மென் சாய்லோர்.

came) in ships propelled by the wind, gems and gold from the Northern mountains, sandal-wood and agil-wood from the western mountains, pearls born in the Southern ocean, corals born in the Eastern sea, articles from the Gāngā, the produce of the Kāviri (valley), food-stuffs from Ceylon, manufactures of Burmah and other rare things (which the commentator says were camphor, rose-water, saffron etc., from China) and other important articles.¹⁶ The poet also tells us that in the streets of the city could be seen men who talked many tongues. Hence we may believe that Kāvirippūmbattinam was a flourishing seaport in the days of Karikal.

Aryan culture in the city :

Chiefly on account of this trade, there was much closer intercourse between this Tamil port and North India. Hence Aryan culture spread in it sooner than in the rest of the Tamil country and attained there an influence which it did not possess in other places. According to the testimony of this poem, in Kāvirippūmbattinam there were "monasteries for (Buddha and Jaina) ascetics, and groves where the sweet smelling smoke from the ghi poured by the fire-

¹⁶ கிரின் வாத திவர்பதிப் புசலியுக்
காவிள் வாத கருக்கறி முடையுக்
கடமலைப் பிறக்க உண்டுப் பொன்னுக்
குட எலை பிறக்க வாரலு மகிழுக்
தெள்கடன் முத்துக் கணக்டற் றகிருக்
கங்கைவாரியுக் காவிரிப் பயது
மீழத்தணவுக் காழகத் தாக்கலு
மரியாம் பெரியா தெரிய வீண்டு.

worshipping Rāis with bright locks of hair, drove out the cuckoos with their black mates.”²⁷ This is the first time we hear in Tamil literature of settlements of Brāhmaṇas, Bauddhas and Jainas in any city of the Tamil country (other than Kāñci). By this time Kāvirippūmbattiṇam must have become a great centre of Āryan influence, for in another passage we read that as in Āryan provinces, dialecticians (we may presume they were disputants in logic) “ who were authoritative masters of many works which they had learnt fully, planted their terrible flags inviting debate’ in that city.”²⁸ The cults of the Brāhmaṇas had spread among the people in the city, for its merchants “ worshipped the amaras (the Vedic gods), gave them fire-offerings, reared cows and bulls (for offering in yajña) and upheld the glory of the Brāhmaṇas who know the four Vedas.”²⁹ The amaras of undying fame are also referred

²⁷ தவப் பஞ்சி தாத்தாவி
அவிர்ச்சனை முனிவ சக்கி வேட்கு
மாவதி ஏறம் புணை முனோதுக் குயிநம்
மாவிரும் பெணை யே டிரியல் போகி,

Ib. II. 53-56.

²⁸ பல்கோள்வித் துகழபோகிய
தொல்லாமை சுல்வாசிரிய
குறுக்குறித் தெடுதூ வருகெழு கொடியும்.

PoF II. 169-71.

²⁹ அமரஸ்ப் பேணிய மாவதி யருத்தியும்
ஈல்வாலெனு பகடோம்பியும்
ஈன்மங்கரயேர் புசுப்பரப்பியும்.

Ib. II. 200-202.

to as the guardians of the city.³⁰ "The god installed faultlessly and excellently"³¹ seems also to be an Aryan god.

The old Tamil gods also worshipped :

Not that the old Tamil gods had at all given way on the onslaught of the Aryan ones ; they too flourished in the city. "In the market street there were ceaseless festivals to Murugan in which women, obsessed by him, danced, and the flute and the *yāj* were sounded, and the drums, beaten."³² By this time Murugan had apparently migrated to the valleys. The worship of dead heroes who had become gods and were represented by upright stones planted in their memory and furnished with a shield and spear also continued.³³ So, too, as has been already mentioned, the worship of

³⁰ செல்லா கவ்விகா அமரச் செப்பிள்.

Ib. I, 184.

³¹ மத்யது தெற்பிற் பெய்வம் செஸ்பிய.

Ib. I, 159.

³² செல்லாவ்

மெற்றியாட மகளிராடி செறியத் தாழும்பு
குழலகவ யாழ்முராவ
முதுவதிர முரசியம்ப
விழவரு விசுவாவணத்து.

Ib. II, 154-158.

³³ கிட்டு சிவாத் செல்லங்கற்
சுதாவில் ஏரண் போல.

Ib. 76-79.

the sea-god, symbolized by a shark's horn. The pillar-god was also worshipped : he was, probably a lingam or a mere post placed in the podiyil (place of assembly), which was washed with a solution of cowdung by girls captured in raids, after they had bathed in the ford and purified their bodies by bathing, and where in the evening they lighted lamps and decorated the pillar-god with flowers. Many people worshipped this god.³⁴ This pillar was called Kandu. Most probably Kandaji mentioned as an object of hymns in *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruladigāram* ii 33, was but a variant of Kandu. Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator, explains Kandaji, as 'the principle beyond all manifested ones, which stands alone without form and without attachment'. This explanation is clearly unacceptable, because the high degree of abstraction implied in this concept is nowhere found in early Tamil poetry ; and the idea of hymning the Impersonal is totally foreign to ancient Tamil genius; so much so that the commentator is not able to give a single specimen of such hymns.

Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite :

One result of Karikāl's coming into intimate contact with Aryan culture in his new capital was that his imagination was captivated by the gorgeous fire-rites performed by the Brāhmaṇas and he thus became the

³⁴ கொண்டு மகளி குண்டிலை முழும்
யாதி மாட்டிய சுதா விளக்கின்
வெரணி மெழுச்ச மெறிப் பலங்தூரு
வெபவர் சேங்குஞ் சுத்துவடப் பொதிலின்.

first Tamil king that patronised the costly vedic yajñas. The earliest description of a great Śrauta rite performed in the Tamil country is found in the eulogy sung by Karungeṭṭil Ādānār on the occasion of Karikāl's death. It runs thus :—" In the assembly of great (Bṛhmaṇas) who had mastered the Dharma, those who were well versed in the methods (of vedic sacrifice) guided the conduct of the ceremonies. The sacrificial hall was round and surrounded by several protecting walls. In it was a place built in the shape of an eagle. At a tall Yūpa-pillar planted there, (the sacrificers) conducted the vedic Yajña, along with their wives whose character was praised by all and who were inspired by the strict rule of chastity."**

Imitation of Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite by later kings :

The fashion of patronizing the Vedic yajñas started by Karikāl was soon imitated by other Tamil kings. Of Palyānaiceelkeļu Kūttivan of the Sēra dynasty it is recorded in late traditions that he helped the poet Fālik-kaudāmanār, the poet who sang about him in the third of the Ten Tens, to perform ten Yāgams, at the end of which celebration, the poet and his wife went

* அறமநக் கண்ட இசுவிமான வையத்து
 முன்றாற் கறியுள் முன்னுறப் புதிர்ச்ச
 தெவியத் தொக்கைக் கடங்க மகளிழெடு
 பகுதியுருவிக் பல்பகடப் புரிமை
 மயிருவை கால்சி மூப இடுக்குதான்
 கோச ஒலக்கிக் கொழிஞ்சுமுடிக் கதாவு.

straight to svarga. Palyāgēśālai Mudu Kūdumi, a Pandya monarch patronized several yāgams. He gifted to a Brāhmaṇa sacrificer certain lands which became the subject of a dispute in the VIII century A.D. and were regiven to the donee's descendant, this time to the accompaniment of a copperplate grant. One Perunspkilli, a successor of Karikāl, got himself crowned in accordance with vedic ceremonies and took on the title of Irāśasūyam vēṭṭi, who performed the Rājasūya sacrifice. Notwithstanding this rite the Śōla dynasty was subverted soon after the event and almost disappeared from South Indian history for a few centuries.

Brāhmaṇa Tamil poets:

Another result of the total subjugation of Karikāl's imagination by Āryan culture was the rise of several Brāhmaṇa Tamil poets. This broke the dam that kept back Tamil poets from Āryan ideas. Āryan beliefs, Āryan superstitions, Āryan customs (and Sanskrit words) freely entered Tamil life and are referred to in Tamil poetry, side by side with old South Indian ideas, beliefs, superstitions and customs. The poems which exhibit these can be easily seen to be later than the ones where the Āryan element is entirely lacking. Tamil Kings, too, sought affiliation with the Puranic dynasties, Solar and Lunar. Illustrations of all these will be given in a later chapter.

Light thrown by Epigraphy on Karikāl's life:

So far we have considered the career of Karikāl on the basis of contemporary literary evidence. Epigraphic confirmation of some of the events of Karikāl's life can be derived from the traditions

recorded in the epigraphs of an age later than this Śōla monarch's. Thus the inscriptions of Rēṇīdu, mostly unpublished (one of which was referred to earlier) testify to Karikāl's conquest of that district, his clearing forests, establishment of towns, institution of irrigation systems and foundation of a dynasty of Telugu-speaking Cōḍa kings, who were his descendants. "The existence of a Kingdom called Chu-li-ye in the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (640 A. D.) somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu records is conclusive proof that this kingdom existed in the VII century A. D."³⁶ Of the plates of this family the Mālēpūdu plates of Pūṇyakūmāra have been published in the Epigraphia Indica Vol. XI. Some time after Karikāl's reign, kings of this dynasty became subject to the Pallavas of Kañcī. After a time the family seems to have dispersed. "Some of them became subordinate to the western Chālukyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country. A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōṭa under the Nāgavamsi King, Jagadēkabbhūṣana Mahārāja (A. D. 1060-1061")."³⁷ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there flourished in Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cudappah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Cōḍa (now changed into Telugu Cōḍa) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatiyas of Warangal.³⁸ The Kākatiyas themselves

³⁶ Ep. Ind. Vol. xi. p. 344.

³⁷ Madras Ep. report for 1909. p. 112. The so-called Gond dynasty of the Central Provinces was founded by them.

³⁸ Ib. for 1900, p. 17, b.

trace their descent from the sun and can count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla Cōja.³⁹ In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Cōjas. Even as late as the XVI century A. D. Cōja chiefs with the traditional legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Uraiyūru are found serving as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.⁴⁰ Very great must have been the impression left by Karikāl on the imagination of the Telugu people at the dawn of their history for almost every Telugu dynasty to claim descent from him.

Karikāl and the Kāviri:

These Telugu records refer to Karikāl's achievement in "stopping the overflow over its banks of the (water of) the daughter of Kavēra (i.e. the river Kāvēri")."⁴¹ This phrase is made clear in the Tiruvālengādu plates of the VI year of Rajendra Śōmadēvar I, which say that Karikāl constructed embankments for the Kāviri river.⁴² That river flooded the country around every year so systematically that the lower valley of the Kāviri got in ancient times the name of Punal nūdu, the land of floods. Karikāl apparently rescued the land from this annual visitation by building high flood-banks. This work of Karikāl is not specifically referred to in the Pattinappälai which merely states that "he dug tanks and increased the prosperity of the land."⁴³ This work

³⁹ Ib. p. 106, para 44.

⁴⁰ Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 344.

⁴¹ Ib. p. 339.

⁴² S. I. I. III. iii. p. 386.

⁴³ மெக்கார்த்து செவில் பூர்ணகி. Pat. I. 284.

does not seem to have appealed to the imagination of contemporary poets as much as it did to that of men of a later age.⁴⁴ But as two independent series of inscriptions—the Telugu and the Tamil ones—specifically mention this tradition, we may well believe that the embankment of the Kāviri was one of Karikāl's minor achievements in the earlier part of his reign.⁴⁵ The great productivity of the Kāviri valley is thus described by Mudattāmakkappiyār in the closing lines of Porunarāppuppadai. "Bending their backs they reaped the paddy with the edges of their sickles, made heaps of rice-sheaves as high as hills, daily stacked the paddy in never-decreasing ricks which looked like hills, poured it fully in barns which stood close to each other, for every vēli of land enclosed by dykes produced a thousand kalams of good paddy."⁴⁶ This liberal yield could have been obtained

⁴⁴ e.g., the author of Kalingattuppāp. ni st. 184.

⁴⁵ Porunarāppuppadai, II, 240-241, says வெரப்பகம் புதுதோறம் வெளவு மாலி, 'women bathe in the foaming and roaring water when it enters the bound area.' The commentator explains the last phrase as 'tanks and ponds'; but women bathed not in tanks and ponds but in the river itself, when the freshes came. Therefore I am inclined to interpret the phrase வெரப்பகம், as 'the place where the river was embanked,' and to see in it an allusion to the fact discussed above.

⁴⁶ குளிக் குபத்தின் வாய்வென் வரிக்க
குடுமோ டாஸப் பிந்தி காடுடாறக்
குண்டுதெனக் குங்குமிய ரண்குக் குப்பை
குமிடுதெற்ற முடுவதி சிரிடுக்கெடுக் கிடங்குஞ்
காலி கெள்ளிக் கிழந்தொகை ஒலி
மாவிரம் எனிலுட்ட டாஸ.

Por. II, 242-247.

only if Karikāl had scientifically regulated the flow of water in the Kāviri. V. Kanakasabai, who is sometimes inaccurate in quoting references, says that Karikāl "constructed sluices and canals to distribute and regulate the water-supply" from the Kāviri, and refers to *Silappadigaram*, X, ll. 108-111 as his authority.⁴⁷ The passage referred does not at all refer to any achievement of Karikāl's but merely says, that "when the tide of the sea is high, the freshes of the Kāviri slope back from its mouth and water flows fast into its channels, sounding ceaselessly."⁴⁸ This can only prove that there existed irrigation-channels cut from the Kāviri in the age when this poem was composed, which was sometime after Karikāl's time.

V. A. Smith has said that Karikāl "is represented by the early poets as having invaded Ceylon and carried off thence thousands of coolies to work on the embankments of the Kāvēri river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed. He founded Kāvirappaddinam."⁴⁹ This is a tissue of mistakements. No early poet has referred to Karikāl's invasion of Ceylon or his carrying off captives. These statements are found only in very late Ceylonese legendary chronicles. There is, besides, no mention anywhere of an embankment 100 miles long. How short or how long Karikāl's embankment was, it is impossible to find out. Karikāl did not found

⁴⁷ The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago, p. 68.

⁴⁸ கடங்கள் வெறிரக் கவுரம் கெரிச்குவ
ஏவிரிப் புதரிக் கோவல் காம்த்தீவ
Cauvalik கொவலிக்கும்.

Ib. x. 107-9.

⁴⁹ The Early History of India, 4th. ed. p. 481.

Kāvirippattinam, for it existed a thousand years before his time, since it is mentioned in the Jātaka Tales, and probably was a seaport long before those Tales were born.

Karikāl and Trilocana Pallava :

The Telugu inscriptions also bear testimony to the fact that this work was done at the instance of Karikāl "by Trilocana and other kings who fixed their glances on his lotus feet.....Trilocana, Trinetra, Trinayana and Mukkanti are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava."^{**} The history of the Pallavas is divisible into three distinct periods, (1) that of the Pallavas who ruled with Kāñci as their capital and Dhanakaśīka, on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, as their sub-capital, patronized vedic rites and issued their charters in Prakrit, whose rule was quenched sometime after 350 A.D., about which date one Viṣṇugopa reigned there, as mentioned in Samudra Gupta's Prāastī at Allahabad, (2) that of the Pallavas some of whom were but titular lords of Kāñci but who issued their charters in Sanskrit from places other than that city and situated in the Telugu districts on the East Coast and who flourished in the V century A.D., (3) that of the Pallavas who again ruled from Kāñci, whose inscriptions are both in Sanskrit and Tamil, who built several temples and had become assimilated with the Tamils before 600 A.D. These flourished from the middle of the VI century to the end of the IX century. The second period (that between the middle of the IV century and the middle of the VI century) was the time when the Pallavas had no hold over

^{**} Ep. Ind. vol. xi. p. 340.

Kāñci. Probably it was Karikāl who drove them from Kāñci and most probably Trilocana Pallava was the person who was displaced from Kāñci by him and sought dominion in the Telugu country, as a tributary of the great Śola monarch. Trilocana's name does not occur in the genealogies of the East coast Pallava Sanskrit charters, but "the Kadambas of Goa and Nolambas of Hēmāvatī claim, respectively, Trilocana Kūdamba and Trinayana Pallava as the founders of these dynasties."⁵¹ Trilocana founded a town called Trilocanapura, which is now called Peddamudiyam, and is situated in the Cudappah district. There are many other facts which prove that Trilocana was not a mythical personage but an actual king who ruled over tracts of the Telugu country. A Telugu-Cōda inscription (No. 580 of 1907) mentions the grant of the village of Perugandūra to 52 Brāhmaṇas by Mukkanti Kāduvetti (i.e., Trilocana Pallava). This king also founded 70 agrahāras to the east of Śri Parvata.⁵²

Karikāl and Kāñci:

Besides confining the Kāviri within bunds, Karikāl according to the Telugu Cōda records, ruled at Kāñci.⁵³ The Tiruvālangādu plates mention that he renovated Kāñci with gold.⁵⁴ This probably means that he covered the dome of the temple of that place with plates of gold. This temple was probably one of the earliest temples to Āgama gods built in South India. The

⁵¹ Ep. Ind. xi. p. 340, 1b. x. p. 58.

⁵² Mad. Ep. Rep. 1908, p. 82-83.

⁵³ Mad. Ep. Rep. 1900, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Kāñcim yasca navicakāra kanakaiḥ. V. 42. S. I. I. Vol. III. pt. iii. p. 395.

earliest temple for which a donation is registered in South Indian inscriptions is that dedicated to Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa of the Kūṭi Mahātāraka Devakula (temple) at Dūlūra.⁵⁵ This inscription probably belongs to the end of the III century A. D. Apparently the Āryanization of the Kāñcipuram district was so complete in that early Pāllava period that several temples had been erected in it to Viṣṇu and probably also to Śiva. There is no means of deciding whether the temple which Karikāl renovated was a Viṣṇu or Siva one.

So far with regard to the life and achievements of Karikāl Śōjan as testified to by contemporary poets and by traditions which came down from his time and were recorded later in a series of inscriptions. Now for the accounts of later poets. Paransar who belonged to an age later than Karikāl's in an ode included in the collection called Agam describes the earliest battle fought by the king, that of Venṇi, and says :—" Kings, along with eleven petty chiefs tell and their war-drums were destroyed in the battle-field of Venṇi where intoxicated soldiers roared and excellent kings fought with Karikāl, the famous, whose strength was inspired by burning anger."⁵⁶ The presence and defeat of eleven petty chiefs in the battle of Venṇi, besides the two kings, is perhaps a genuine bit of tradition, though not

⁵⁵ Ep. Ind. viii p. 143 ff.

⁵⁶ காம்சின மூர்ப்புத் தெங்குபொய்க்க கரிகால
வார்த்தை சுறவில் வெள்ளுவி வாயித்
தீர்த்தமுன்னர் மறவிய குபட்டி
எரிவிமிகச் சூரசம் பொருகாந்த தொழிலுப்
பதினாறு வெளிர்ச்சு போக்கர் சூய.

Agam. 246. II. 8-12.

mentioned by the previous poets who were the contemporaries of Karikāl Sōjan. So, too, is the account of the defeat of nine petty chiefs in the course of one day in the battle of Vāgai (perhaps in the Sēra dominions), one of the petty incidents in the course of Karikāl's subjugation of the Tamil country. This is described by Parāṇar, who refers to "the famous kings who would not walk before the great Sōja monarch, Karikāl, and the nine (wielders of) umbrellas, who were destroyed in the course of one day (in a battle) which shook the battle field of the Vāgai, which cannot be worn."⁵⁷ Vāgai is a flower and a place; hence the pun in 'Vāgai which cannot be worn', so described as to distinguish it from 'the Vagai flower which can be worn.'

Karikal—myths :

In the course of time many incredible legends gathered round Karikāl's name and came to be recorded in literature. Thus the Ślapadigāram, an epic poem composed some time (we cannot say how long) after Karikāl's death and the repository of many legends describes, among the spots where sacrifices were offered to the gods at Kaviripiūmbattiñam in the course of a procession connected with the Indra festival, the places where were kept a triumphal canopy, an assembly pavilion and an ornamental gateway. As this passage attributes some incredible exploits to Karikāl, it is quoted here. It

⁵⁷ பெருவளக் கரிகால் முன்னிலைச் செல்வர்
குடர வரதைப் பற்றி வீர யாழிபெற
ஓவங்பது துடைபு காங்க ஓலாழித்த
மீதுன் மன்னர்.

says, "Having no more enemies to contend with in the wide world,"⁵⁸ but desirous of warfare, the great Sōjan⁵⁹ left (his capital) on an auspicious day with sword, royal umbrella, and drum covered with a fleecy skin; hoping that his strong arm might meet a worthy foe in the holy direction, he proceeded north. Then (in that past time) his constant and earnest desire was frustrated by the fruitful Himalayas where the Gods reside; so on its top (lit. on the nape of its peak) he carved the figure of the tiger with the bent stripes (i. e., his royal crest). On his return with his desire unaccomplished the king of the fair Vaccira country, hedged in by a large (body of) water, gave him as tribute a triumphant canopy (of pearls, as the commentators add). The King

⁵⁸ For 'in the wide world,' the text has விழுவாக்கன், which the commentator explains as 'in the two directions', of the Sōla country, i. e., in the Sēra and Pāndya countries, a rather forced interpretation.

⁵⁹ Karikāl is not named in this passage, but which refers to ஸ்ரீ சௌஷதன், 'the blessed, great Sōla monarch.' As Karikāl is given this very title in Paṭ 1. 299, the phrase here may be taken to mean Karikāl. The colophon to Puram 58, says that that poem was sung by Kārikappānār of Kāvirippūmbattinam when Perundirumāvalavan who died at Kurāppalli and Peruvaludi who died at Velliyyambalam sat near each other. There is nothing in the poem itself to show who was the great Sōjan and who the great Pāndyan. As the places where they died are mentioned as distinctive marks, probably they were later persons than Karikāl. Kanakasabhai assumes the Sōjan to be Karikāl, without any evidence to support the identification. (Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, p. 68.)

of Magadha, armed with a sword, opposed him and finally gave him an assembly-pavilion. The Lord of Avanti gladly presented him with a beautiful ornamental gateway. Though these were made of gold and gems they were such as the cleverest artizans had never seen. They were the handiwork of Mayan (the divine artificer) given to them as a return for the help which their ancestors had given him when he was in trouble. To them (i.e. these three places) were jointly given offerings by the great ones."⁶⁰

" இதிலை மருங்கித் போகுவதை
 செருவென் காதலித் திருமா வளவன்
 வானுங் குடைய மயிக்கண் முரசு
 என்னோடு பெற்ற ஒன்றுப் பெறுவிடம்
 மண்ணைக் கருங்கினன் வளிவக்கு தோழனைப்
 புண்ணியத் தினைகுமக் போகிய கண்ண
 எதைவி ஒக்கத்து கணவிறக் கொழியப்
 புதைக்கிப் பிப்பிப் பயங்கரமூட மீண்டென
 விழையா குறைபுஞ் சிழையப் பிட்டத்தீங்க
 கொடுவரி யேற்றிக் கொள்ளலிற் பெயர்வோத்து
 மாடிக் கூவி வக்கர கண்ணட்டுக்
 கோணிகை கொடுத்த கொற்றப் பந்தகு
 மாத கண்ணட்டு வாஸ்வாப் கோட்டைன்
 பகைபுத்துக் கொடுத்த பட்டிமண் டப்பு
 மயக்கி கோட்ட ரூபக்கனன் கொடுத்த
 திவாக்தோக்கு மராஜ் கேரள வாயிதழு
 போன்னிதழு மனியிதழும் புணக்கன வாயிதழு
 முன்வினாக் கம்மியர் கானு மரபின
 துயாரிக்கு திறப்பினவர் தொல்லோ குதலிக்கு
 மயக் கிதித்துக் கொடுத்த மரபின விழைதா
 மொருங்கடன் புணர்க்காக் குயர்க்கோ ஓத்து
 மரும்பெறன் மரபின் மண பம்.

§ II. v. II. 89-110.

The mention of Mayan, the divine architect, of Sanskrit legends, stamps this poem as later than Karikāl's time : likewise the phrase *பீசை*.

Giving its face value to the testimony of this passage every person, ancient or modern, who has written about Karikāl, has claimed for this king the credit of subjugating all the kings of India, marching with his army straight to the top of the Himalayas, stamping his crest thereon and on the return march receiving tributes, after hostilities or otherwise, from three great Northern monarchs. A Napoleonic march from the extreme south of India to the top of the Himalayas is an inconceivably difficult feat in any period of Indian History. Moreover the contemporary eulogist of Karikāl, Uruttiraṅganāṇār, who according to a late legend was paid for his poem 16 lakhs of gold pieces⁶¹ and who had every reason to exaggerate his master's exploits, does not mention it and does not mention any conquest of Karikāl beyond Rēṇūdu. The Telugu inscriptions which systematically mention all Karikāl's achievements do not allude to it. I therefore hold that the statements of the author of Śilappadigaram are inventions of the period when Śōla Kings were furnished with genealogies going up to the Sun and were provided with exploits which brought them into contact with Northern heroes, supernatural and natural, and with gifts made by gods. It is not impossible that Karikāl got the three articles as presents from somebody or other, but that he marched up to the Himalayas is clearly a late legend.

Other legends about this king found in later Tamil poems, such as that an elephant sought him out and

⁶¹ Kalingattupparapi, st. 1c5.

gave him the royal garland, that he was called, 'the black leg,' because it was singed when he attempted to escape from a fire, are scarcely worth discussion. The Ceylonese chronicles of recent times have contributed their quota of Karikal legends. One of them, viz., that he carried away from Ceylon a number of slaves and made them work on the Kāviri embankments has already been referred to. These legends are conveniently brought together by Donald Obeyesekere in his Sketches of Ceylon's History and may be quoted here. "During the reign of Wankanasikatissa (113-116 A. D.) the King of Tanjore (sic) invaded Ceylon with a large army, ravaged the northwestern portion of the Island, penetrated to within sight of Anurādhapura and retired with an immense quantity of plunder, and not less than 12,000 prisoners. Gaja Bāhu, son of Wankanasika, soon after his accession to his father's throne, avenged the insult that had been offered to the Sinhalese people. He is said to have marched over Adam's bridge with a large force under the command of Nēla-Yodhaya, devasted the country and threatened to raze the city of Tanjore to the ground, unless the King of Tanjore consented to return the 12,000 Sinhalese and, in addition, double that number of Tamils to be taken to Laṅka as hostages. The request was complied with and Gaja Bāhu returned to Ceylon bringing with him besides the hostages and the Sinhalese that had been carried away,.....the foot-ornaments of Patiny Devi and the arms of four gods which Gaja Bāhu's forces had plundered."* That this is a late and untrustworthy legend is proved by the fact that the Mahawamsa does not at all refer to it and that the Sōla is called the ruler of Tanjore. Tanjore became

* Ib. p. 26.

the headquarters of the Sōlas about 850 A.D., after which date the legend ought to have been invented.

Another point may also be noted here. A Sōla king (not named) is frequently referred to in the Silappadigāram. The annotator Adiyārkkunallūr who lived not over 500 years ago assumes without the least shadow of proof this Sōlan was Karikāl. But there is nothing in the text of the poem which compels us to think that the poet had this king in view when he speaks of the Sōlan who ruled at Kāvirippūmbattīnam when the events of the Silappadigāram took place. On the contrary, in the two passages where Karikāl is distinctly referred to, his achievements are referred to in the past tense. One of the passages has already been quoted, that about the legendary exploit of his marching to the Himalayas and back. The other occurs in the description of the flood festival, where it is said that "people put on various dresses as on the first day when Karikāl whose fame extended to the sky bathed in the cold freshes."⁶³ This means that Karikāl started the festival of bathing in the first freshes sometime before the epic was composed.

Modern writers who have studied this subject have confused the text with the commentaries and assumed that the statements of the author and those of the commentator who was about a thousand years later than the poet, have the same value as evidence. Much of what has been recently written about the early history of the three Tamil dynasties is but a jumble of contemporary

⁶³ வின்டுபரு பெரும்புகழ்க் களிகால் வரவாக
போற்றக்கொள்ளுக் கணேஷ்ட்சூல்.

Sil. vi. II. 159-160.

evidence and guesses of commentators and of modern writers, made with a supreme disregard of the laws of historical evidence.

The age of Karikāl: False theories of the relationship of Karikāl and Śeṅgūṭuvan:

There now remains the question, at what period Kariṭal flourished. Some modern investigators have assigned him to the II century of the Christian era. Śesagiri Śāstri, Professor of Sanskrit in the early eighties of the last century, first suggested this date in his essay on Tamil literature (1884 A. D.). Like all the earlier investigators he did not differentiate between the evidential value of the texts of poems and that of the interpretations made a thousand years later by commentators and regarded Karikāl as the contemporary of Śeṅgūṭuvan, a Śera King, who is the hero of the III book of Śilappadigaram. As has been already remarked the text itself regards Karikāl as belonging to an age earlier than that of the story. In defiance of this, the commentator regards Karikāl as reigning when the story began. To return to Śesagiri Śāstri's theory, Kayavāgu (in Pali Gajabāhu) was a contemporary of Śeṅgūṭuvan and therefore of Karikāl. Śeṅgūṭuvan first identified a Kayavāgu mentioned in Sil, xxx. I. 160 with Gajabahu I of the Ceylon chronicles to whom these chronicles assign the date 113 A. D. 135 A. D.⁶⁴

Coomāraswāmy accepted this suggestion and "in one of his interesting contributions to the history of ancient Tamil literature"⁶⁵ the Honourable P. Coomāra-

⁶⁴ Essay on Tamil literature 1884 p. 30.

⁶⁵ A half-hour with two Ancient Tamil poets. J. R. A. S. Ceylon Branch. 1894 (Hultsch in S. I. I. II. iii, p. 378).

swāmy allots Kārikāla to the first century A.D. This opinion is based on the fact that the commentaries on the Śilappadigāram represent Karikāl as the maternal grandfather of the Cēra King Šenguttūvan, a contemporary of Gajabāhu of Ceylon. Mr. Coomāraswāmy identifies the latter with Gajabāhu I, who according to the Mahāvamsa, reigned from A.D. 113 to 135.⁶⁶ On this it has to be remarked that the commentaries on the Śilappadigāram do not represent Karikāl as the maternal grandfather of Šenguttūvan. In the preface to Adiyarkku-nallār's commentaries on the Padigam, a prologue to the poem giving a summary of the story, not necessarily composed by the author, it is said that Šenguttūvan was the son of Narcoṇi, daughter of the Sōlan who possessed a big chariot (drawn by) seven horses of the sun who shines bright. Surely this does not mean that Šenguttūvan was Karikāl's grandson. In a prose passage printed at the beginning of the XXIX canto occurs the phrase, 'the son born to the daughter of the Sōlan who belonged to the brightly shining sun, i.e., to the solar dynasty, and no more.'

So far as I have searched, no poem, old or new, no commentary on any old poem, speaks of any relationship between Karikāl and Šenguttūvan. Hence the latter's being a grandson of Karikāl, (or for the matter of that, any relation of the Sōla monarch) is a modern Karikāl myth. I do not know who invented it. Kanakasabhai says categorically, "Karikāl's daughter was married to the chēra king Athan II and became the mother of Chenkudduva chēra."⁶⁷ He refers to

⁶⁶ S. I. I. II. iii. p. 373.

⁶⁷ Tam. 1800 years Ago, p. 72.

Silappadigaram, xxx, ll. 173-183 as his authority. The passage merely says that Ilangoavadjal, the author of Silappadigaram, repeated a message given by a spirit in these words. "(A reader of the future) said, you who sit under the shadow of the feet of your father, there are indications that you will ascend the throne [and not your elder brother, Singuttuvan]. You, then, cast angry looks (at the soothsayer), and, to remove the distress of Singuttuvan who possessed a brigade of beflagged chariots, (adorned) with garlands emitting sweet smell, presented yourself before the ascetics on the sunny (eastern) side (of the town), gave up the burden of the broad earth and became the lord of the limitless pleasure, as high as the heaven, which cannot be measured by the mind."⁶⁸ It is impossible to imagine

* அந்த தாண்டு விருக்குதோப் பின்னை
யாச வீற்றிருக்கு திருப்பேரி யுன்றென்
நாமாசம் தவங்கும் ஒலுத்து சோக்கிச்
கொங்கலிழ் தாங்கார்க் கொடுத்தேர்த் தாளை+
செங்குட் உயன்றன் செங்க எங்கூப்
பகல்லெல் வாயிற் படியோர் தம்மு
ஏகவிடப் பாரம மகல நிளிச்
இந்தை செல்லாக் கேள்வுக் காரத்
தாதமிலின்பத் தாசாக் காந்து

xxx, ll. 174-182.

how Kanakasabhai got out of this passage the name of Nepponai and her relationship to Karikāl, on which is based the theory of the early date of the latter, to which Tamil literary circles are so devoutly attached.

At least one century, if not more, must have elapsed between the poems composed by the poets who were Karikāl's contemporaries and the Silappadigaram.

In the former, Sanskrit words are rare and in the latter very common. In the former there are very few references to Aryan ideas, and even these indicate that Aryan culture had not penetrated the life of the people. In the *Śilappadigāram*, on the contrary, the life described is through and through permeated by Aryan concepts and Aryan religious ideas. The music, the drama, the dancing, and the legends frequently alluded to, are all Aryan. So that any man with the least training in the methods of literary criticism cannot fail to notice that the epic belongs to an age when the Tamil imagination had been thoroughly saturated with Aryan culture, but the contemporary poems about Karikāl belong to an age previous to the Aryanization of Tamil India.

The Age of Karikāl : The Gajabāhu Synchronism :

Moreover the contemporaneity of Gajabāhu with Šenguttuvan rests on very flimsy grounds. With regard to the identification of Kayavāgu of the *Śilappadigāram* with Gajabāhu I of Mahāvamso, Hultsch has remarked "with due respect to Mr. Coomāraswāmy's sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajabāhus is not only supported by the mere identity of the name, but proved by internal reasons and until the chronology of the earlier history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examination."⁶⁹ Kanakasabhai did not attempt to meet Hultsch's criticism. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, accepting Śeśagiri Śāstri's and Coomāraswāmi's theory, took up this challenge of Hultsch's and attempted to prove the identity of the two Gajabāhus by means of the internal reasons required by Hultsch. He says, "a careful

⁶⁹ S. I. I. III. iii. p. 378.

examination of the first book of the Epic of the Anklet shows that during the early part of the life of the hero, the King of Puhār (i.e., Kāvirippūmbatṭinam) was Karikāla chōla. Apart from the fact that the commentator invariably interprets all references to the ruling King as applying to Karikāla (and this itself is much, as the commentator was one thoroughly qualified for the task and can, as such, be expected to embody nothing but correct tradition in his commentaries), there are a number of direct references to him, either by name or by the fact that the erection of the tiger-emblem on the Himalayas was attributed to him.⁷⁰ I have pointed out already that the commentator wrote about a thousand years after the author; his guesses cannot be called tradition, for tradition means a story handed down from generation to generation and there is no evidence to show that the commentator's explanation was not invented by him, but was handed down in an unbroken line by generations of previous commentators. The commentator was no doubt a good Tamil scholar and qualified for the task of explaining difficult passages but this cannot constitute him an authority about questions of fact belonging to a thousand years before his time, as is implied by the clause in parentheses in the above quotation. Krishnaswami Iyengar mentions all the direct references to Karikāl in the epic in the following passages. (1) "The last four lines of Canto I blesses the ruler who erected the tiger-emblem on the crest of the Himalayas." This is not correct. For one thing it may be pointed out that the poet does not say that Karikāl "erected" an emblem (in stone, brick, wood or steel). The word used is porittu, incised or

⁷⁰ Ancient India p. 350.

carved. Again the last four lines of canto I¹¹ say "may the Sembiyān (i. e., Śōla king) who possesses the cruel spear that has been used in many battles so wield his sole discus in all directions, that the splendid tiger placed on this side of the Himalayas extend its power to the other side of the golden peak." That is, may the reigning Śōjan extend beyond the Himalayas the power which Karikāl extended to the Himalayas. If any thing this passage makes Karikāl a king who lived before the events of Śilappadigaram took place. (2). "There is direct mention of Karikālan's name and of his rewarding the poet of Pālai (Pattinappālai) in one of the manuscripts consulted by the editor." The mention of the king's name in certain lines found in the MSS. of the text of, or notes on, Śilappadigaram and not recognized as genuine by the other commentator or the editor can by no means prove that the king was a contemporary of the events of the poem. (3). "Further down lines 158—60 of canto VI mention as clearly as one could wish Karikāla as ruling at the time." These lines prove just the opposite; they have been already quoted and imply that certain occurrences in the festival described in the poem resembled the celebration by Karikāl, in former days, of the flood festival.

¹¹ இப்பார விமயத் திருத்திய வரள்வேங்கை
முப்பாண்ப் பொற்போடி இழையதா செப்பாறஞ்
செருமிகு சின்யேற் செம்பிய
தென்ருக்கனி யாழி புருட்டுவோ நென்றே.

Sil. i. lb. 65—68.

It is well known that the real or imaginary deeds of a king are attributed to all his descendants. Thus if a king performs the Asvamedha, the same is

(4). "The commentator explains it as such by giving the passage the necessary expansion." This is what the commentator says. "As in the first day of the festival of the freshes, when this Karikāl whose fame has reached the sky celebrated it, so at the end of this festival, too, the places where the celebration took place shone brilliantly."⁷² Instead of saying that Karikāl reigned at that time this means that Karikāl's flood-festival was antecedent to the bathing festival described in the poem. (5). "Not to mention the allusive but undoubted reference to the same personage in lines 95-8 of canto V" I have quoted and translated this passage also; it merely mentions that sacrifices were made in the course of the procession of the Indra festival to certain objects which were acquired by Karikāl in a former time and proves that the acquisition of these objects was before the events of the poem took place.⁷³ (6) "Of these three kings praised in canto XVII there is reference to Karikālan's

attributed to his successors. If a man performs the Somayāgam, all his descendants ever after are Soma-yājis, even though they live the life of vrātyas.

⁷² விசோநி தேவ சென்ற பொரும் பெரிய புதைய
ஏடைய இக்கிராஸ் அவைன் புதுப்புவை விழு சென்ற
பாறும் தலையாட்டுபோல்வே இவ்வழவின் கிருதிக்கட்ட புதைய
டக்கஞம் மீதுபெறத் தெர்க்கு சிறை.

Sil. 2nd ed. p. 201.

⁷³ The actual phrase used by the poet புதைய தினமுகம் போகிய விசோநி, on that (distant) day when (Karikāl) went towards the holy (northern) direction, suggests that he was a king who lived long before the events of the poem.

Himalayan exploit in the last stanza in page 400, and this is the last chola ruler referred to." The passage here referred to does not give a list of Sōla kings, with Karikāl as the "last" of the series but is merely the second of a set of three stanzas called Ulvarivūlttu: in these stanzas the Pāṇḍyan who wore the garlands of Indra (a mythical personage), the Sōla who engraved the tiger on the golden peaked Himalayas, and the Śera who cut the Kadambu tree planted in the middle of the ocean, are each praised as being identical with the God Kṛṣṇa. How this piece of exaggerated praise of typical kings, who lived before the time of Śenguttuvan can make them his contemporaries it is impossible to see. (7) "Canto XXI line 11 clearly state that Karikāla's daughter had married the then Śera king." As the name of this Śera son-in-law of Karikāl was Āṭṭan Atti and as Śenguttuvan's immediate ancestors were his father Śeral Ādan and his grandfather Udiyañjēral, Āṭṭan Atti must have reigned if at all long before Śenguttuvan. In fact in this passage Karikāl's is conceived as a long past age; for therein Kanṇagi enumerates six great ladies who were born before her time in her native city of Kāvirippūmbattinam and who were famous for devotion to their husbands and mentions Ādi Mandi, the daughter of Karikāl and wife of Āṭṭan Atti as the second of the series of great ladies. Thus all the passages of Śilappadigaram which name or allude to Karikāl prove that his age preceded (we cannot say by how many years) the time when the events of the story began and hence Karikāl's date cannot be deduced from Śenguttuvan's.

Nor can Śenguttuvan's date be fixed by the so called Gajabāhu synchronism. Hultsch's objection "that

the identification is worthless unless supported by internal reasons' has not yet been met. Further Gajabāhu is represented in the Mahāwamso, the work nearest to him in point of time, as an enthusiastic Baudhā. In that work his activities in building Buddhist monasteries are described and not only is there no reference to his introduction of the Pattini cult from India, but the whole tenor of the account of Gajabāhu's life would lead one to the conclusion that he was too enthusiastic a Baudhā to care for any other cult. Moreover the late Ceylonese legends which refer to Gajabāhu's conquest of the Sōla country assume that the Pattini cult was antecedent to his time, for he is said to have carried away from Tanjore Pattini's foot-ornaments, thereby implying that Pattini was worshipped as a goddess before his time. In the *Silappadigaram*⁷² it is said that among others such as the King of Mālva, Kayavāgu, king of Lankā, surrounded by the sea, attended the sacrifice performed by Śenguttuvan in honour of Kannagi's visible elevation to the godhead. The *Urai perū katturai*, a prose prologue to the Epic, partially contradicts the above statement and says, "Kayavāgu heard of the marvellous story of Kannagi and . . . frequently celebrated the festival" of Kannagi.⁷³ This prologue also says that Perungilli the Sējan built a temple to the chaste goddess (Pattini Dēvi) at Uraiyyur, but the Epic does not refer to this. The

72 மாலை வேஷ்டருக்
கடல்கு திலக்கைச் சமயாகு வேஷ்டதும்
முத்தோட் டாக்க விளம்பு வரம்பனி
ஈன்னுட் செய்த காளனி வேஷ்வில்.

Ib. xxx, ll, 159—162.

73 அது கேட்டுக் கடல் குதிலக்கைச் சமயாகு
..... பாடி விழாக்கோள் பன்றுதோற் வேஷ்டது.

Ceylon Chronicles, as already remarked, imply that Pattini Dēvi's temple existed at Tanjore before the time of Gajabāhu. Thus the tales about the inception of the Pattini cult contradict each other so much that they cannot bear critical examination.

There is another difficulty in concluding from the *Silappadigaram* that Śenguttuvan and Gajabāhu were contemporaries. There is an alternative reading to the word Kayavāgu in the passage of the *Silappadigaram* on which all this contention about the "Gajabāhu synchronism" is based. That reading is kāval instead of Kayavāgu. There is no means of deciding which is the correct reading. If kāval is the correct reading, down falls to the ground all the edifice of the theories based on the Gajabāhu synchronism. Any one who has seen Tamil ūlai mss. moth-eaten and brittle, and who remembers that this poem has been from generation to generation either copied from previous mss. or written down from memory, will think twice before attaching so tremendous importance to a doubtful reading as to make it the sole foundation for South Indian chronology.

Other objections to the early date :

The ascription of the I or II century A.D. to Karikāl is objectionable on other grounds too. Neither the *Periplus* nor Ptolemy mentions Karikāl though they refer to monarchs much less celebrated than this great Sōla Emperor. On the contrary, Ptolemy's geography of Tamil India in the II century A.D. gives us the picture of a land ruled by several petty monarchs and not one that had been brought under the sole dominion of a great monarch as the Tamil poems describe Karikāl to be. Moreover the disputation of logicians who flew their flags of challenge in front of their tents, referred to in

Pappinappälai, certainly belongs to an age when dialectics had developed, and this certainly did not take place even in North India before the III century A. D.

Probable Age of Karikäl :

Epigraphical evidence points to the end of the IV century as the period when Karikäl flourished. He wrested Käñci from the Pallavas and renovated it with gold. The Pallava rule of Käñci was at its maximum strength in the II century and possibly earlier; it continued up to 350 A. D. when Samudragupt's Praśasti mentions that Vispugöpa (a Pallava not a Tamil name) was lord of Käñci. About this time the Pallava power was weakened by the revolt of Mayūrasarmā, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Banaväse. It is therefore probable that Karikäl at about the end of the IV century defeated Trinayana Pallava and drove him out of the Käñci district to seek dominion, possibly as a vassal of Karikäl, in the neighbouring Telugu province. This is the only possible explanation of the numerous references to Trinayana Pallava in the Telugu inscriptions and Telugu literature. Another synchronism confirms this conclusion. Eastern Cäluksya inscriptions contain a tradition that the remote founder of their line was one Vijayäditya, an adventurer from Ayodhyä who was killed in battle by Trilocana (or Trinayana Pallava), the ruler of Dakṣinapätha. This Vijayäditya was removed by five generations from Pulakesi II, who became king of Badami in the beginning of the VII century. Karikäl, Trilocana and Vijayäditya were thus almost contemporaries. Hence the most probable period when Karikäl flourished was the end of the IV and beginning of the V century, the central year of his reg being 400 A. D.

APPENDIX.

Was Karikul a contemporary of Trilocana Pallava ?

(This note has been furnished by K. R. Subramania Iyer, *Guntūr Fellow of the Andhra University*).

There are strong and persistent traditions that there was a king named Trilocana Pallava in ancient times in the Telugu country. He is also called Trinayana Pallava, Mukkanti Pallava and Mukkanti Kāduvētti¹ which names are all synonymous. Apart from the well-known Maekenzie manuscripts², very late records which speak of this early king, there are inscriptions and literary references³ of about the tenth and eleventh centuries, which leave us in no doubt as to the historicity of this little known but well-worth knowing sovereign.

¹ M. E. R. 1908, p. 82. Also 109-10, 153, 244, and 261 of 1893 and 293 of 1892.

² Nellore Inscriptions, D 69, K. G. 24, and also 160 of 1893 and 837 of 1922.

³ Wilson. Catalogue of MSS. Introd. pp. lvii-ixii, cl. cxix, and also Taylor. Cat. of MSS. III, 486. Nellore Manuscript, 436, 687, see also Foulkes : Pallavas.

⁴ Kalingattupparani. See Chr. Coll. May April, and July 1927 for the literary references in the articles by Venkataramanayya. Also T. G. Aravamudan's Kāvīri and the Sangam Age.

Trilocana is associated mainly with the present Guntūr, Kṛṣṇā and Nellore Districts, but authorities⁵ are not wanting which make him ruler of the whole of the Deccan before the advent of the Cālukyas into power. The Velanāḍu⁶ and Kēḍapadmati⁷ dynasties express in their inscriptions their gratitude to Trilocana for having favoured their founders with fiefs. The inscriptions of the Telugu Cōdas very rarely begin without a praise of their great ancestor Karikāla of the Kāveri bank fame. Likewise, those of the Telugu Pallavas⁸ never fail to mention their illustrious founder Trilocana as "the clearer of the forests" and the giver to Brahmins. Not many of the Telugu Cōda inscriptions omit to record the victory won by the Cola emperor over the Three-eyed Pallava. When a score of inscriptions, despite their late age, mention "an ancient king with an extra eye" we cannot easily brush them aside entirely as valueless.

The lasting service Trilocana seems to have rendered was the gifts of lands to Brāhmaṇas whom he brought from Ahicchatra in Pāncala and settled east of Śrī Parvata.⁹ One inscription¹⁰ speaks of the gift of seven villages in Guntūr District, while another refers to

⁵ Ep. Ind. VI, 147, 155.

⁶ Ib. IV, 34, 48.

⁷ M. E. R. 1 16, p. 136. Also 146 of 1897 and 251 of 1893. Also Ep. Ind. III, 95.

⁸ M. E. R. 1916, 138, Š 1157.

⁹ 247 of 1897, Š. 1092. Also 109-110 of 1893, Š 1057 and 779/1922.

¹⁰ 261 of 1897.

seventy on the whole.¹¹ A ruler of the thirteenth century confirms the gift of Trilocana Pallava in Bāpatla Tāluk,¹² probably after satisfying himself about the truth of the ancient grant by means of written evidence or oral enquiry. So large and well known were his charities that his name was handed down by a grateful people to posterity.

When did Trilocana Pallava live?¹³ The Rāṇastā-pūndī grant of Vimalāditya,¹⁴ the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII¹⁵ and the Cellūr plates of Viracōda make him a contemporary of Viyayāditya the first Cālukya King. Trilocana, king of the Deccan, defeated and killed the Cālukya invader. The queen of the latter who was pregnant at the time took refuge with Visnubhāṭṭa Sōmayājī of Mudivēmu (Peddamudiyam). Sometime after, a son was born to her and named Visnuvardhana. When he came of age he established his power where his father had failed. This story gives us the clue to the age of Trilocana Pallava. There is a Kanarese inscription¹⁶ in Peddamudiyam (Jammalamadugu Tāluk), called Trilocanapura in another inscription,¹⁷ which calls that village the birthplace of

¹¹ M. E. R. 1908, pp. 82-84. Also 580/1907, which curiously enough assigns a second Trilocana to S. 723.

¹² 803 of 1922, S. 1131.

¹³ See Ep. Ind. X p. 340 for Kṛṣṇa Sāstri's opinion.

¹⁴ S. 933, Ep. Ind. VI, p. 351, III, p. 95. See also M. E. R. 1916 p. 136 and 1915, p. 393. Also Ep. Ind. IV, p. 239.

¹⁵ Andhra Hist. Jour. Rajahmundry, III, p. 278.

¹⁶ S. 1046. See M. A. R. 1904-5, pp. 32-42.

¹⁷ 350 of 1905.

Visnuvardhana. There is another inscription¹⁸ also of a later date mentioning Venubhatta (Visnubhatta) as a receiver of lands from Trilocana Pallava, apparently the Somayājī who gave shelter to the Cālukya queen.

The expedition of Vijayāditya and his war with Trilocana are also dealt with in a Kōṣa inscription¹⁹ of Ś. 1117. If there is any truth in the story, Trilocana must have lived early in the fifth century A. D. as Vijayāditya was removed by about five generations from Visnuvardhana the first Eastern Cālukya.²⁰ In 175 of 1899 one Rudrabhatta Ahicchatra is said to have been benefited with lands by Trilocana. In the family of the donee were born Sūrya and Kuppana who were similarly benefited by Satyāśraya and Visnu Vardhana, the two great royal brothers. But as the number of generations between Rudra and Sūrya is not given we are in the dark as to the exact age of Trilocana though it is certain from the above reference that he lived anterior to Pulakēśī II. In the Pithapuram stone inscriptions of Prithvēśvara of Velanāndu, Ś 1109,²¹ the founder, Malla I, removed from the former by eighteen kings or thirteen generations is said to have made friends with Trinetra. But even this does not help us any further.

In the Telugu Cōḍa inscriptions, Trilocana Pallava is represented as a contemporary of Karikāla Cōḍa²²

¹⁸ S. I. I. IV. p. 927.

¹⁹ Ep. Ind. IV. p. 94, 239.

²⁰ Ib. XI. p. 337.

²¹ Ib. IV. p. 34, 48.

²² 4469 of 1919, Ś. 1153. M. E. R. 1920, pp. 111-117.

All their numerous inscriptions mention their great ancestor. Some of them give him a northern origin as indeed the later Cōja genealogies of the south do, by tracing him to the Solar family of Ayodhyā, a branch of which the Iksvūkus, are known to have to cut inscriptions in Guṇṭūr District. They also associate him with Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallavas. But no connected genealogy can be worked out from these inscriptions which leave wide gaps in the lists. One notable event contained in some of the inscriptions is the encounter of Karikāla with Trilocana. This is duly chronicled in Telugu and Tamil literatures of the same late period. One of the Mackenzie MSS. draws pointed attention to it. Out of all this mass of materials the synchronism of Karikāla and Trilocana may be taken as a widely popular belief in the eleventh century A.D. Trilocana is represented in the stories of the later inscriptions and literatures as a feudatory of the Cōja, who refused to help the latter in embanking the Kāviri. Probably having lost his independence but recently at the hands of his great Cōja contemporary, he was too proud to respond to the order of his overlord, or his contumaciousness may be explained by the distance by which he was separated from the Cōja capital in the south. Anyway, the accounts agree that Karikāla did not spare him and he soon brought his vassal to his knees. In figurative and poetic language the superfluous eye of Trilocana was plucked out by Karikāla.

We may believe in the substratum underlying these stories and thus establish the contemporaneity of Trilocana, Vijayāditya and Karikāla.

CHAPTER XXI.

ILANDIRAIYAN,

On the way to his Capital:

Kadiyalur Uruttirangunnamār, the poet who sang the glories of Karikāl in the poem called *Pattinappälai* has also sung a ruler of Kāñcipuram, by name Tondaimān Ilандiraiyan, in another of the ten songs, *Perumbāñäppuppadai*. The title of the poem means 'the bigger guide to poets' and it calls upon poets seeking rewards to go to Ilandiraiyan, the great patron of bards. As in *Pattinappälai*, in this poem too, the author gives elaborate and extremely interesting descriptions of the life of the common people in the different natural regions belonging to the territory under the rule of his patron. After taking his reader through the several districts belonging to Ilandiraiyan, the poet shows him a Brāhmaṇa village not very distant from Kāñei. "The houses had in front of them a shed with short legs to which were tied fat calves; the houses were washed with cowdung and had idols (inside them). Domestic fowl and dogs did not approach them. It was the village of the guardians of the Veda who teach its sounds to the parrots with the bent mouth. If you, (bard), reach (the place), fair faced bangled ladies who are-as chaste as (Arundhati) the little star which shines in the north of the bright, broad sky, will after sunset feed you on the well-cooked rice named after the bird (explained by the commentator as the rice called iräsän-nam) along with slices of citron boiled in butter taken,

from the buttermilk derived from red cows and scented with the leaves of the karuvēmbu, and mixed with pepper-powder, and the sweet-smelling tender fruit plucked from the tall mango tree and pickled¹." This is, so far as I know, the earliest description of a Brāhmaṇa village in the Tamil land.

Beyond this village lay Nirppeyaru; this word means 'the place named after water' and most probably refers to Kadalmallai which came later to be called Māmallapuram and was the chief port of the kings of Kāñcī. In this place too, Brāhmaṇas flourished; for it is said, "crowds of girls played with each other while they bathed; and one of them lost her ear-ornament shaped like a crocodile. A kingfisher, coloured like a sapphire, seeking for prey took the jewel in its bill, and instead of going to the leaf of the palmyra tree filled with birds, sat on the yūpa at which learned Brāhmaṇas had

¹ செழுங்கள் நியாத்த சிறதாட் பக்தர்ப்
பைஞ்சேநு மெழுகிய படிய கண்ணகர்
மனையுறை சோதியெலி குமலி துன்னுத
வளைகாப்க் கிள்ளை மறைவினி பயிற்ற
மறைகாப் பாண குறைபதில் சேப்பிற்
பெருகல் வானத்து வடவெளிக் கிளங்குஞ்
சிறுமீன் புரைபுக் கற்பி எற்றுதல்
வளைக்கூக மக்கூ வயின்றிக் தட்ட
கடர்க்கலைப் பறவைப் பெயர்ப்படு வத்தஞ்
சேநா ஏற்மேர் மெண்ணெயின் மாதுனத்
துறுப்புது பக்காம்ப் போழூடு கறிகவர்து
கஞ்சக ஏறுமூதி யளை ஓப் பைக்குனர்
கெடுமேரக் கொக்கி எறுவடி விதிர்த்த
தலகமான் காடுமின் வகைபடப் பெறுகிற:

finished their sacrifice; it looked like a swan-lamp on the mast of the boat of the Yavanas and twinkled like Venus which heralds the dawn."* This sea-coast town though not quite so large as Kāvirippūmbattiṇam was a flourishing centre of commerce. "Its grand shore was surrounded by ships which brought horses, white like milk, with waving manes, from the west, and the products of the north. In the streets covered with sand there were ware-houses guarded by servants; in many streets there were mansions of several kinds, reaching the sky, where merchants resided."* It was a prosperous place; for "food was abundant in its houses; the bulls that plough (the fields) so that crops may be raised, the cows that do not approach (the bulls), rams and dogs wander about it. The women wear curved jewels; their fine cloth waves about the-

* வெட்ட வருவதை ஒண்டுகூத்த தலையிப்
புன்னோடு மகள் சிட்ட பொலுக்குமை
விரைநேர் மணிச்சிர விரைசெத் தெறிச்செனப்
புள்ளார் பெண்ணைப் புலம்புமட்ட செல்லாது
ஒன்றி யாத்தை ஏருங்கட விறுத்த
வேஷவித் தனைக் கலையில் யான
சோதிம விளக்கி ஓயிர்செஞ்ச சொங்க
வைகுற மீனிற் கூப்பயத் சோங்கும்.

Perumb. II. 311-318.

* சீப்பெயற் தென்னைப் போகிப் பாற்கேழு
வாஞ்சைப் புரவியோடு வடவளர் தலை
நாவயப் குழ்த் தனிகிரப் படப்பை
மாட மோக்கிய மண்ணமலி மறுகிற்
பாதர் மலிவத் பல்வேத தெருவித்
சிலமர் சாக்குஞ் சேஞ்சுயச் சுரைப்பின்.

Perumb. II. 319-324.

forelap round which there is a zone strung with bells, like the dew formed on the thin boughs of the Cassia (Konrai); they walk like the peacock which cries with joy on the neighbouring hills. They play games with balls made of thread, while their gold anklets tinkle, in houses which are so tall as to reach the sky. They play gently the game of kajal, with tiny gold balls made in the shape of the nuts of the Guilandina Bonduce, on sand spread like pearls, while their short bangles are moving (up and down)."⁴

The city of Kāñci :

After passing through many other villages where ancient Tamil cults like those of Murugan flourished, the traveller reached Kāñci (or rather its suburb Tiruvekkū) where the god slept on the serpent couch, like an elephant resting on a hill where grows the Gloriosa Superba.⁵ This is the earliest reference

1 செல்லும் பகட்டோடு கந்தை தன்னு
மேழாத் தகரோ தெளிங்க சொட்டும்
கழுவட எல்லிற் கொடும்பூண் மகளிர்
கொன்றை மென்சினைப் பளிதவழ் பகவபோற்
பைக்கா மூல்கு நூண்டிலி நூட்டக
மால்வனரச் சிலம்பிள் மகிழ்ச்சிர் நாறும்
பீவி மக்ஞாயி ஏவலிக் கால
தமனியப் பொற்சிலம் பொலிப்ப வயர்சினை
வான்ஞேய் மாடத்து வரிப்பால் தணைஇக்
கைபுனை குறங்கொடு தத்தப் பைபய
முத்த வார்மணற் பொற்கழக் காமிம்.

Perumb. II. 325-335.

5 காடுபல ஏழிக்க பின்னை நிலிக்கைக்
காக்கான்கு சிலம்பிற் களிற படுக்காக்குப்
பாக்மனைப் பள்ளி யமர்க்கொ ஞங்கன்

Ib. II. 371-373.

in Tamil literature to the worship of Viṣṇu stretched on his serpent couch. When this image of Viṣṇu was first conceived we do not know, but the Anantasāyi sculptures we now have in India do not go beyond the age of the Guptas.

After crossing the groves and streams of Tiruvekka, one reached the city of Kāñcī, or Kacci, as the name became in Tamil. "In its groves, watching for the time when the men, with stick in hand, are negligent, the pregnant monkey seizes (part of) the rice mixed with ghi, intended for the elephants whose trunks hang down. Its long streets have deep ruts made by the strongly built chariots drawn by elephants whose ferocity had been quelled by being tied to posts of heart-wood. The army which guarded the place consisted of invincible, strong, and celebrated warriors. In its shops the people of the very fully inhabited houses were constantly selling and buying. Its gateway cannot be reached by people who prevent the flow of charity. It is protected by a forest all round. It shines like the seed-vessel of the many-petalled lotus on the navel of the blue-hued, tall god (Viṣṇu) from which was born the four-faced god. The high fortwalls were built of brick. It is the greatest of the cities in the wide world covered by heaven and surrounded by the sea, which smells of meat, like the jack tree which produces the sweetest fruit of all, without putting forth flowers, and to whose strong, thick boughs resort crowds of cooing pigeons. That city is superior to others in its glory and in the fact that many men worship there and hold festivals in it. From the city rose as much uproar as when the five Pāṇḍavas who possessed big chariots with carved tops and invincible might, met and defeated the hundred

(Kauravas), who attacked them with a limitless army, in a battle where on rivers of blood floated down the black corpses of white-tusked elephants, which looked like the clouds roving on the red evening sky where the fair-faced crescent shines, and uttered shouts of victory. There resided (Ilандирайன), the generous lord who was the greatest patron of the bards who sought his help.”⁶

6 காப்பூர் ரிசம்பத தேசக்திக் கீழ்
 செடுவை யானை டாப்மயிலி கங்கா
 கடின்குன் மக்கில் கலகுங் காலிற்
 களிதுகத வடக்கிய வெளியில் காதிற்
 ரிஸ்டோர் குழித்த கண்ண செடுக் கெறுவிற்
 கண்டதெலை பறியா மைக்குமலி பெரும்புகழுப்
 பயட்டைல் பாத்த பல்குடி கெழிலுக்
 கொண்டபுக் கோளும் வழக்குக்காத் தடித்த
 வண்டவர வாயின் மினைகுழ் படப்பை
 கிளிர வருவி னெடி யோன் கொப்புழ்
 கான்முக வெராகுவத் பயக்த பல்லிதழுத்
 தாமங்க பொருட்டிற் கான்வரத் தொன்றிக்
 கடும ஞேங்கெய செடுகைச் சூரைப்பி
 கிழுமென் புள்ளி வீண்டுகிளாத் தொழுநிக்
 தொழுமென் கினைய கோளி புள்ளும்
 பழாரிக் குறும் பலாதுப் போலப்
 புலவக் கட்டுமித்த வான்னு குடிய
 மஸர்தலை வுவகத் துன்றும் பஸர் தொழு
 விழவுமேம் பட்ட படிவிறன் முத
 சுங்காப் வனர் பிளை குடிக் கெங்கா
 யக்கி வான்த் தாடுமைழு கடிப்ப
 வெண்கோட் டகும்பினாக் குருதி மீர்ப்ப
 வீணரம் பதின்மரும் பொருதுகளத் தவியப்

It has to be remarked that in the above passage the reference to 'many men worshipping and holding festivals in Kāñci probably means that representatives of the Northern Āgama cults—Vaisnava, Śaiva, Jaina, and Bauddha—lived in that city, as they did when Ywan Chwang visited the city two centuries later. In the description of the Bhārata battle may be noticed traces of the influence of the later Sanskrit literature characterized by violent hyperbole, unknown to the ancient Tamil bards. This is due to the fact that the author Kannanār, son of Rudra (Uruttirāṅgānnār) was a Brāhmaṇa and that the subject of the poem was Kāñci, which, as I have pointed out, had been Aryanized for about a thousand years before the time of the author. I shall therefore give from this poem a few more Aryan references to show the great difference between this poem and the early anthologies in the matter of allusions to Aryan beliefs. Viṣṇu is referred to as the ancestor of Ilāndiraiyan and described as "having traversed the broad earth, as having in his breast a beautiful mole and as being of the colour of the sea."⁷ The passages describing the vedic recitations of the Brāhmaṇas and the yūpas at which they sacrificed have already been quoted. The prowess of Ilāndiraiyan is compared to that of the

பேரமாக கட்ட செய்துக் கொள்ளுத்
போல் செலுவி வெவிட போல
உட்கார்த் தானையோ இடங்குமேல் வந்த
வெர்க்குத் தெய்வ குலைவிடத் தாந்ததுக்
கஷி யோசூ.

Perumb. II, 393-420.

⁷ இருசிலங்கட்ட திருமத மார்மின்
முந்தி வண்ணார்.

Perumb. II, 29-30.

Pāndavas. "The kings who waited with tribute in front of Ilandiraiyan's court" are compared to "the sailors who wait on canoes which ply across the broad Ganges on whose bed gold particles roll, which is difficult to cross, flows down from the brightly shining, tall peaks of the fair mountain where the winkless gods reside, and tears through the white foam of the waves of the sea."⁸ "The goddess round whom the Tungaṅgai is danced" has been in this poem converted into the Aryan Mother-goddess "whose great womb gave birth to the Red God who wears yellow (gold) ornaments and killed the cruel demon on the expanse of the white waves (of the sea)".⁹ The universe is referred to as "as the beautiful, cool world named after the jambu fruit," i.e., Jambudvīpa.¹⁰ There is besides an allusion to the "science of horses."¹¹ Finally Munis are said to "tend the red fire with sticks brought by white-tusked

⁸ இகமைய குறையஞ் சிவமைச் செல்லுவர
வெண்டிர திழித் த வீளக்குச்சடர் கெடுக்கோட்டுப்
போக்கொழித் திழிதகும் போக்ககும் க்குவா
பெருக்கி போகு மிரியன் மாக்க
நூற்றுமரப் பாணியிற் தாக்கி யாக்குத்
தொய்யா வெறுக்கையொடு தயன்றபு குழிது.

Ib. II. 429-434

⁹ வெண்டிராப் பரப்பிற் கடின்குர் தொன்ற
பைப்புட் சேநப் பயங்தமா டமாட்டுத்
தயங்கையனு தெல்லி.

Ib. II. 457-459

¹⁰ ஏவலக்கண் பொழிவு.

Ib. I. 465.

¹¹ துவேர் (புக்கிர புரவி).

Ib. I. 487.

elephants.¹² Not only Aryan ideas but also Sanskrit words occur more frequently in this poem than in the early anthologies; a few examples of words borrowed from Sanskrit, mostly wantonly, are śagadām (1. 50), nāḍagam (1. 55), teyvam (i. 104) būḍam (1. 255), endiram (1.260), taruppai (i. 264), and amudu (1. 475). But notwithstanding the freer use of Aryan allusions than in contemporary poetic productions, this poem has not been influenced by Sanskrit literature as such; it is a specimen of the guide (*āṇṇappadai*) class of poems and fully maintains the traditions (called in Tamil marabu) of ancient Tamil literature. It describes the life-conditions of the five regions and the customs of the Tamil people quite like other Tamil poems of the early epoch, though as it was composed in Kāñcī, then the headquarters of Aryan culture in Tamil India, and there are abundant traces of Aryan influence.

Ilandiraiyan, the hero of the poem, was not famous for any military exploits; though his prowess is described, as usual in such poems, in terms of exaggerated praise, no definite achievement, no victory in any specific battle, no conquest of foreign territory, is attributed to him. Vague phrases of praise such as that "he desired to destroy his enemies' fort-walls and capture their crowns, but not to make peace with them,"¹³ mean as little as did the title of king of

¹² கெந்திப் பேணிய முனிவர் வெள்ளேட்டுக்
சுறித்தத விரதன் வெட்டும். Ib, II, 438-499

பக்கவர்

¹³ கழுமதி வெறிக்கு குடுமி கொன்னும்
வென்ற யங்கத விசையுடம் படினும்
மொன்றல் செல்வா.

Ib, II, 450-453.

France used by British sovereigns long after they lost every inch of land in France. Hence Ilandiraiyan's reign of the Kāñci district has no historical significance. But as he is eulogized by the poet who also sang in praise of Karikāl, Ilandiraiyan's relationship with the latter becomes an important question which deserves to be discussed. Kamakasabhai assumes that Ilandiraiyan usurped the throne of Kāñci during Karikāl's boyhood; but as there is absolutely no evidence for this statement, it deserves no consideration. It is but a bad guess and no more. As Ilandiraiyan was a contemporary of Karikāl, he must have been appointed ruler of Kāñci after Karikāl's conquest of the place and continued so after Karikāl's death.

The inscriptions of the Cōdas of the Telugu country say that Karikāla had a grandson called Tondamana.¹⁴ Ilandiraiyan being the only known Tondaimān of the period is most probably this Tondamana. In Perumbāṇaruppādai, Ilandiraiyan is called 'the descendent of Tonḍaiyōr.'¹⁵ This word Tonḍaiyōr or Tonḍaiyar was used as indicating a class of people, also called Tiraiyar. This is proved by the fact that it is said that 'the tall hill of Vēngadām belonged to the

¹⁴ No. 123 and 205 of 1899, referred to in Madras Epig. Reports 1900–17. These charters naturally do not concern themselves with the sons of Karikāl, who ruled in the Sōla country.

¹⁵ சென்னா-குருமகு.

Perumb., I. 454.

Tiraiyan of victorious spear¹⁶ by Kannanār, son of the man of Kāttūr. Another poet of the same age, Erukktātūr Tāyananganār, Kannan the son of Tāyan of Erukktātūr, says, "Vēngadām belongs to the Tondaiyar whose well-trained elephants fight valiantly and on whose tall peaks, hard to praise, masses of clouds crawl and from where bright rivulets rise."¹⁷ The word Tiraiyan can be derived only from the word tirai, 'the sea,' 'the wave' and can therefore only mean 'a seaman,' 'one belonging to a maritime tribe,' 'a chief of such tribe.' The Tiraiyar were probably the tribe who in early times inhabited the east coast of what are now called Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. The word Tondaiyar is derived from 'tondai' the name of a creeper, *Coccinea Indica*. Tondaiyar therefore means the tribe or the family which had the tondai as its emblem and wore garlands of it in fighting and on other occasions. As the names of Tondaiyar and Tiraiyar were applied to the same tribe, we can infer that the Tiraiyar tribe used the Tondai as their emblem. Tondaimān was a title of Ilандiraiyan; it can only mean 'one to whom pertained the garland of Tondai.' If this Tiraiyan was a chief of the Tondaiyar, how could he have also been

¹⁶ சூந்தி செற்றியோன் கொங்கல் சுதாமலை, Agam 85. l. 9. It may also be noted that Ilandiraiyan is called in Perumb, l. 37, பல்வெற்றியோன், 'Tiraiyan of many spears'.

¹⁷ விஜூநவில் மதீசு விரப் பூர்த் தெரேஸ்வரம்
பொம்பை தலை செற்றிரு கொடிசெடு
க்ரெக்குலஸ் ஏகுலி கெங்கடம்.

Agam. 213, c. II.-1-3.

the grandson of Karikulan? This could have been if his mother was a Tiraiya woman. That Ilandiraiyan was descended both from the Sola and Tiraiya families is mentioned in the Perumbenāgruppādai. " You are born in the family of (the Sōjan who is) the descendant of the sea-coloured Viṣṇu who strode over the broad earth and has a blessed mole on his breast, the king noted for being the chief among the three sovereigns whose armies with their loud drums guard all the beings of the broad earth. (The Sōjan is chief among the kings) because he is as faultless as the right-whorled chank which is reputed to be the best of the shells that come from the bright broad ocean, and his sceptre repels injustice and desires justice. You (also) belong to the family given by the waves."¹⁸

Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator on the Ten Songs, was puzzled by the phrase in the above passage, 'given by the waves' and tried to explain it by means of a legend known to him. He says, "the Sōjan of Nāgapattinam went through a hole (in the surface of the earth?) to the Nāglēkam and embraced a Nāga girl.

¹⁸ திருநிலக் கடக்க திருமது மரப்பின்
முன்னிச் சுவாஸன் பிறக்கை யாசிர்வ
திரைத்து மாடி ஓரளை ஜம்பன்
மலர்தலை ஏவத்து மன்றுயிர் எக்கு
முரு முதக்கு நாளைமுல குங்கு
மிவங்கு சீப் பரப்பின் வெளியீடு குறும்
வலம்புரியன்ன கணாக்கு சிறப்பி
எவ்வது தஷ்ட வறம்புரி செக்கோல்.

Perumb. II. 29-36.

Then she asked him how to dispose of the child of their union. He said to her that if she floated the child on the sea with a bit of the Tonjai creeper tied for identifying him and if he should reach the shore, he would give the child the rights of sovereignty and grant him a district to rule over. She sent her child as directed by him and as the wave gave him, he was called 'wave-man' (Tiraiyan)."¹⁹ This explanation is patently absurd because the Tiraiyar were a tribe as already shown.²⁰ Certain recent writers, however, have not only taken this legend to be a historical truth, but have made it more absurd by identifying Ilandiraiyan with the child of another legendary love affair, this time not of a Nāgapattinam Sōla, but a Kāvirippūmbattinam Sōla King, whose natural son was not floated on the waves but was sent in a ship, was wrecked in a storm and of whom nothing more was heard of. This story occurs in the Magimēgalai. The Sōla king's pre-occupation with the fate of the child, for unlike the Nāgapattinam Sōla, he did not see his son, led to his neglecting to perform an Indra festival which was due at the time, and, as narrated in the romance, this neglect led to the sea swallowing the ancient seaport. Either legend is incredible and blending them together will not confer credibility on them.

The editor of the Puram ascribes ode 185 to Tondaimān Ilandiraiyan and also says that ode 95 sings about a Tondaimān's armoury. 'Tondaimān' seems to be compounded of the Tamil word 'Tondai' and the Sanskrit suffix 'mān' (mat) and probably means

¹⁹ And there was another Tiraiyan chief, the lord of Pavattiri, who wore gold jewels Agams 310. II, 6-7.

the chief to whom the Tondai pertains. 'Tondaiyar' means 'the tribe whose symbol was the Tondai creeper'. Tondai, *Coccinea Indica*, is in modern times more usually called Kovai, but the name 'Dondé' is the ordinary name of the plant in Telugu. The later Pallava kings, i. e., those who recaptured Kāñcī before 550 A. D. and since then ruled with that place as capital till nearly 900 A. D., mixed with their Tamil subjects, the Tondaiyars, more intimately than the earlier Pallavas and in fact became fully Tamilized. They became patrons of Tamil poets who have referred to them as 'Tondaimān,²⁰' Tondsiyarkōn,²¹ Tondaimannavan,²² all meaning king of the Tondaiyars. The country also came to be called Tondainādu, or Tondaimandalam (Sanskritized as *Tundaka Viṣaya*, *Tundira Viṣaya*). But all this took place in the VIII century. Yet some recent writers have argued that Tondaiyar was a translation of Pallavas, or vice versa. This is impossible for Tondai means a particular creeper, either *Capparis horrida* or *Coccinea Indica*, whereas Pallava means any sprout, twig, or tender leaf. The Pallava kings were after the VI century called in Tamil 'Pēttaraiyar,' and this may be a translation of Pallava rāja, for pōttu means a twig. Hence all theories deriving 'Tondaiyar,' the name of a Tamil tribe, from Pallavar, the name of an Aryanized royal family which had emigrated from the North or vice versa, are untenable.

²⁰ Sundaramūrti Nāyanār's *Vada Tirumullai Vāyil Padigam*, st. 10.

²¹ Tirumangai Ālvār's *Periyatirumoli*, ii. 8. 10.1.

²² Ib. V. 8. 9. 1.

Ilandiraiyan patronized Tamil poets, because he was a Tamil chief. He was also a Tamil poet himself. One of his odes is found in the Puram and is translated here as a specimen of royal poetic composition and not because it is more poetical than that of plebeian poets. "The cart of (royal) protection that is moved over the world, like the cart made by joining a plank to (two) wheels, will move easily along the road without mishap, if the driver is efficient. If he cannot drive well, it will all during the day sink in the mud of hate and give rise to a series of disasters."²³

After this flight into the region of the science of politics, Ilandiraiyan composed three odes two in the kind called Neydal, and one in Mullai, all found in the Nappinai. The first of them runs thus:—"It is proper that a man should speak loving words to a woman who is weak on account of the mental agitation caused by the disease (of love). What kind of a man, tell me, my playmate, is this lord of the sea-side region where the sprays of the stinking sea-water fall upon the clusters of the buds of the Alexandrian laurel, that he should not bring out my love by understanding that (love of) his breast has caused unbearable distress to me, and, that I, being a woman, have to suppress the light of love (from my

²³ கால்பார் சேஷத்து குவலக் தியக்கும்
காவற் காவற சேஷப்போன் மாணி
ஏற்றின் குமி மாறினித பகிளே
புத்த ஓரத்து குயில் வைச்சும்
பகக்கு முள்ளத் பட்டு
விகப்பல் நிருவப் தலைத்தலைத் தருமோ.

face), just as the lustre is hidden in the raw pearl which the skilled artizan has not cleaned and made bright."²⁴

The next poem describes how the companion of the maiden consoles her :—" Maiden, you asked me whether this was the season when your lover, who departed to the cruel desert where beholders are frightened by the heat of the sunlight which looks like a white cloth spread on the long path difficult to cross and which is totally devoid of water, promised to return, (No), the ignorant clouds, forgetting (the proper season), have drunk the waters of the sea, become pregnant till they cannot any more contain the water and have poured it ; and, their foolish minds imagining it to be the season of heavy rain, the ignorant Pidavu shrubs, the Cassia and the November-flower plant have flowered. (Do not think it is the rainy season)."²⁵

24 தோயிலுக் கலங்கிய மதனமிழ் பொழுதிற்
 காமஞ் தெப்ப வாண்மகற் கலமயும்
 யானன், பொன்னம் தட்ட நாண்ணிதிற் ருக்கிக்
 கூகவல் கம்மியன் கலிங்கபெரா சழாக
 மண்ணுப் பாலுத் தேய்ப்பக் குவியினாப்
 புன்னை யரும்பிய புலவுக்கிச் சேர்ப்ப
 தென்ன மகன்கொ ஒருஷி தங்கவி
 ஞர்ச முன்டை ராகி
 மார்பணக் கு தட்டை யற்பாக தேர்வே.

Nag. 94.

* சீரத குற்ற சீம்பா கீரிகூடத்
 துகிள்விரித் தங்க வெமிலவி ருகுப்பி
 காஞ்சகவப் பளிக்கும் வெஞ்சக மிருக்கேர
 தாம்பரத் தெட்டித் தப்புயக் காண்வர
 வித்வோ வென்றிசென் மட்குத மதியின்று
 மந்து கட்ட முங்க மங்குக் மாமகூ

" My charioteer, have you understood the state of mind of the faultless, young maiden who, while sweet smell issued from her, on the hill of sand gathered by the beating waves of the ocean, wanted to catch the crabs which were playing there and, becoming tired of running after them, gave up the chase, and, when I, now full of distress, proposed to go away from her in search of wealth, became tongue-tied, plucked the sweet flower-clusters from the low branches of the Cassia and rubbed them together with the tender leaves and scattered them with her hands and became dumbfounded."²⁶ Of these three poems the former two are ascribed to Ilандираيانார், and the last to Tondaimān Ilандираيان, both being most probably the same person. I think there is an air of artificiality in these poems, indicating that the author is repeating stock phrases of poetic convention, uninspired by first-hand knowledge; as also a trace of the atmosphere of Sanskrit poetry

பொறத்தல் சென்னா திறத்த வண்பயல்
சுரூன் ருய்த ஏன்ன மோடி தேர்வில்
பிடியுங் கொன்றைபுக் கோட்டு
மடவ வாகவிள் மலர்க்கன பலவே.

Nar. 99,

²⁶ அற்றதழ மறிதியோ பாக பெருக்கட
கெற்றிரை கொயிய வெக்காச் கெற்கெள
வாடுவரி யலவ ஞேகேயி அந்று
தனசடிபுள் கொயிக்க வகைதீர் குறுமகட்
குயவினென் சென்றியா யன்னே குரைப்ப
மறுமெடுபி பெயர்த்த ஸாற்று ணாமலர்
ஞாழ எஞ்சினைத் தாழினைக் கொழுப்பி
முற்றியிர்க் துநிர்த்த கைய
ஈநிவசு குறைவி யாய்மட ரிலையே.

Nar. 106.

Ilandiraiyan's odes and the Perumbāñaruppādai are the first Tamil poems from Kāñcipuram district—the Dravida country of Sanskrit authors. A work called Ilandiraiyam, either composed by him or dedicated to him, is mentioned in commentaries of a later age: this seems to have become extinct. For centuries before Ilandiraiyan's time Aryans or Aryanized Rājas, whose language of administration was Prakrit ruled over Kāñcipuram district; they did not patronize Tamil poets, who were attached only to the traditional Tamil courts of the Sōlas, Sēras and Pēndiyas and to those of the many Tamil chieftains. Karikāl's conquest of Kāñcipuram first brought that place within the ambit of Tamil literature. This explains the total absence of any reference to the Pallavas in the early Tamil poems now extant. After the Pallavas became Tamilized, references to them in Tamil literature become frequent.

Kāñcipuram remained a Sōla dependency till the middle of the VI A. D. century when it was captured by the Pallava Kumāravishnu. One of his descendants Simhavishnu added the Sōla province to his territories and this led to great changes in his history of the Tamil land, which it is outside the scope of this volume to recount.

CHAPTER XXII

SOLA KINGS AFTER KARIKAL.

Scanty historical information from the odes:

The Text of the one thousand and six hundred odes of the early anthologies contains stray allusions to the deeds of kings and chieftains. They are casual and also so rare that it is not possible to construct any connected history of the Tamil Kingdoms during the period when the odes were composed, or even full biographies of the persons referred to. As in the case of Karikāl, the names of battles fought by kings, the places where the battles were fought, and the names of the defeated kings can alone be derived from this source. Oftentimes the odes are but vague eulogies of the prowess of kings. Their one virtue is that they are so realistic that exaggerated praise and impossible feats are not ascribed to the monarchs as in the *Silappadigaram* and later Tamil poems. The older bards might not have been restrained in the matter of eating and drinking and were devoted too much to the welfare of the singers and dancers they attached themselves to, but they were blunt men who administered rebuke to kings when necessary, and on all occasions gave them sound advice.

Mēdalan Maduraikkumaranār of Eriiccilūr in Kōnādu was, according to the colophon, kept loitering in his court by Perundirumāvalavan who died at Kurāppalli, for a very long time without being given the usual rewards and he scolded the king thus :—

"Lord, we (poets) do not esteem you for your possessing chariots on whose tops the flags fly and which are drawn by horses which gallop as fast as the wind blows, or large elephants which can charge on hills and fight with an army provided with weapons shining like the sea, or for your being victorious in war, your drums roaring as terribly as the thunder. We do not respect the might of your royal white umbrella, which protects your wealth or that you have a large infantry and wear bright jewels. Those that are honoured by us may be lords of small village surrounded by a hedge of thorns, where the people eat boiled ragi which grows on poor soil, along with the short, evil-smelling leaves of the Munnsai (Premana integrifolia), which has been left unbrowsed by goats, but they are men who know how to treat us. Even in distress we will not respect the useless wealth of the ignorant; but will think highly of the small wealth of the wise, because it will be of some use to poets."¹

¹ அவிநாச் தன்ன வாதப்பகுதை விழுவிடோடு
கொட்டுத்தங்கு மிகைய தெரின ரெனுது
உடல்சன் டன்ன கொண்படைத் தாலையோடு
மலைமாறு மலைக்குங் களிற்றின ரெனுது
அருமூர் தன்ன வட்குவரு முரசமோடு
செருமேங் படேங் வெந்திய ரெனுது
மண்டகழு தாலை யொண்புண் வெந்த
கெண்குகடச் செல்கம் வியத்தலே விவரே
யெம்மால் வியக்கப் படே மோடே
விடுமுட் படப்பை மற்றோயேக் கொழிச்ச
குதாத முஞ்சனுக் கொழுக்கட் குற்றடகு
புஞ்சுவ-வரகின் கொன்றியோடு பெறுவது
கீழார் மண்ண ராவிழு மெங்கவித்

Kanakasabhai identifies the king rebuked here with Karikāl; this is not right, because Karikāl was far too generous a patron of poets to have deserved the rebuke. The only reason adduced by Kanakasabhai for the identification is that both monarchs had the title 'the great Śōla king!' Any Śōla may be called விராதன், this title being no proper name.

In Puram 45, when two Śōla brothers were fighting with each other, the elder was thus admonished by Kōvūr Kīlār :—“(Your brother) is not the wearer of the white earring made of (the leaves of) the great palmyra tree (i. e., he is not a Śēran); nor is he the wearer of the garland (of the leaves) of the black-boughed neem tree (i. e., he is not a Pāndiyān). Your garland is made of the Ātti; your foe's garland, too, is made of the Ātti. Hence if either of you is defeated, it is your house that suffers defeat. It is not possible that both of you can succeed. Hence your conduct is unworthy of your house. This quarrel will make other kings who, like you, possess chariots adorned with flags, swell with joy. Therefore it is proper that you cease this (war)”.³ Though these poems are interesting, they are

பாடத்து தொழுகும் பண்பி ஞாரே
கிழப்பே செங்கு முற்று மென்னத்து
முணர்ச்சி விள்ளோ குடைமையுங்கோ
ஈல்லறி விடையோச் சுங்கர
அங்குதம் பெருமயா மூங்குதாவி பெரிசோ.

Pur. 197.

³ இருப்பனை வெங்கோட்டு மலைக்கோ என்னால்
கருஞ்சினை வெம்பின் நெறியகோ என்ன
வின்ன என்னிபு மார்மினட்டி தங்கோ, சிங்கஞ்சி
பொருகோன் என்னிபு மார்மினட்டி தங்கோ

not of use as historical sources on account of the poverty of the information they give us.

Modern scholars in dealing with the poets who composed these odes have assumed that the identity of names, though unsupported by other evidence internal or external, proves the identity of individuals. This is an absurd assumption. For there are four individuals of the name of Nakkiranār, one, the author of several odes in the early anthologies and of Tirumurugāppuppadai and Nedunvalvādai in the Ten Songs, two, author of a book of prosody, called Nāladi Nārpadu, three, the legendary first expounder of Agapporul, and four, the author of certain Śaiva hymns of a later period, and Tamil scholars have amalgamated them into one human being. This procedure stands very much in the way of all research into the gradual evolution of Tamil poetry and gives a handle to those who hold that Tamil poetry arose only after Tamil bards learnt Sanskrit poetry, and try to prove their proposition by putting later poems before earlier ones, in violation of all internal and external evidence.

Unreliability of the Colophons to the Puram Odes :

When the four anthologies were made up in the V and VI centuries A. D., for each ode was noted the name of the tinai (and perhaps tupai) to which it belonged and the name of its author. That is how the Agam, the

வெஞ்சி சொற்பிலு : சொற்பதுக் குட்சே
வினிர் வேற வியற்சைய மன்சே, அதனுற்
குடப்பொரு என்றாக் கெவ்தி சொந்தசே
நங்கூர சென்ற செக்காக்கு
கெவ்மூலி ஏவை கெவ்மூலி விசே,

Nappinai, and the Kurundogai have come down to us. But the Puram as we have it has besides, (1) colophons indicating the particular occasions when each of the first two hundred and sixty six odes were sung, (2) paraphrases of these two hundred and sixty-six odes and brief notes grammatical or interpretive. The colophons stop where the paraphrases stop and probably both were done by an editor of the age when commentaries were composed on old Tamil poems, i.e., probably between the XII and XVI centuries. The colophons, and not the commentaries, are resumed with the three hundred and fifty-ninth ode and are continued to the end.

Most Tamil scholars have displayed a superstitious reverence for these colophons. When they use the information given in them they say, 'it is mentioned in the Puram,' when they ought to say 'it is mentioned in the colophons to the Puram odes, or it is mentioned in the commentaries to the Puram odes'. It is high time that scholars gave up confounding the texts of poems with the commentaries of probably a thousand years later. Moreover it is too readily assumed that the editor of the Puram has recorded in every case the tradition remembered in his time. Even if all the information given by him is allowed to be traditional it ought to be taken *cum grano salis*; for tradition is known to grow like a snowball from age to age and to become charged with legends, especially of the marvellous variety.

The Occasional Unreliability of the Colophons:

It is evident that some of the colophons appended to the poems by the editor do not embody tradition, but contain guesses, sometimes wild. For example, Puram

76 and 77 are said to be eulogies of Nedūñjeļiyan, the victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam, sung by Idaikkunfir Kilār. Pugam 76 runs thus:—"It is nothing novel that one man should kill another or that one should be defeated by another; this is natural in the world. But we have never heard before now, that the greatness and might of the Pāṇḍiyān, who wore the honey-dripping garland made by intertwining the bright leaves growing on the thick boughs of the big-trunked neem tree of the assembly-hall, with the long vine of the ulīñai and wore the flower-garland also, who possessed the wealth of the beautiful land where the sweet-sounding, clear sound of the war-drum is heard, and wore jewels made of yellow gold, should not be realized by the seven (heroes), wearers of heroes' anklets, who joined together and proceeded against him, but were defeated and killed by him single-handed."³

³ தாழைன் யொருவு வெட்டதுக் கொலைதழும்
புதுவ தன்றின் வளக்க சியற்கூ
யன்றி ஜூங்கோ ஜோலிக் கிராஸ்க
மங்க மேங்கின் மாக்கினை யொங்கடாரிக்
கெடுக்கொடி யுபினாலுப் பல்வராடி மிகட்டு
கெற்றியத் தொடுத்த நேம்பாய் கண்ணி
யோவியன் மாலையொடி பொவியச் சூதிப
பாடின் தென்கினோ கந்தக் காங்டக
ஈடுகொழு திருவித் பக்மூட் செழியன்
பீடுஞ் செம்மது மறியார் கடிப
பொருத மென்று தன்றிலை வந்த
புளைஞ் வெழுவர் வலவல மடங்க
கொருத ஞுபிப் பொருத்தனந் தடவே.

The next ode says, " who is this that stands here ? From his legs the (boy's) tinkling anklets have (just) been removed and round it the hero's anklet has been put ; from his head the (boy's) hair-tuft has been shaven and on it the garland made of tender margosa leaves and the ujñai creeper has been wound ; from his hands the short bangles have been taken away and in them he holds the bow ; and he stands so as to adorn the carved post of the chariot. Whoever he may be, may his garland not fade for a long time ; though he wears a (warrior's) garland, he has not discarded the (boy's) gold necklet (with five pendants) ; to-day (for the first time) he gave up milk-food and ate rica. He neither respects nor disregards the new warriors who came one after another against him ; nor even did he feel exultation or pride that he got tight hold of them and threw them against the broad sky, so that they fell face downwards on the ground and were killed."⁴ The writer of the

* இண்டை சௌந்தர வெள்ளமு கருட்டுக்
உடி சௌந்தரதுக் கேம்பி கெஞ்சனிர்
கொடிப்பொகு அழிக்குப் பலரோடு மீண்டு
குதர்தொடி அழித்தாகச் சாபம் பற்றி
கொடிக்கேதாக் கொடிக்குச் சொல்ல திக்கரை
யார் கொல் வாத்துவங்க் கண்ணி தாங்குக்கு
நாவி சௌந்தரன்ற மிகவே பால்விட
பயினிபு மிக்கியின் நன்றே கவுன்று
ஆடன்றுமேல் வர்த அம்ப மன்னார
வியந்தன்ற அழிக்கன்ற மிகவே யவுரை
யழுக்கப் பற்றி யகுவிக்கு பாக்கப்பெழு
கவிழ்க்கு கீலஞ் சூர வட்டங்கை
மகிழ்க்கன்ற மகிழ்க்கன்ற மதனிலூ மிகவே.

colophons says that both songs were sung by the same poet in eulogy of the same king. It is impossible to believe that the hero-victor of Talaiyālangāram, known to the poet, and the boy-hero, unknown to the poet, were one and the same person. The only thing we may be sure of is that both belonged to the house of the Pāṇḍiyas. The colophon to Puram 77 is a guess and a bad guess at that.

Another poem, Puram 74, praises the fortitude of royal persons to this effect:—"Royal babes that die and even moles delivered from the wombs of queens, even though they are not men, are cut to pieces with swords (as a symbol of the duty of warriors to seek death in battle fields). When this is so, could any king beget a son who, when tied like a chained dog, would be so weak as to drink water charitably offered by his jailor, for allaying the fire in his stomach?"⁵ Now the editor says that when Irumbogai was captured and imprisoned in the room near the West gate (of the palace), he begged for water, he did not get it, and when he got it later on, held it in his hand, composed this poem, and died without drinking it. This is not impossible, there is nothing incredible in the legend, but the text does not give any indications about the persons involved and there is nothing to disprove the view that

⁵ குயல் விதப்பிடை குன்றத் திதப்பிடை
ஏவாச் செக்கு வரைப் பதை
ஒத்தாப்படி குமலிய் எரிதாப்படித் திருக்கு
கொல் கொள் கொல்குன் திதுபத
ஏதை விள்ளி வித்துத்தித் தனிய
துமித் தண்ணு மாவை
வின்ம கொலில் விவக்க தாகை.

the editor had heard of the legend and tacked it on to the poem. There are also doubts about the truth of the legend. There is an anthology of Tamil poems, with very brief comments on some, made before the XVI century and called by the curious name of 'Biography of Tamil Poets' (*Tamil Nāvalar Varalāru*), which it is not. This ode occurs as Poem 158 in this collection and the note added says 'when Śēran Kāraikkāl Irumbornai was imprisoned by Śeṅganān in a room at the East gate (of his palace), the Śēran composed this ode and sent it to Poygaiyār a poet-friend of his. When Poygaiyār heard this, he sang a poem (in praise of Śeṅganān, called) *Kalvali Nārapadu*, and Śeṅganān released the Śēran and gave him back his throne.'* The fact that the two legends contradict each other shows that supposed traditions which Tamil scholars regard as sacrosanct are but brittle reeds to lean upon in historical investigation.

Other such poems there are, the subject-matter of which bears no relation to the story told in the colophon attached to them. I give one more example. Puram 47 says:—"Like birds seeking for a tree which bears fruit, bards go in search of liberal patrons; without minding the distance, they pass along difficult paths and with their untrained tongues sing as well as they can. With the reward obtained they feed their relatives, and without saving any thing, they consume it and give it away to others with a light heart. The life of these seekers after patronage is free from the blame of harming others. They defeat with their learning those that dispute with them and stand erect and

* *Tamil Nāvalar Varalāru*, p. 57.

behave pleasantly. Their life is as great as that which is led by you, who art famous and rule the land."¹ To this poem is attached the colophon that "when the poet Ilandattan from Nalsingilli, the Sōla King, went to Uraiyyūr, Nedungilli who died at the Kāriyāru thought he was a spy and wanted to kill him, but Kōvürkijär sang this ode and saved him." Besides the objection that there is nothing in the poem remotely suggesting a spy, there is the further objection that Kōvürkijär was a favourite of the enemies of Nedungilli i.e., Nalsingilli and Kijilivalavan and therefore not likely to have any influence with Nedungilli.

The colophon to Puram 173 says that the ode was addressed by the Sōla king Kijilivalavan who died at Kulamurram in honour of Paṇṇan of Śirugudi. It says:— "May Paṇṇan live as long as I live! You bards, note the distress of the relatives of this man. We hear the noise of men feeding, as great as that of birds on a tree which has newly borne fruit. We see boys go in all directions along with their relatives with cooked food

¹ வள்ளியோர்ப் படர்த புள்ளிற் போகி
தெழுய வென் குத சம்பல டார்த
அழவா காவின் வள்வங்குப் பரமுப்
பெற்றது மகிழ்த சுற்ற மருத்தி
யோம்பா தண்ட கும்பாத வீசி
உரிசைக்கு வருக்துமிப் பரிசில் உஞ்சுகை
பிந்துக்குத் தித்திக் கண்டே விண்டே, திறப்பு
கண்ணுர் காண வண்ணுர் கூது
யாங்கினி தொழுகி எவ்வ தொங்குபுத்து
மண்ணுர் செல்வ மெப்பிய
தும்போ ரண்ண செம்மலு முகைத்தே.

in their hands, as the small ants, when they know that the cloud which rains in the proper season is going to rain, take their eggs (in their mouths) and resort to high ground; but yet on account of the distress of hunger and of our travel from far places, we ask again and again, is the house of the curer of hunger near? or far? Tell us."* It is impossible to regard this ode but as the song of a hungry bard in search of a patron; yet it is attributed to a royal personage by the editor of Puram. Many more such colophons can easily be found in the anthology. I therefore think that the colophons to the poems cannot be accepted as all reliable. Yet most scholars have treated the information given in the colophons as gospel-truth and have constructed schemes of the contemporaneity of the authors and kings and even attempted to evolve genealogical lists of the kings referred to and the political history of the period. But no one such reconstruction agrees with another: and nine of the contradictory dynastic lists of

* யான்வாழு நானும் பண்ணைக் காழிய
பரணர் காவ்விவன் கடிம்பின திடிம்பை
யாணைப் பழுமரம் புள்ளியிழக் தன்ன
ஆலேனி யாவக் தாறுங் சேட்கும்
பொய்யா தெழிலி பெம்பிட சோக்கி
குட்டை தொண்டு வற்புவஞ் சேருஞ்
சிறியுண் ஜொதக்கின் சில்லெழுஞ் சேம்பிபக்
சோதுக்கை கையர் வீறாலீந் தியங்கு
மிருங்கினைச் சிறுதாக்க் காண்டுப் பண்டு
மற்று மற்றும் வினாயதுங் தெற்றுதனப்
பசிப்பினி மருத்துவ ஸில்ல
மணித்தோ சேய்த்தோ குறும் ஜோட்டோ.

the period constructed by Kanakasabhai and others from the information contained in these colophons can be regarded as in any way acceptable; all the more so because as a result of such reconstructions, an impossibly long list of kings and poets have been crushed into one short period, leaving a dark blank before and behind.

Moreover the evidence of these colophons, in defiance of the internal evidence of the poems themselves, has made these modern scholars assign all that remains of ancient Tamil literature, the waifs of different epochs, to one poor century or half-century. This reduces history to absurdity, for it leads to the impossible view that Tamil literature, without a previous history, in violation of the law of evolution, burst into a sudden blaze in one period and straightway the Tamil muse became dumb for several centuries. Along with others I have wasted several years in trying to extract reliable history from these colophons and have come to the conclusion that they are an inextricable tangle of fact and fiction, of tradition and guess, and therefore useless for the purpose of constructing genealogical lists of kings. At best a few notes on the life of a few kings can be recovered from these poems.

Nalaṅgilli :

After Karikāl's death the empire that he founded went to pieces. Rēnāḍu was ruled by Telugu princes who called themselves Cēdas (the d being the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil l); during their rule Telugu gradually came to be a written language, being used in inscriptions and in a few centuries it became also a literary language. The Sēra and Pāṇḍiya kingdoms regained their independence, so much so that Nalaṅgilli,

possibly the immediate successor of Karikāl on the Sēja throne (though we have no evidence on the point), had to fight with them often to assert his superiority to them. Says the poet Kōvūr Kijūr:—"As amongst the objects of human life wealth and pleasure come after dharma," so the two umbrellas (those of the Sēran and the Pāndiyam) come after your single umbrella. Desiring that your fame should rise high like the white moon, you are spending all your time in military camps (and never in your city). Your elephants, the tips of whose tusks have been blunted by battering the fort-walls of your enemies, are having no rest. Your soldiers who wear the bracelets of heroes and are always eager for war, do not hesitate to march to the enemies' distant territories situated in the middle of the forests. Your horses first stay in the battle-fields where the war-festival is celebrated and go from the eastern ocean right round till the white waves of the western ocean wash their hoofs. The kings of the northern region are watching with sleepless eyes and are trembling with fear."¹⁰ Reading

⁹ This phrase shows that Aryan ideas were now rapidly gaining ground in Tamil India. Such a simile, involving the Aryan concept of the objects of life and comparing concrete objects with abstract ideas, cannot be discovered in Tamil literature before the time of Karikāl.

¹⁰ திறப்புகட மரவிழ் பொருளு மின்பமு
மரத்து கழிப் படிடாக் கோற்றம் பேசல்
விருகுகட பிச்பட வேங்கிய வொருகுகட—
புகுகெழு மரியி எரிவக்குத்தேஷ் விளங்க
உல்லிங்க வெட்டம் வேங்குத் தெவ்வோக்க
பாதகந யல்லது கீயேர் வரவே

between the lines, this means that Nalañgilli had to be fighting always in order not to lose his throne. This inference is supported by other poems which speak of civil war in the Śōla country. One Nedungilli was besieged by him in Uraiyyār.¹¹ Nalañgilli's capital was Kāvirippūmpatti¹² and Nedungilli apparently usurped the throne at Uraiyyār and brought the inland portion of the Śōla territory under his sway, and Nalañgilli fought with him to recover it.

The songs that praise Nalañgilli are more in number than the eulogies of many other Kings.

The troubled times in which he lived seem to have developed a melancholic attitude in the minds of his bards. In an ode by one of these occurs for the first time

வதிமுக மழுஷ்ட மண்டி யோன்னூர்
 கடிமதில் பாயுதின் சுப்பிரதம் கல்வே
 போரெசிற் புகாலம் புமிகாதுன் மறவர்
 காதுகூடச் சிவுட்டுத் தாடுகெனி சேயை
 செய்வே மல்லே மெங்குந் கல்வென
 விழுவுடை யாங்கண் வெற்றுப்புலத் திறத்துக்
 குணகடல் பின்ன தாக்க் குடகடல்
 வெண்டலைப் புணரின் மான்குளம் பலைப்ப
 வலருநை வருதலு முன்வென் நலமக்கு
 செஞ்சுக்குக் கவலம் பரவத்
 தஞ்சை கண்ண வட்டுலக் தாகே.

¹¹Fig. 31.

¹¹ Pur. 45, already quoted and translated.

¹² Pur. 30, ll. 10-14, which according to the colophon was sung in honour of Nalañgilli, quoted and translated already. I have used the information in the colophon, where it appears to be unquestionable.

in Tamil poetry, a pessimistic note conspicuous for its absence in earlier poems; for thus sang Mudu Kannanar of Uraiyur to this king:—"Consider the kings who were born in excellent families and flourished one after another like rows of the flowers of the lotus which grows in mud and possesses a hundred bright petals. Of these but a few are famed in song; many have dropped like the lotus leaf (unknown). Those who have been sung by poets, they say, get into aerial chariots not driven by (the mortal hands of) pilots, they having performed good deeds, as I have heard. My sire, Sētēnni Nalaṅgili, the moon-god shows even to the most ignorant that all things wane and wax, die and are reborn in this world over which he roams. Whoever comes to you, whether he be powerless or powerful, look at the distressed and help them. May your enemies be the ungracious wretches who never help others."'''

‘ சேற்றானர் தாமரை பயந்த வெள்ளோடு
நீற்றித் துவரி எரிக்கண் டன்ன
கேற்றங்கம மில்வா விழுத்தினைப் பிரத்து
வீற்றிருச் சேநாரை வொன்னூங் காலை
புதையும் பாட்டு முனைட்டோர் சிவசே
காவரயிலை போலமாய்க் கிசினேஞ் பலசே
புலவர் பாடும் புச்சுமுட்டோர் விசும்பின்
வாவை சேநாரை ஆர்தி
மெய்துப வெங்பதஞ் செய்யினை முடித்தெனக்
சேப்ப வெங்கை சேட்டசென்னி கலங்கின்னி
சேப்ப துண்ணமைப் பெருக அண்ணமைப்
மாய்த துண்ணமைப் பிறத்த துண்ணமைப்
மறியா சேநாரை மறியக் காட்டுத்
நிங்கட் புத்தே முரிதரு முவசத்து
அல்வர ராமிஷும் உல்லா ராமிஷும்

The Sōlān who died at Kulamurram:

Another Sōla king, called Killivalavan, has been sung in more poems and by more bards than any other Killi and Valavan, being both titles, meaning Sōla princes, this particular king was given after death the title, ' Killivalavan, who died at Kulamurram.' According to the colophons he was the patron of ten poets, all of whom sung odes in his honour. These poets refer specially to his liberal patronage of poets. He seems to have quarrelled with a Śēra king, for his siege of Vaijī, the Śēra capital, is sung by two poets. " You know best, whether slaying or abstaining from it will redound to your credit. Girls who wear anklets filled with pebbles and small bangles, made (by the goldsmith) with a long tool, are throwing up and catching little balls made of gold in the shape of the nuts of the Guilandina bonduc so that the white sands of cool Porunai river (which flows near Karūr) are scattered by their play. The trees of the defence forests (round Karūr) are being felled by means of axes with long poles and blades sharpened by the strong-armed blacksmith with files ; the sound of the cutting of the trees and the falling of long branches and the smell of the scattered flowers, reach the (Śēran's) well-guarded palace surrounded by long walls ; yet without shame the king remains (within the battlements). That you fought with such a king while your drum adorned

வருக்கி வக்டோர் மருங்கு சேஷ்டி
யருள வல்லை யாகுமதி யருஷலம்
கொடாணம அல்ல ராகுச
செடாத துப்பினின் பக்கமெதிர்க் கொசு.

with bow-like garlands was beaten, is likely to cause shame."¹⁵

A female bard of the name of Mārōkkattu Nappasi-laiyār¹⁶ thus sings of the same hostilities between Killīvālavan and his contemporary Śēran:—" You who are descended from him who entered (i.e., sat on) the scale of the steelyard made of (lit. turned from) the white ivory from the elephant which has feet like a (wooden) mortar, for the purpose of relieving the distress of a pigeon ! To help the beggar is (so natural to you) that it need not be specially praised. If it is remembered that one of your ancestors destroyed the fort (of the Asuras) which was hanging from the sky and so strong that foes could not approach it, it is needless to praise your bravery in killing your enemies. As Justice is

14 அடைய யாவிடும் விடைய யாவிடு
 நீயார் தறித்தீன் புரைவது கார்ச்சாற்
 தெறியாசிக் சிலம்பிற் குத்தொடு மகளிர்
 பொல்ளுக்கெப்ப சழங்கிற் தெற்றி யாடுக்
 தண்ணுன் பொருகை வெண்மணற் சிவதயக்
 ஏருக்கைக் கொள்ள எர்க்குமெச யம்மாய்
 பேருக்கை கவியம் பாய்தலி விரிவையழிக்கு
 விசமற் கெடிட்டுச்சினை புள்ளபக் காடுதெறுக
 காடுமாச் தடிய இமரகை தன்றூர்
 பொடுமதில் கலைப்பிற் காடுமனை யியம்ப
 வரக்கிளி திருக்க வேங்கட்டேஞ் சங்குசிங்
 சிலைத்தார் முரசுக் கநங்க
 மலைத்தனை யென்பது காலைத்தா ஏடுத்தே.

Pur. 36.

¹⁵ The name taken literally, means 'She of Marokkam (a village near Koṅkai) whose face was allow.'

seated in the sabhā of the valiant Sōjas in Uṟaiyur, it is nothing specially praiseworthy that you should be just. Valavan, whose strong shoulders, after fighting valiantly in the battle-field, have cut the defence-trees of the enemy, how can I sing the greatness of your powerful feet which have ruined fadeless Vañji,¹⁶ after destroying the Sēran who is the lord of the bow, who has carved the bow, as a symbol of his might, on the Himalayas with the boundless peaks shedding gold, and who owns loftily chariots?¹⁷ Uṟaiyūr was proverbially famous for

¹⁶ Vañji being the name of a town as well as of a flower, is called 'fadeless', for the town does not fade, but the flower fades. Such puns are frequent in the old poems.

¹⁷ புறவி அல்லவ் சொல்லியக் கனமுயட
யானே வாங்கருப் பெற்றத் தெங்கங்கைக்
கோளிக்கு துவங்கும் புக்கோன் மருக
விதனின் புகழு மன்றே சார்த
தொன்னு ருட்குச் துவங்கும் எடுத்திரற்
நாக்கெயி வெறிக்கூன் நூங்களேர் சினப்பி
ஏடுதனின் புகழு மன்றே கெடுவின்ற
மநக்கெழு சேஷ ருத்தை யணவயத்
தநகின்ற சிலையிற் ரூகாலி எதலுள்
முறைமைகின் புகழு மன்றே மறமிக
கெழுசமங் கட்டத் தெழுவுறற் தினிதோட
கண்ணர் சண்ணி கலிமான் வளவ
யாக் கன மொழிசோ யானே யோக்கிய
கஞ்சயனக் தற்காப் பொன்பு கொடுக்கோட்
ஷமயங்குடிய வேறு விற்பொறி
மாங்கலின தெடுக்கோட் வாளாவன் கருவீய
வாடர் வஞ்சி வாட்டுசின்
பீடுகெழு சோங்குச் பாடுக் காலே.

its hall of justice, probably from the time when Karikāl justly decided a difficult case when he was a boy, (Vide p. 339 supra); and Madura for her Tamil learning. Pur. 58 speaks of அறத்து சுற்றை, 'Uraiyyūr where justice stays always' (l. 9) and ஸமிழகங்கு எட்டு, 'Madura to which Tamil belongs (l. 13.)'

It will be noticed that in the last odes appear for the first time two legends about the ancestry of the Sōlas. One of legends is that certain Asuras lived in a castle hanging from the sky and from there oppressed the Devas and an ancient Sōla king destroyed the castles and thus relieved the distress of the poor Devas; such stories, not only about the Sōlas but also about the Pāṇḍiyas, were invented in this age and helped on the movement of the Aryanization of the Tamil mind. The other legend is that Śivi was one of the ancestors of the Sōlas. The story of Śivi cutting off a piece of flesh from his thigh and offering it to a kite that pursued a pigeon, because the latter begged Śivi to save it, is well-known. This attribution of descent from Śivi to Sōla princes occurs also in Puram 37,¹⁸ also by

¹⁸ 'Son of the Sōlan who had an army of fierce warriors armed with white spears and who cured the distress of the bird.'

புள்ளுவுண்ணெட்டு வெங்கல்
செங்கெழு தானைச் செம்பியன் மரு.

Pur. 37 ll. 5-6,

It will be remembered that in the Perumbāñāppupadai, the Sōlan is called but the descendant of Viṣṇu. Vide p. 399. supra.

Nappasalaiyār, and in Puram 46,¹⁹ by Kēvur Kīlār. It occurs also in Puram 43,²⁰ addressed to the younger brother of one Tiruvippār Venkilli the fortunate chariot-warrior, (said to be Nalaṅgili). In later times the Sōlas were said to belong to the solar dynasty, for which I have not been able to find a reference in the Puram; but if they were descended from Śivi, they ought to have belonged to the Lunar dynasty, for Śivi, son of Usinara was descended from Yayāti of the Lunar dynasty. Even Kamban, the most admired Tamil epic poet, did not see this difficulty for he boldly makes Śivi an ancestor of Rāma of the Solar dynasty. The Padma Purāṇa derives all the three Tamil royal lines from Turvasu of the Lunar dynasty.²¹ Evidently the people who invented an Aryan status for Tamil princes had

¹⁹ 'Son of him who relieved the trouble of the pigeon.' புதல் விநாவை.....,.....வித்தோன் மகுடை.

Pur. 46 II. 1-2.

²⁰ 'Descendant of the hero, who was so magnanimous as not to hesitate to enter the scales, without fearing death himself, but afraid of the destruction of the short-gaited pigeon which had sought refuge with him from being hit by the kite which has bent feathers and sharp claws.'

கொடுக்க சிறை
உருகிக்கப் பகுதி கொற குறித்தோ? இத்
தெள்ளம் புக் குதாக்கடப் புறவின்
நுழி யஞ்சிக் கொர புக்க
அவாயா வீணை புதுவைன் மருத.

Pur. 43 II. 4-8.

²¹ Pad. Pur. VI. 250, 1-2, referred to by Pargiter
Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad. p. 108.

but a dim knowledge of the Puranas. The poetess boldly makes Sivi a Šembiyan, i.e., Šeļa prince.

Killivalavan seems to have been as generous a patron of letters as Karikal himself. His eulogist sings, "You, beggar, who with ceaseless question and elderly month tell me, 'Stay here for some time, bard with a small yāl, furnished with strings (which utter music) sweet as honey and whose drum (udukkai) with clear eyes, tied to a stick and looking like the tank-tortoise stuck on a skewer, sounds sweetly', listen to me. Know that Killivalavan is lord of a fertile country where but the fire of cooking and not the fire of the foe is known and which yields food and water which, like the cool tank in the mouth of Tai is not exhausted by people taking water from it,"**. In this poem the last simile has to be specially noted. This is, so far as I have been able to find, the earliest indication that the Aryan classification of months and their Sanskrit names had been accepted by the Tamils. In Nappinai, there is a reference to girls' bathing in the

22 பேராச் சிர்தொகுடச் சுறியாற்ப் பாண
சயத்துவாற் மாணம் காற்றோத் தன்ன
நண்டோற் றகைத்த நெண்கண் பாக்கிலை
விளிய அண்ணிவட்ட எல்லோங்க குறி
வினா வாஞு முதுவா பிரவல
நைடுக் திங்கட்ட உண்கயம் போவக்
கொள்க் கொள்க்குறைபடாக் கழுதூட வியங்கர்
ஏடுத் யல்லது ஏடுத் யறியா
திருமருங்கு விளைக்கு என்னுட்டுப் போகுங்
கிள்ளி வளவு ஏஸ்வினாச புன்னி.

cool tank in the month of Tai',²³ perhaps as a religious duty. The Kuṇḍogai speaks of "the clear water of the spring being as cool as that in the month of Tai."²⁴ Poems where this phrase occurs cannot belong to an earlier age than the V cent. A. D. Puram 229, ll. 1-12, probably one of the latest in that anthology sings about the Sēran, Yānaikkatcēy Māndarañjēral Irumborai, gives the position of some planets and stars on the day when a meteor fell. The information is not clear and full enough to enable us to find out when the phenomenon took place; but it could not have been before the end of the V century A. D. seeing that the king was one of the latest of the period we are considering.

A curious custom among princes is mentioned in one of the eulogies of Kiliyalavan. Ancient Tamil princes, when they defeated their rivals, captured among other booty their crowns and made anklets for their own legs from the gold of their foe's crowns. This was the Tamil ideal of royal glorification and of the degradation of enemies. Thus sings the bard:— "Your heroism is so great that you have destroyed the forts which were defended by your enemies; you have killed them, and with the gold of their royal

²³ வெள்ள மாலை கோவில் புதுமூர்.

Nag, Ib. 80, l. 7.

crowns made anklets of heroism which shine on your feet." ²⁵

A more savage punishment of the enemy meted out by the Sōjan was "the razing to the ground his fortifications and the burning in the day-time of the town belonging to the Sēran."²⁶ Apparently war was no more a game as in the earlier days, but had degenerated into savagery. Irumberai, lord of Tondi, another late Sēra chief, defeated one Müvan, plucked his strong teeth, sharp like thorn, and fixed them on the door of his fort.²⁷

Among the poets that sang odes in honour of Killivalavan were two, Kövür Kılâr and Alattûr Kılâr.²⁸

१५ கீழே பிற்கேள்வுத் தமது மறுமன்னை
வேங்பாது கட்டுத் தவர் முடி புனிதத்
பசும் பூந்தீணி தெய் பொலிய
கழுதற இய வண்ணான் வோ
யுவேக்கோ.

Pur. 40 L 1-5.

26

卷之三

ஈகப்ப வழிய நூற்கு தெம்பியன்
பக்தர் வேட்காட்டின்.”

Nat. 14, II, 3-5.

23

四三

முழுவதில் முன்னொயி நமுத்திய கதவிற்
காலைக் கதாண்டப் பொருகன்.

Nar. 18. M. 2-4.

^{**} Kılär means 'one that owns or one that belongs to.' Hence when we find poets named Älattür Kılär or Kövür Kılär, etc., we have to interpret the words as 'the bard of Älattür,' 'the bard of Kövür, etc. Many poets whose poems were included in these anthologies had similar village names, but no personal names.

who have also eulogized Nalaṅgilli. Therefore these two Sōjas were near kinsmen, probably brothers, who ruled either one after the other or both at the same time in different places. But there is no information about their relationship in the poems themselves.

The Śilappadiguram refers to a Valavan Killi who was brother-in-law of Śenguttuvan, the Śera king, and says that the latter defeated in one day nine Sōja princes who were the enemies of Valavan Killi.²² This Valavan Killi has been identified with this Killi Valavan by certain modern scholars; but seeing that, as the

Personal names seem to have scarcely existed before the custom prevailed in the VI century of giving the names of Aryan gods to men; whatever names were used before that time were nicknames like 'the black-naped' Irumbidartpalangūr, village-names, like 'he of Māngudi, Māngudikilār, caste-names preceded by an adjective, like Ilanāganār. This was true even of kings. Even to-day, though people have proper names in villages, the old fashion of nicknames is almost universal.

²² துஷ்பின தெரிவ வெள்பது மன்றங்கள்
தெரிவாயில் சிலச் செரு வென்று.

Śil. xxviii. II. 116-7.

'Having in the battle of Nērivāyil defeated nine princes who wore the garland of Atti flowers.'

கமத்துன வளவுக் கீஞ்சியூடு பொருத்த
ஒத்த பண்பின வெள்பது மன்றங்கள்
இளவரசு பொருத்த ஏவுக் கோந்
வளா டழிக்கும் பண்பின ராதவிள்
ஒன்பது குடைபு மொருபக வொழித்தவள்,

Ib. II. 118-122.

odes quoted above prove, Killi Valavan was a great warrior and such an enemy of the Sēran as to burn his city in the course of one day, we cannot believe that he sought or obtained the assistance of Sēran Seṅguttuvan. Killi and Valavan, merely mean 'Sōja King,' and can apply to any monarch of the Sōja country. Hence the particular Sōjan we are dealing with was called 'the Killi Valavan who died at Kulamurram.'

The person who secured Seṅguttuvan's help was an heir-apparent, and not a reigning sovereign. Hence it is wrong to identify this Sōjan with Nedumudikkilli, as KrishnaSwami Iyengar has done, for Nedumudikkilli was not an ilavaraśu (heir-apparent).³⁰

(Seṅguttuvan), who destroyed in the course of one day, the nine umbrellas of the nine confederate princes who did not agree with his brother-in-law Valvan Killi and would not accept his heir-apparentship.'

³⁰ Manimekkalai in its Historical setting, p. 35, where the author calls Nedumudikkilli Seṅguttuvan's "chola contemporay." This is in contradiction to the statement of the UraiPerukaṭṭurai, 4, (prologue-epitome of the epic) of Śilappadigāram that Seṅguttuvan's contemporary was Sōjan Perungilli and the statement of the commentator, Adiyārkkunallār, in his comments on this passage of UraiPerukaṭṭurai, that he was Perunār-killai (was he the one who performed the Rājasūya?). KrishnaSwami Iyengar apparently prefers his theory of the contemporaneity of the Śilappadigāram and the Manimekkalai, to the express statements of the prologue and the commentator, notwithstanding his respect from tradition.

Kanakasabhai makes a worse mistake, when he says that this Killivalavan was the father of the Sōja prince Udayakumāran, who was smitten with Manimēgalai's charms and lost his life on that account.³¹ The Manimēgalai is a pure romance and worthless as a source of history. In that poem a certain Pūṇiyarāśan of Nāgapuram says that once he sailed to Kāvirippattinam for securing the friendship of Killivalavan and there heard that there was in the whole world (nāvalandīvil) none comparable to Manimēgalai.³² Kanakasabhai, from this passage, inferred that the Killivalavan we are discussing was the King of Pugār during Manimēgalai's life. But Killi and Valavan are not names, meaning merely 'Sōja prince,' and the Killi Valavan of this passage has nothing to do with the one eulogized in the Puram odes, this latter being Lord of Uraiyyūr and not Pugār.

It is to be expected that more and more Aryan ideas entered into the poems of the Tamil bards now. Ālattūr Kijār speaks of the special sin of harming Brāhmaṇas,³³ and refers to the ordinances of the Dharma Śāstra.³⁴

³¹ Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, p. 77.

³² சுவாமி திலீலிக் குங்காய யெப்பார்
மாகரு மிளை விவத்த மெல்வாக்
கிள்ளி வாவுள்ளுட தெழுதாக வேண்டுக்
காங்கவித் தாரேய வாதுதாடும் போகிக்
காவிரிப் படப்பை கன்னகர் புக்கேன்.

Man. xxv. ll. 12 16.

³³ பார்ப்பார் தப்பிய கொடுமை. Pur. 34. l. 3.

³⁴ அறம் பாடுத்தீர. Ib. l. 7

Notwithstanding the spread of the Aryan ideas in this Kilivilavan's time, he was himself not cremated but buried. His death was mourned by three poets of whom the last addresses the potter who was to make the urn in which the monarch was to be interred and tells him that to make a big urn fit for such a monarch, the earth (or the horizon) ought to be the wheel and the great mountain (interpreted as Mēru by the commentator), the clay.¹⁵

Perunarkilli:

The last celebrated king of this early Sōla dynasty about whom the Puram gives us information was called Perunarkilli. He had to defeat recalcitrant Sōla princes, before bringing the whole of the Sōla country under his sway. One such war is alluded in the following :— “ King, whose ire resembled that of Murugan ! you possess horses which run fast so that they can serve in wars and a shield (made of hide) of the colour of the cloud; you proceeded (against your foes) and shattered the front (of their armies). You plundered their rice-fields, you used the timber of their houses as firewood ; washed your elephants in the moats round their forts ; the light of the fire in which their land burned shone red like the shining sun. Your army limitlessly spread on their land. You achieved victory without the help of the armies of allies. Your sword stinks of flesh. The sandal-paste you have painted (on your breast) is

¹⁵ அங்கூற் சவிக்குக் கண்ணவின் ரூபி
வளைதில் செட்டவீர மாமி பென்னயதூர்
விருதிவக் திதிரியாப் பெருமலை
மண்ண வளைத் தொல்லுமோ சிவக்கீ.

dried up. You have burnt down the well-guarded valley where grow the intertwining convolvulus (*vallai*), the blown lily, the cool *paganrai* (*Menispermum Cardifolium*), the jack tree full of fruits and where the only jungle is that of the sugarcane; and your elephants are well-trained for fighting."**

He then performed the Rājasūya sacrifice and underwent coronation in the Aryan style. For this reason he was called Irāśāsūyam Vēṭṭa Peru Naṭ Killi, and was, along with Karikāl, remembered as a remote ancestor

14 எனினமாட்டிய விதைபுரவியோடு.

மக்குப்புரவின் ஓதாம்பரப்பி
முளைமுகுங்கத் தலைச்சென்றவர்
எனினவயன் ஏவ்சூட்டி
மனைமாம் விதாகங்
கடிதுக்குறீச்சு களிறுபடுத்தி
யெல்லூப்பட விட்ட தடுக்கிலினக்கு
தெஸ்கடர் குருத்துக் கெக்களின் ஒருஞ்சு
புண்ணிட விதக்கும் வரம்பி குளைத்
துணைவேண்டாக் கெருவென்றிப்
புலங்காட் புவர்சாக்கின்
முருந்த சிற்றத் தகுடுக்கு குரிசின்
மயக்குவன்னை மலராம்பற
பனிப்பகன்னை கனிப்பாந்
கரும்பக்கலது காட்றியாப்
பெருக்கண்பனை பாழாக
வேம் சன்னு டெருக்கொரி பூட்டினை
காம் சுல்லமர் தெய்ய
வேராங்கு மலைதன பெருமரின் ஏசிரை.

of the later Sōlas, those of Tanjore.³⁷ Apparently Peru Nar Killi was the only early Sōla who celebrated the Rājasūya; hence he had the performance of it as his distinctive mark. This celebration also shows us that in his time the Aryanization in culture of the people of the Tamil land was fairly well advanced. This is further proved by the fact that in one of the odes in his praise, he is lauded for "pouring fully into the wet hands of begging Brāhmaṇas flower and gold along with water."³⁸ Another simile derived from Aryan institutions is found in the same poem, where three kings are addressed by the poet :—"You, Kings, who possess the white umbrella of royalty and the chariot on which the flag waves, are seated together so that you look like the triple fire of the twice-born."³⁹ The three kings here referred to, as we learn from the colophon, were the Sēran Mūriven̄ī, the Pūndiyān Ukkirapperuvāludi and Peru Napkilli, all three being the latest kings of the early Tamil dynasties and not very far from the age when the Puram four hundred was collected into an anthology. There seems to have occurred a political revolution after the age of these three kings which will be described in a later chapter.

³⁷ Vide the Leyden grant and Tiruvālangādu Inscription, also S. I. I. Vol. II part iii. These later inscriptions, however, confuse the order of sequence of these two early Sōlas.

³⁸ ஏற்ற பார்ப்பார்க் கிர்க்கை விழுவப்

பூஷம் பொன்னும் புள்ளபடச் சொரிக்கு

Pur. 367-II. 4-5.

³⁹ முத்தி புலைய காண்டக விழுக்க

கொற்ற கெண்குடைச் சொடித்தேர் ஓவத்தீர்.

Ib. II. 13-14.

Besides the above kings, a dozen other Śōlas are assigned poems by the writer of the colophon. These could not all have ruled over the Śōla country. As we hear that on one occasion nine Śōlas joined together to fight with a tenth, we have to infer that princes of the Śōla dynasty who never ascended a throne, are referred to in the colophons.



CHAPTER XXIII

PANDIYA KINGS.

Mudu Kuđumi Peru Valudi:

The first Pāṇḍya King of whom we get information from these odes is Muđu Kuđumi. He became famous for patronizing Yajñas celebrated by Brāhmaṇa sacrificers and so became famous as Palyāgasālai, (the builder or patron of) many sacrificial halls. It need not be taken to mean 'the man that offered many vedic sacrifices' for to offer a vedic sacrifice, a king should first be affiliated to some Kṣattriya gotra and there is no evidence that the early Pāṇḍyas were thus fully and formally taken into the Aryan fold, and assigned a gotra. In Puram 15, it is said "many are the broad sacrificial halls where were performed great sacrifices in which famous fire-offerings and ghi were burnt in the fire for a long time in accordance with (the prescriptions of) the faultless book of the four Vedas and where sacrificial posts were planted."¹ In the Vēlvikkudi grant² one yāga patronized by this Pāṇḍya king is referred to. This grant was issued probably in the third quarter of the

¹ புரம்
அற்பன்றங்கள் கொடு
தருஞ்சிரத்திப் பேருங்கண்ணுமை
கோவையில் யாவுசி அபாங்கப் பண்மாண
வியங் சிறப்பின் கேள்விமுற்றி.
பூர்த்த வியங் காங்

Pur. 15 ll. 16-21.

² Ep. Ind. XVIII pp. 291 ff.

VIII century A.D., for the purpose of restoring a property given by Palyāga Mudukudumi and resumed by a Kalabhra king. The circumstances under which the gift was first made are thus narrated in the gift-deed of the VIII century:—³ 'Naykōppan of Kōkkai, who never deviated from the path of Sruti as taught by the learned vedic scholars (who lived) in the well-watered land, full of rice-fields, called Pāganūrkūppam, where beetles drone on the cool buds in the groves of flowering Nāga and Mango trees, started a yāga. For helping (him) to complete it, by the Pūndyādhi-Rāja⁴ Palyāga Mudukudumi Peruvaludi⁵ who led many murderous elephants and dispersed the hosts of enemy-kings, it was said [to Naykōppan], 'Ask (for help) in the presence of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the veda.' The king who wore garlands, stood in front of the sacrificial hall, and called the town by the name of Vēlikudi and caused to it to grow in prosperity and beauty; at that very moment he gifted it with libations of water and it was enjoyed for a long time. Afterwards a cruel King called

³ The translation of the grant given in the *Epigraphia Indica* is very faulty. So I give my own translation.

⁴ The title Adhiraja was assumed by Pāndiya and other Tamil Kings after the completion of the Ariyanization of the Tamil country, after the close of the VI century. It is here given by the author of the inscription to the early Pāndiya King, though the latter never used it himself.

⁵ The word sālai has dropped out of the title of this King during the lapse of centuries.

Kalabhran drove away innumerable ādirājas⁶ and took possession of the earth. He resumed the gift."⁷

Mudukudumi did not issue a copperplate grant along with his gift; for the engraving of gift-deeds on stone or copper was commenced not earlier than the VII century A. D. i.e., sometime after the Tamil country came completely under the influence of Aryan culture, and gifts to temples and to Brāhmaṇas became a regular institution. That is why no inscriptions are forthcoming to throw light on the history of the Tamil country up to 600 A. D. The circumstances under which Nedūñadaiyan regifted the village to a descendant

⁶ Probably 'original monarchs', descendants of those that had ruled the country for a long time before Kalabhran defeated them.

⁷ செல் வாளை பல்வேஷப்படுக் கூடாமன்ற
குதங்தயிர்த்த
பல்வரக முதகுடியிப் பெருவழுதி என்னும்
பாண்டியரிரசை
அதை மாந்திரேசை காரிர்சினோயிகா வண்டவம்பும்
பாக்ஞார்ச் சுற்றுமென்றும் பழாக்கடக்கை சீராட்டு
சொந்தன்னுக்கர் சொல்பபட்ட சுருதிமர்க்கம்
பிழையாற
செல்வைக்கிழா வார்வைக்கால் செல்வைக்கு முந்துளிக்க
கேள்வியங்களுள்ள முன்பு சேட்ட என்றெழுத்துரைக்க
வேள்விகாலை முன்புளின்று கேள்விகுடி என்றபதையு
செரைடு திருவாரைக் கெங்கார் வேக்கனப்பெருமூதேய்
சீராட்டுக் கொடுத்துவையா வீடுபுக்கில் துய்த்தபின்
ஈாவரிய ஆசிராஜை பகல்விக்கி யகவிடத்தைக்
ஈப்பருளைன்றுப் பல்காசன் அவ்வொள்ளத்தை
இறக்கியபின்.

of Naṅkōpan, called Kāmakkāṇi Naṅcīngan, this time accompanied not only with evanescent libations of water but an imperishable gift-deed engraved on copper plate were as follows:—"When the third year of his (i.e., Nedūñjadaiyān's) reign was current, on one day, at Madura which possesses mansions and high ramparts, (some men) stood loudly complaining. The King invited them to his presence and was pleased to ask them 'what is your complaint?' They said, 'Oh, mighty lord of a powerful army, formerly, without swerving from the pure path, (the village) called Vēlakkudi included in Pāganūrkūppam whose flowery groves touched the sky, was so named by your ancestor and granted on request by Palyāga Mudu Kudumipperuveļudi, the Lord who protected the sea-girt (earth) with his invincible spearmen, and was resumed by the Kalabhras, who formed an ocean-like army.' The king gently smiled and said, 'Well, establish your ancient title before the public and get back the grant'. The complainant established his ancient title before the public. Thereupon the powerful King of long arms, with bow (in hand), was pleased to declare, 'what was granted by my ancestors according to rule is also granted by us.' So saying he who had many chariots and an ocean-like army gave it with libations of water."^{*}

* மற்றவர்கள் ராண்யவத்ஸரம் முன்னுடை செவாசிறப்
ஆக்ஷாக்ரு அர்த்
கடமாதிற் கடற்பாடு வின்றவர் ஆரோதிக்கல்
கொற்றங்களே மற்றவர்கள் கொற்றங்கள் கண்ணுக்கலி
என்னேய் காங்குகை என்ற முன்னுடை பணித்தருள
மேற்கூணின் குருவராத் பான்முறையின் வழுவாணம்
மாங்காதீஸ் மாங்காலோனிப்பாகதூர்க்கூத்துப்
பழித்துவது

It may be remarked in passing that Mudukudumi could not have lived much more than three centuries before Nedunjedaiyan, because he decided the question of the regnant on the oral testimony of his contemporaries.

In another Puram ode, the poet calls upon Mudukudumi to bow to Brâhmaṇis, knowers of the Vedas, who have lifted their hands to bless him with long life." He also says that "the king's umbrella is

துன்வதானை யடல்வேங்கேத ஒவள்விதுஷ்டயெழுாம்
பெயருகடையத
ஒவ்காத வேந்த்ருணை யோடாத ஒவளியடன் ஏத்த
பல்யாச முதுகுகியிப் பெருகமுதியெழுாம் பாமேஷ்டாம்
வேள்விகுதி எனப்பட்டது ஒக்லியித்தரப்
பட்டநினாத
துங்கக்மிலாக் கடற்றுகிணையாய்க்கப்பரா : கிழங்குப்பட
என்ற சின்றவன் விழ்ஞாஸப்பயஞ்சு செய்ய [து
கங்காநன் தென்ற முதுவலித்து
கட்டாளரின் பழுமையாதல்
காட்டி ஸி (கொங்கவன்) ன
காட்டாற்றன் பழுமையாதல்
காட்டினுனக் கப்பொழுதேப்
காட்ட, மேனுளெங்கு சுரங்காற் பன்முகை
விற்றரப்பட்டதனை
எம்மாலுக் தாப்பட்டதென்று
செம்மாங்கவ ஜெத்தருளி
விற்கைத் தடக்கை விற்கு ஒவக்கள்
கொற்கைக்குரை காமக்காளி வற்கிள்கர்க்குக்
கேரெராடுச் சடற்றுகிணைய வீராட்டிக் (கொ)
உத்தமமயின்.

² இசைக்கப் பெருமலின் சென்னி சிறங்க
காங்கரை முனிவ ரேந்து மூட்டுகிற.

lowered only when circumambulating the temple of the three eyed god."¹⁰ This is the earliest mention of the three-eyed god in Tamil literature, so far as I know.¹¹ This king's "fame is described as unceasingly terrifying (the denizens of) the triple world from below the earth which rests high on the waters (of the sea) to above the Goloks."¹² All these are Aryan ideas. Their occurrence in this ode shows that since Karikāl's time the flood of Aryan culture was flowing very fast into the minds of the Tamils. Moreover, for the first time in Tamil literature appears in this ode, the concept of India forming one country with the Himalayas in the north, Comorin in the south and the two seas on the east and the west. The passage says that the fame of Mudukudumi spread to the north of (i. e., beyond) the high snowy mount in the North, to the south of the terrible Comorin in the south, to the east of the sea which was dug (by the Sagaras) and which beats on the east coast, and to the west of the old sea on the west."¹³

¹⁰ புரியிச ரத்தாகிஞ் குடையே முனிவர்
முதல் செவ்வர சார்வங்கு செயற்கே.

Pur. 6 ll. 17-18.

¹¹ The next is found in Agam, 181, by Parasanar, one of the latest of the early poets. "ஈஸ்மூர முத
ஏல் முதல் செவ்வன்"¹⁴ l. 15.

¹² முப்புரை இல்லிய முறை முதற்கட்டு
வீர்சிலை செப்பின் லீழு மேல்
தாளிலை அவசத் தானு மானு
அருங்கம் புது.

Pur. 6 ll. 5-8.

¹³ வா அத உளிபுடி சொல்வர வடக்குக்
தெனுக தருகெழு குமரியிங் நெற்குங்
குனுது கார்பொரு தொடுகடற் குணக்குங்
ஆடாது தொன்றமுதிர் பெளவத்தின் குடக்கும்

In ll. 1-4

Besides his activities in patronizing the vedic cult Mudukudumi seems to have taken part in wars with rival chiefs. It is not claimed that he fought with any particular Sōla or Śēra king. Possibly he defeated some petty chiefs; the poet says "you yoked rows of white-mouthed asses and ploughed the streets which had been indented by the fast-running chariots (of foes) and destroyed their broad forts. You drove your chariots through their territories; across their well known fertile fields where birds were chirping, jumped the hoofs of your noble horses whose manes were waving. In the well-guarded tanks of your foes were bathed your elephants which are moving this side and that side, have large necks, broad feet, angry eyes and bright tusks."¹⁴ In the absence of the mention of any

There are two other references to this idea in the Puram. The first belongs to the time of Nedūnjeṭṭyan, victor of Talaiyālangānam. தென்குமர் வடபெருக்கல், 'Comorin to the south and the big mountain to the north,' Pur. 17, I, 1. The second refers to Peruṅgōkkilli, Köpperuṇjolan, a very late king, probably of the VI century. A swan is described as eating the ayirai-fish near the great port of Cape Comorin and going to the Northern mountain, taking the fair Sōla country between them on the way.

குமரியக் பெருக்குத்தங்க யமிகர மாந்தி
வடமலைப் பொய்க்குக்கை யாறி வித்துபத
சேஷ சன்னுட்டுப் பாடுவோ.

Pur. 67, II, 6-8.

¹⁴ ஏற்றந் துழித்த ஞாக்கள் வாங்கண்
கூங்காவக் கழுதைப் புண்ணினம் ழுட்டைப்
பாந்தெய் தனியாவர் காங்க்ரை காலெவல்
புண்ணின மிமிரும் புந்தால் விளையல்

definite battle that he won, the above has to be taken as a general praise of the king and no more.

The Victor of Talaiyālangānam:

After this king died, ruled Nedūñjejīyan who won the battle of Talaiyālangānam. He is also the hero of the longest of the Ten Songs, viz., Maduraikkāñji, and perhaps of a shorter piece in that anthology, Nedūnalvāñdai, besides being referred to in ten Puram odes, nine Agam odes, and a few more minor ones. The reason why so many poems about him are available is probably that he was the greatest Pāndiya king of this age. He ascended the throne of the Pāndiyas when he was young and the contemporary Sōla and Sōra kings (their names are not traceable) proceeded against him. They thought "we are famous we are great; our enemy is a young man; the spoils of victory will be immense."¹⁵ Nedūñjejīyan turned the invaders from Madura. As the poet says, "Sēliyan, the valiant fighter, whose elephant wore garlands of flowers and was besmeared with black pigment (on the forehead) attacked, in the battle-field near Madura, where festivals never

கெள்ளுதோக வெியான் வல்குளம் புளத்
உதவுதக் கிணவின் உறவுக் குதைத்துக்
தூண்சியராத் பனையெருத்திற்
பாவுதயராத் செற்றேஞ்சுக்
கெனுளித மதப்பிற் கனிதவர
கப்புடைய கய்பதிலோ.

Pur. 15, ll. 1-10.

¹⁵ விழுமியக் பெரிவம் வாடும் கம்பிற்
பொருங்கு மினாயன் உரைந்தியும் பெரித.

Pur. 78, ll. 5-6.

cease, and confounded the ocean-like army of the two great monarchs who jointly proceeded against him; their loud drums were lost and they were scattered in the four directions and they ran away, showing their backs."¹⁶

This is not a contemporary poem but one composed after Neđufijeliyan's time by Paranjār who treats it as a remembered event and says that the noise of the Pāndiya's battle was surpassed by the uproar created by the fact that an errant husband played in the freshes with a harlot.

This battle is described more vividly in a Puram ode. 'As if in the sky where stars shine bright the never-failing, terrible sun which moves dispelling the widespread darkness and possesses fierce heat, along with the shining moon entered together the same region, so the two monarchs who were very powerful in fight and had taken the vow (to defeat the Pāndiya) entered the battle-field. You, Šejiya, attacked them wonderfully there so as to confound them and captured their well-bound drums. You defeated the warriors surrounding you and your spear escaped destruction. Then bright-faced women beat their breasts adorned by mammae till they tingled, cried along ceaselessly, till they lost their senses, when they saw the drums which

¹⁶ வெஷ்டர்

கும்பனி யானை மதப்போசு செழியன்
பொம்பா விழவிற் கடற் பறந்தனே
யுடனிகைக் கெழுந்த விருப்பாகு வெஷ்ட
கடங்கருள் பெரும்பட்ட கலங்கத் தாங்கி
விரக்கிகை முசு மெழிலைப் பரந்தவ
கோடிபுரங் கண்ட.

widowed them, so that their fair black locks which were like rows of black sand had to be cut.¹⁷ After the battle, the victor pursued his enemies, who secured the help of five minor chiefs and stood at bay in the field of Talaiyūlangānam. The Pāṇḍiya defeated his seven enemies. The name of the five chiefs who were defeated in this battle along with the Śērān and the Śōlān are given in Agam 36, an ode composed after the event. It says "Sejyan, whose beflagged chariot was drawn by horses with trimmed manes, you reddened the wide field of Ālungānam and destroyed the great might of the seven, namely, the Śērān, the Sembiyam (i.e., Śōlān), the fierce Tidiyan, Elini who wore gold ornaments and possessed elephants trained to combat, the chief of Erumaiyūr where toddy is filtered by means of the web at the bottom of the palmyra leaf, Irungōvēl on whose breast

17 பின்றிகட்ட விசம்பித் பாயிகு ஏகல
விண்ணபெசுவன் மரபித் தங்களியல் வழாத
துரவச்சினாக் திருக்கிய வழுகெழு குவிலு
சிவாத்திலை மதியமொடு சிவக்சேந் தாது
குடவரும் தப்பி ஞேங்குமொழி வேந்தன
உணங்கலும் பநாத்திலை யுணங்கப் பன்னவிப்
பிள்ளியு மூர்க்க செங்கட வாலை
சிலைதிரி பெறியத் திண்மகட வளங்கிழ
கிளதகலும்ப் தங்களூ சின்செவர் செழிய
முலைபொல் யாக மூருப்ப துறி
பெற்மும்மதங்கு பட்ட வரைவாப் பூச
வெங்குதன் மகளிர் கைய்வை கூட
உவர்தல் கடுக்கு மங்கிமங்
குவையிருங் காந்தல் சொந்தல் எண்டு.

there is the dried up sandal paste emitting pleasant smell, and Porunan who rode in chariots."¹⁸ He came thenceafter, to be known as 'Nēduñjeliyan who won the battle of Tiruvūlangānam'. The battle seems to have very much impressed the poets of the time, who referred to it frequently in similes. Thus Ālambēri Śattanār speaks of the vēl raised after the Śeliyan, strong of arm, possessed of the large chariot rolling on wheels, won the battle of Ālangānam"¹⁹ Kallādanār, another member of the latest brilliant galaxy of early poets, says that gossip about the relations between a maiden and her lover caused a louder noise than "the roar of the battle of Ālangānam when the Śeliyan, the lord of the Southern tribe, whose big chariot was adorned with gold, with his strong shoulder, like a pillar and with his moving chariot utterly defeated seven

¹⁸ கொங்கலற் புரவிக் கொட்டத்தேந் செழிய
ஞாக் காந்த் தங்க்ரலைசிவப்பச்
கோஸ் செம்பியன் சினங் கெழுதிதியன்
போர்வள் யானைப் பொலம்பூ ஜெழிலி
காரி காவி ஜெருகம மூரன்
கேஷ்கம முகவத்துப் புவர்க்க காங்கி
ங்கிருக்கே வெண்மானியதெர்ப் பொருக்கென்
தெழுவர் கல்லமைடங்க கொருபான
மூசோற ஜெங்குடை யகப்புறத் துகரசெவக்
கொங்கு எம் கேட்ட.

Agam. 36, II. 13-22.

This, too, occurs in a simile like the ones noted above.

¹⁸ காலிய ஜெட்க்கேர்க் காகவன் செழிய

ஞாக் காந்த் தமிழ்டாது யாத்த

கேஸ்.

Agam. 175, II. 10-12.

foes."¹² This battle is also described in Maduraikkāñji. There it is said that " he flew like the wind, spread fire so that the land was destroyed and encamped at Ālangānam so as to terrify his enemies, killed the kings, won the battle, captured their drums and celebrated the victory."¹³ This "oblation of victory" is described by Māngudi Kilār in Puram 26:—"As the ship battered the wind on the deep (waters) of the big sea, the elephant made a broad way on the field of battle. In that broad path on the battle-field, you wielded a spear with the shining blade, killed kings, confounded the army and earned fame by capturing their drums. You made a fire-place with crowned heads as hearth-stones, used the river of blood as water for cooking, poured the flesh and brain (of your foes) into it, with your ankleted arms as spoon stirred and cooked the food and offered the oblation of victory. You, Śoliya, killer of foes in battles, with learned Brāhmaṇas, full of restraint and versed in the four Vedas, as your courtiers, and Kings as your servants, performed other sacrifices and then grasped the spear.

¹² பூர்வங்கி சூதிதேசத் தென்னக் கோய
கொழுவுறுத் தென்கோய வியுதேச தெழிய
கோர வெழுவ ரதப்படக் கட்ட
மாலங் காஸ் தார்ப்பிழும் பெரித்.

Agam, 20J, ll. 306

¹³ காலென்னக் கட்டுராத்து
காடுதெ வெரிபரப்பி
மாலங்காஸ் தஞ்சவரவிற்க
தாசபட வம்முத்தி
முரக்காண்டு கட்டுவெட்ட.

Maduraikkāñji, ll. 125-129.

Those that were famous as your enemies not being able to resist you have gone to the heaven (of heroes); may they live there."²¹

Puram 24 tells us that Nedunjeliyan annexed Mijalaikkūrām and Muttūggukkūrām.²² " You victorious Šejiya, lord of the tall umbrellas and chariots bright with flags, you acquired Mijalai which is full of sluice-heads where water is flowing and which belonged to Evvi, the powerful lord of Muttūru, belonging to the ancient lords who possess elephants decked with gold ornaments and heaps of rice where cranes sleep after eating the carps living in the rice fields."²³

²¹ தாந்த விரும்புத்தத்
வளிபுகூட்டத் த சுலபபோர்ச
ஏனிறவென்று எனக்கறவுக
எனக்கறவுக வியவங்க
தெங்கிலினை வெல்லேக்கி
யரசுபட வமருமுக்கி
புகரசெய முரசுகவைவு
முத்தலை யில்பாப
புனர்த்துகுதி புலக்கொள்ளுத்
தொட்டதோட் ஒடிபவித்தழக்க வல்லிய
ஈடுகளும் ஓட்டட வடிபோர்ச் செழிய
மாந்த ஓட்டவி யடக்கிய தொன்னா
காக்மண்ற முதல்யர் சுற்ற மாக
மன்ன ஓடுவல் செய்ய மன்னிய
உயிர் விழுற்றிய வாய்மான் உயக்கே
கோத்துரூச் மன்றத்துக் பணகவர் சின்னத்துரூச்
மாத்ரு தென்றும் பொய்க்கெபத்
குஞ்சு சுவாமியூ மாண்ணவாய் சூவகே.

Pur. 26.

²² The conquest of Muttūru, spelt by Adiyārkunallār as Muttūr, is attributed by this commentator to a former Pāndiya (Vide p. 242 ante). This is a legend and Nedunjeliyan's conquest is a fact testified to by a contemporary.

Maduraikkāñji supplements the information given by the other poems. Besides the above military exploits of Nedūñjeļiyān's it refers to his capture of the town named after the paddy,²⁴ to his defeat of the people of the Kuttinādū,²⁵ (part of the Śēra dominions), and to the seizure of the rich town of Muduvellilai²⁶ and of Ajumbil.²⁷

In the poems regarding Nedūñjeļiyān may be noticed the fact that the Aryanization of the Madura country was proceeding apace. In one of the quotations already given (Pur. 26) it is said that the king performed sacrifices under the guidance of Brāhmaṇas who had mastered the vedic lore. There is a reference to the star under which a man is born and instead of 'may you live long' we have 'may your (birth) day star stand firm.'²⁸ This is probably an Aryan idea which had found its way south. The Maduraikkāñji which in its general structure is an imitation of Pattiṇappālai describes Madura quite as extensively as the latter poem describes Kāvirippūmbattinam and likewise mentions the sacred places in the city.

23

ஏடுவ செல்வி

புனவும் புதலின் மிழலையோடு கழுதிக்
கயலார் என்ற பொருளிற் செக்குக்
பொன்னணி யானைத் தொங்குதிர் வேலிக்
குப்பை கேஸலின் முத்துற தாத
செற்ற கீஸ்காலைக் கொடுத்தேர்க் கெழிய.

Pur. 24, II, 18-23.

24 தீர்தாந்த அயர்க்கல்லி

ஆர்க்காண்ட அயர்க்காற்றய.

Maduraik, II, 87-8.

This place is obviously Nellore, the outermost town and seaport of the Tamil land in former times. Naecchinārkkiniyar prefers to take it as Sāliyur, a Sēla port not far north of Madura. Nedūñjeliyan captured it with the help of his navy.

The Āgama cults in Madura:

In Maduraikkāñji we get evidence of the rapid spread of the Āgama cults in the town of Madura. The poet describes "the evening worship, when musical instruments were sounded and unfailing rice-offerings were offered, after they were washed clean, to the gods with winkless eyes, surrounded by heavenly light, ornamented with fadeless flowers and deathless garlands, headed by the great wielder of the battle-axe (Sivan) who created the five elements, viz., water, earth, fire, wind and the sky."** The description is too vague to enable us to identify the rite with any one current now. Probably

१५ பக்துட்டுவர் வெள்ளோடை,

Maduraik. I, 105.

१६ முதுவெங்கிலை, . . . தொழில்சோட்டு,

Ib. II, 119-124.

१७ அழும்பின்னை ஸாதியித்தனரும்,

Ib, 345.

१८ சின்ற சிலையியர் சின்னுண்மீன்.

Pug. 24, I, 24.

१९ சிரு சிலைஞர் தீபும் வரியு
நாச விசுப்போ வட்டதூட வரியர்திய
மழுவார் ஜோடி யோன் தலைய ஞக
மாசர விளக்கிய மாக்கையர் குழுடார்
வாடாப் புலி வரியமைர் பாட்டத்து
ஏற்ற அணாவி ஜூகுகெழு பெரிமோர்க்கு
மாச்சரு மாபி துயர்வல் கொடுமை
ஏதிலி விழவிற் துநியங் சுறங்க.

Maduraik. II, 453-460.

the rites of worship were too fluid to resemble any of the clear-cut rituals of later days.

Besides this the worship of Visnu too prevailed. " Beautiful young women, adorned with brilliant jewels, along with their dear husbands who protected them, and taking their bright children who were like the beautiful lotus flowers with plenty of pollen, all of them shining together, carried flowers and incense and worshipped in the temple of Him (Visnu) who protects the world."³¹

The Vaidika cult was also practised by some. " They recited the Veda clearly; they performed the excellent rites belonging to it; they realised the unity of their self with that of the earth, and reached the high heaven-world while they were still here (in this world). Their loving minds did not deviate from the path of righteousness and led the lives of great men in the Brähmapūrta houses on the hills."³²

31 தின்கதிர் மதாவி வெண்குற மாக்களை
போம்பினார்த் தழிலித் தாவுயனர்க்கு மூடக்கித்
தாதலைத் தாமகைப் பேரதுபிடித் தாக்குத்
ஈழு மூவரு மேராக்கு விளக்காக
ஈாமர் கலிகைய பேரிலை பெண்டார்
புலினர் புகையினர் தொழுவனர் பழிச்சித்த
சீர்த்துபுறங் காக்குக் கடவுள் பண்ணியும்.

Ib. II. 461-467.

32 சீர்த்த வேதம் விளக்கப் பாட
எழுஷ் ச் செய்திப் பொழுதுமொடி புணர்க்க
அவமார் அவயக் தொஞ்சா மாகி
புயர் சிலை புவக் கிவனின் தெய்து
மாகைதி பின்றுபட மன்புண்ட செஞ்சித்
பெயியோர் மேர வினிதி ஒயுகறயுக
தங்குதுவின் நங்க வர்தனர் பன்றியும்.

Ib. II. 468-474.

The ascetics of the Jaina and Bauddha cults resided in gardens, and not in monasteries as in the next century. "They were worshipped by Śrāvakas (disciples) who took with them flowers with honey in them so as to attract bees and also incense. They understood the past and the future, as well as what occurred in the present and explained them to people. They were sages who knew all about the heaven and the earth. These sages had unfading bodies, while yet they practised ascetic exercises, and were contented with all happenings. They carried in many-threaded loops small-mouthed pots looking as if they were cut out of stone. . . . They lived in gardens full of wonderful flowers³³."

In the case of the four passages quoted above I totally differ from the commentator's interpretation.

As these Northern cults had not displaced or absorbed the ancient Tamil cults and as they had not secured much royal patronage, they existed side by side, without engaging themselves in the fierce war with each other as they did from the VII to the IX centuries.

33 வண்டுபடப் பழுவித் தெனுத் தேர்த்துப்
புவும் புகைபுஞ் சாவாச் பழிச்சை
தெங்ற காலமும் கருவும் யயறு
வின்றிகட்ட தேர்த் தெய் வொழுக்கமொதிகன் குணர்க்கு
வானமு சிலைந் தாழுஷ துணைகு
காங்ற கொள்ளைச் சாவா யாக்கை
யாங்றடக் காலை தெற்கெனர் கொள்மார்
கல்லுபாளிர் தனை விட்டுவாய்க் கரண்ணடப்
பல்புரிச் சிலை ஏற்றி எங்குவர

* * * * *

இதம்பூத சாவா தும்புச் செங்கையும்

Ib. II. 475-483 and I. 487.

A description of Madura :

Sundaram Pillai condensed the greater part of the Maduraikkāñji into a description of Madura. Though vivid, it is not a fancy picture, but is based on the information contained in the poem. It was published in the Madras Christain College magazine for 1901 and is reproduced here. "We now reach the gateways, which are as high as the cloud-capped mountains, and which are secured by doors, blacked by frequent offerings of oil to the goddess guarding them. We elbow our way through the crowded gateways flooded ceaselessly with passengers, as the Vaigai is with the freshes. The streets are.....'broad as a river', and the houses, too on either side..... 'are well-ventilated with many windows'. The streets are... ...the seats of endless traffic and eternal din, the different aspects of which, throughout the twenty four hours of the day, the poet stays now to recount.

"It was probably with the early dawn that we started towards the town from the Vaigai side, and we may, therefore, suppose that it was seven or so when we got to the streets. They are, however, by that time quite busy and full,

"The surging crowds move to and fro and in the confusion of tongues they create, we hear nothing but a roar, like 'the roar of the sea when lashed by the high winds.' The drumming, singing and dancing, in diverse quarters, would show, that pleasure is even more noisy than business. With our ears thus assailed on all sides, we resign ourselves to sight-seeing. What strikes us first is the forest of flags that obstructs our vision on every side. There float the figured pennons hung up for the periodic festivals. Here wave the victorious colours

presented to chieftains of war for special services rendered to the state. Here and there and everywhere over each liquor shop, dance the merry streamers that betoken the unparalleled virtues of the beverage retailled by their owners. Each trade or guild seems again to have its own distinguishing flag. Recalling our wandering eyes then to what is closer to us, we observe that the crowd about us is made up of small concentric circles eddying round petty vendors of sweetmeats flowers, garlands, perfumes, betel, nuts, et hoc genus omnes. But being a military station, the ordinary traffic of the streets is now and then suspended by the occasional appearance of the king's forces, elephants that break from their bondage, and rush from the royal stables into the streets, like vessels torn from their anchorage and driven into whirlpools by violent gales; chariots swift as winds, horses that march for camp exercises and military evolutions; and worst of all, fierce soldiers, 'drenched in toddy.' As these disturbing agents pass through the streets, the crowds run hither and thither, excited and terror-stricken, as if life itself was in danger: and it takes some time before peace is restored and the poor pedlars and petty dealers resume their seats under the shade of the lofty pile of buildings on either side of the streets. More enterprising, we note, are certain elderly women, who knowing the weakness of their sex move about from door to door, advertising their dainties and flowers, and so tempting the inmates of the inner chambers to effect easy purchases. Thus continues the traffic all through the day, incapable of any perceptible increase, or decrease, like the ocean, which remains ever full whether the cloud pours in or draws off its contents.

" But time flies all the same : and as the day wears out the scene changes. In the declining hours of the evening there pass into the streets, either riding or driving, the chivalrous noblemen of the city, well guarded by their footmen. They are clad in red silk and flowing upper garments. Their swords hang by their sides, and on their breasts roll wreaths of undying fame. Being extremely wealthy, these gentlemen spend the hot hours of the day in agreeable society at home. Later, on the high terraces of their palatial residences appear their ladies, like angels dropped from Heaven. Their perfumes spread fragrance through all the streets, and their happy faces, occasionally hidden by the waving banners hung up on their house tops, shine like the moon struggling under passing clouds.

" [Not far off are] the king's courts of justice, where equity is dealt out at dispassionately and impartially as in a pair of scales. Close by live the ministers of state, remarkable for their insight into what is good and evil, learned but humble, jealous of their reputation, and ever watchful of the cause of rectitude. Further on reside the merchant princes, who are celebrated alike for their scrupulous honesty and wealth and whose business embraces everything useful in the sea, mountain or land. The minor officers of the four divisions of the royal service viz., of the ecclesiastical, military, diplomatic and secret departments come next in order, and we finally reach the artizan classes, including workers on shells and pearls, gold and copper smiths, tailors, and clothiers, dealers in perfumes and flowers, and painters, who can bring out in colours, even subtle modes of movement. All these and others of the town having now come out for business or pleasure, there is scarcely

any elbow room in any of the streets, and we have, therefore, to stand heel to heel. To add to the deafening noise produced by such a concourse of people there take place in every street grand feastings with such sumptuous dainties as jack and mango fruits, sugar candies and tender greens, edible yams and far famed preparations of meat. The bustle of the evening then is not a whit less than what it was in the morning; and the whole scene presents the appearance of a seaport town, hurriedly loading and unloading a coasting vessel that stands already with its sails unfurled to steer out with the first ebb back into the main.

"The sun has now gone down and the moon is up: but our city still knows no rest. The lighting of lamps is but the signal for the fair ladies of the town to prepare themselves for enjoyment. It is the time, likewise, when disreputable characters of both sexes come out and wander about the streets, some of them so drunk that they are unmindful of the sharp pricking nails, that are scattered in front of the elephants, when they turn wild and attack the mahouts that lead them. But more respectable classes of persons are also abroad. For instance, young women, who have but recently attained the honour of maternity are now taken to the tanks for ablutions, while others go out to meet them and to receive their blessings, in the hope of becoming equally fortunate. Later on the soothsayers of the Velan class gather in the houses of the sick, and propitiate in deafening songs the particular deities to whose ill will the diseases are discovered to be due. Each street has, besides, its merry dances and noisy pastimes.

"So passes the night till twelve, when, step by step, the dancing and singing parties decline in vigour. The petty traders now close their shops, by dropping their bamboo screens, and the poor dealers in sweetmeats sleep in front of their dainties. The actors and performers, likewise, retire to rest; and the town, like an exhausted sea is wrapt up in the silence of sleep. But like the sea again Madura knows no complete rest. For now that honest folks have gone to sleep, devils, human and superhuman, come out to work their mischief. But our poet is apparently not a spiritualist, and he fails, therefore, to give us any further information of the superhuman or disembodied devils. With the human or the tangible portion of the class, he seems, on the other hand, to be perfectly familiar. He minutely describes to us the dress and accoutrements of the burglars of his days, which we cannot afford to reproduce. Besides weapons of offence and defence, these ruffians appear to have carried with them certain rope-ladders for scaling high walls and roofs of houses. But their equipments are of no avail since the alertness of the night patrols ever proves too much for them. If our poet's description of the police officers of his days can be believed, they must have been a wonderfully efficient and exemplary body. With sleepless eyes and fearless hearts they combine consummate cunning and complete knowledge of law. But it is their high sense of duty that is altogether surprising. 'Not even in the rainy nights, when the high streets overflow with water do they absent themselves from their trying posts of duty, or permit themselves a wink of sleep.' Watched over by such a constabulary it is no wonder that the city passes the night in careless profound slumber.

"But there are not many hours for such sweet repose. Long before dawn, we hear the brahmins reciting the vedas like so many humming bees on the surface of opening buds. The musicians are next heard tuning their instruments. The feminine dealers in dainties are now up and are plastering as usual the floors of their shops with cowdung. The toddy sellers are not a whit behindhand, and their confirmed customers are already making their way merrily towards their taverns. The screeching sound of the opening doors now declares that the city is fast shaking off its slumber and in the work of rousing even the sleepiest, the crowing cocks, the resonant drums, the song of birds, the caw of peacocks and the roar of elephants and tigers in the royal vivarium, all take part. The courtyards of the rich are then swept clean of the esteemed flowers of yesterday, which have become the dirt of today. With the early dawn the king's forces return from one or other of the many scenes of warfare, with such trophies as the following:—elephants, horses, ornate gates of the captured fortresses, and flocks of cattle lifted in the light of burning villages and driven thither by long spears improvised as goading sticks. Following the victorious forces come the conquered princes themselves to purchase peace from the king, as soon as he rises. To prevent us from taking this triumphal march of successful forces and suppliant princesses as a mere accident of the particular morning of our visit, the poet adds that it is thus, day after day, the wealth of the world flows into the city, exactly as the Ganges empties herself into the sea. As the procession passes on, the sun rises up in the heavens, and Madura presents once more the scene of crowded

bustle and confusion, which we witnessed when we arrived in the city previous morning."³⁴

Patronage of poets :

Nedūñjeļiyan was a great patron of poets, as so many ancient Tamil Kings were. He composed one ode himself, of eighteen lines, before he fought his famous battle. Therein he says, 'Those that deserve to be scorned by me have, without fear of my valour, spoken in derision of my land, called me a boy, and said that I do not possess tall elephants with bells ringing alternately on either side (when they walked) with their big legs, chariots, horses and warriors trained to fight. If I do not fight these fierce kings in a terrible fight and capture them and their drums, the people who live under the shade of my umbrella, not finding shelter, will shed tears and call me a worthless king, and I will deserve such reproach. Then may the poets, famous throughout the world, with the great scholar Māngudi Marudan as their head, no more sing about me! May the people who are patronized by me be caused distress and I get the name of one who does not help the needy."³⁵

³⁴ Mad. Christ. Coll. Mag. 1901, pp. 120-124.

³⁵ சுதாக் கண்டூர் காடுமிக் குறை
சினைய வளிவளை அனையக் குறிப்
பாடுமெனி யிரட்டும் பாவடிப் பஜோத்த
வெளிகள் வரலையுச் சேரு மாவும்
பகுடவணம் மதயரு முகுடவும் வருமென்
தறதுப் பஞ்சர் துடல்வினஞ்சு செருக்கிச்
சிறுவெற் சொல்லிய சினக்கெழு யேற்கும்
யருஞ்சமஞ்சு சிறையக் காங்கு முருகுமோ
ஓடாருக்கைப் படேன னுயிந் பொருக்கிய
வெள்ளிழுஷ் காழ்கர் சென்னிழுஷ் கானுக

Incidentally it may be remarked that Nedunjeļiyan's testimony to Māngudi Marudanār's headship of his court poets shows that the later legend that Nakkirar, author Nedavalvādai, one of the Ten Songs, supposed to be sung in praise of this (Pāndiya king) was the head of the Third Śaṅgam held in Madura. This legend was invented by the Śāivas, because Nakkirar has sung about Śiva. It has been adopted by certain modern writers as a gospel truth, in defiance of Nedunjeļiyan's own testimony.

The latest Pāndiya King of the period :

The last monarch of this early Pāndiyas dynasty was Ukkirapperuvālūdi, or Ugra Pāndya. It has to be noticed that he was the only Pāndiya, mentioned in the early Tamil literature, with a Sanskrit title. It is therefore not surprising to learn that he was the contemporary and friend of the only king of the early Śōla dynasty who had a Sanskrit word in his title, Irāgashiyam Vēṭṭa, one who celebrated the Rājasūya. The only martial exploit for which Ukkira Pāndiyān was famous, was the capture of the fort of Kānappēreyil from Vēṅgai Mārban, a petty chief, and only one Puṣam oda^{**} is addressed to him. Another ode (Pur. 367), by Anvaiyār, the famous poetess

தொடியவைக்கிள தயனாக சென்னீர் பாப்பி
அதிபழி அற்றங் சோலே ஞகுச
ஓவாக்கிய சிறப்பி ஞயர்க்க சேஷ
மங்குத மஞ்சன் நலை ஞக
ஏங்கொடி சிலைய வெங்குங் சிறப்பித்
புபங் பாடாது அனங்கென் ணிவங்க
புரப்பீரார் புங்கன் கூர
விரப்பேஷக் கூர விஞ்சுமயர ஞநாய.

Pur. 72

^{**} Pur. 21.

and the latest of the early Tamil bards, was sung, according to the colophon, when Ukkira Pāndiyan, Perunārkiṇḍi, and Māri Venkō, the Śēra chief, were seated together; the poem does not mention these names, but I think the information in the colophon, is trust worthy.

Tradition says that Ukkira Pāndiyan ordered the collection of the Agam poems into an anthology, and this fits in with the information given by the commentator on *Iraiyanār Agapporul* that with him the Third Śāngam ended. This does not mean that every poem in the Agam Four Hundred as we have it now, preceded Ukkira Pāndiyan's time. The first tentative collection was made in his time, and the anthology must have grown in later times, till the round figure of four hundred was reached. The mention by the commentator on *Agapporul* of Ukkira Pāndiyan as the last Pāndiyan indicates that a catastrophe overtook the Tamil country which closed one great chapter of her great history; what this was will be discussed in a later chapter.

Besides the kings referred to in this chapter, the Puram colophons refer to some others, who possessed one or more of the following titles, Śēliyan, Pañjavan, Tennavan, Vañjudi, Māpan, Minavan, Kavuriyan, every one of which meant Pāndiyan. It is not possible to discover how they were related to these kings. It is just possible that while the chief Pāndiya king reigned at the capital, others ruled as petty chiefs. When the Pāndiyas had been Aryanized, the legend rose that they belonged to the Lunar dynasty and that Arjuna's son by Citrāṅgadā, the Pāndiya princes, succeeded to the throne after her father and then the Pāndiyas became five at a time, like the Pāṇḍavas.

They were hence given the title of Pañjavar.³⁷ Probably to keep up the dignity of Pāṇḍava descent after it was invented, the Pāṇḍiya chiefs were counted as five, ruling at the same time, as it seems to have been done in the XIII century A. D.

³⁷ Thus the Pāṇḍya that died at Velliambalam, was called விசூர் சௌபி, 'the bull among the five,' in l. 8 of Pur. 58, a late ode.



CHAPTER XXIV.

ARYAN IDEAS IN AGAM AND PURAM.

Gods :

Gods :— Into the poems that were composed in the IV and V centuries A. D., slowly, very slowly entered chiefly by way of allusions Northern (Aryan) ideas, concepts, beliefs and superstitions. These are found mostly in the odes composed by the latest poets. The total number of such Aryan intrusions are very few when compared with the genuine Tamil ideas, customs and beliefs. I have gathered the former together in this chapter from the Agam and the Puram where they are chiefly found. Šivan is referred to once in the Agam and five times in the Puram. One reference is to His helping the Devas to victory by shooting the three forts (of the Asuras) with a single arrow, having a serpent as the bow-string and the hill as the bow, and He is described as blue-throated, wearing the crescent on his fair head and with an eye shining on his forehead.¹ The other references are only short phrases allu-

¹ தீங்குமலைப் பெருவிற் யாம்பு ஞான செல்ல²
யெருக்களை கொண்டு மூடியவி தூட்டித்
பெருவிற் வழார்க்கு யென்றி தக்க
கைற்கிடத் தங்கைல் காமர் கென்னிப்
பிழைத்தல் விளக்கு மொருகண் போல,

Pur. 55 ll. 1-5.

² முத்தட் தென்வட

³ சீவியிர் சுடை

lb. 6. l. 18.

ding to his three eye³, his matted locks,⁴ his blue throat and the crescent moon on his head⁵. One passage, in the Agam, refers to the three-eyed Sivan.⁶ In one stanza of Puram, Siva, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subrahmanyā are described. "He who is riding on a strong bull, has matted locks blazing like fire, the invincible battle-axe, and a throat like the blue gem, and He whose body is of the colour of the chank from the sea, and who weilds the death-desiring plough and has the palmyra flag, and He whose body is of the colour of the well-washed sapphire and who raises aloft to the sky the bird-flag and desires victory, and He who holds up the gem-like

முத முதலான்.

Ib. 166, II. 1-2.

'The Ancient Lord of long, stiff matted locks.'

* பால் குரை விரைவுத்த பொலித் தென்றி

கீல மணியிட்ட சூரையன்.

Ib. 91, II. 5-6.

'He who has a head shining with the milk-like crescent moon and a throat like sapphire.'

³ குரவாந வைக்கெடு சுவ்வினச

காங்கை முதுநல் முத்துப் பெல்வ

ஞால முத்தங்களின் பெறத் தை.

Agam. 181, II. 15-18.

'The three-eyed Lord whom the sweet-toned four Vedas which spread good to the world (sing about), embellished beautifully the yard where the banyan tree goes.'

In Pur. 198, I. 9, occurs the phrase விஷாந் எடான் the god in the banyan tree.' The commentator has interpreted this phrase as 'Vishu on the banyan leaf;' I think this explanation is anachronistic, for the phrase is a common epithet only of Sivan in early Tamil literature.

peacock flag, who is always victorious, rides the peacock (or the elephant) and is bright red."⁶ Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva are referred to in one more place, where a Śōja and a Pāṇḍiya are together praised as looking like these two gods.⁷ There are two other references to Kṛṣṇa, one where a Pāṇḍiya is described as full of fame, like Māyēśa, famous for his powers of teaching.⁸ An incident in the life of Kṛṣṇa is described also in Puram. "When the terrible asuras swarmed and concealed the sun who shone in the sky and he disappeared, (meti) could not see on account of darkness. To relieve the distress of the round world, the collyrium coloured one of great strength brought (the sun) back and raised (him in the sky)."⁹ One stanza in

6 ஏத்துவல தூயரிப் பெய்சிக்கு அவிரிசனட
மாத்தரகுக் கணிசிச் செனியிட்ட் சேருதூக்
சடவிவசர் புரியனோ புக்கப் போனி
ஸடல்வெக் கார்த்திந் பனிக்கொடி வோது
மக்குற திருமணி புக்கப் போனி
விழ்ஞாயர் புட்டகொடி விருவ்வெப் போது
பணிமலி தூயசிய மாரு வென்றிப்
பின்முச ஆர்தி யொண்டெப் போதும்

Pur. 56 II, 1-8

7 பாணிற ஏருவிற் பனிக்கொடி வோது
கினிற ஏருவி கேங்கி வோதும். Pur. 58. II, 14-15.

8 மாபோ என்ன
ஏகாதால் சிறப்பிற் புக்கி. Pur. 57 II, 2-3.

9 அணக்குணட யங்கூர் ஏண்ட்டொண் தொளித்தெனக்
சேஷ்விளங்கு சிறப்பின்னாவிற காணு
திருங்கண் தெழுத்த பரிதி ஞாவத்
திடிம்பைகொன் பகுவர நிரக் குடிக்கிற
லஞ்சன் யண்ணன் நாது சிறத்தாங்கு.

Pur. 174. II, 1-6.

Agam refers to Māl's bending the branches of the tree, that the cowherdesses may wear the cool leaves for cloth.¹⁰ Paraśurāma is alluded to once in Agam. This will be referred to latter. There is one more reference to Kṛṣṇa in Agam. "Like the garland on the wide, all-conquering breast of the wielder of the discus whose bright spokes are well-arranged, was the rain-bow."¹¹

Rāma is alluded to once in Pūjām and once in Agam. In the former poem it is said that monkeys picked up Sītā's ornaments which she dropped when Rāvaṇa carried her in his aerial car, and wore them topsy-turvey.¹² In Agam, the following simile occurs. "As was silenced the banyan tree with many aerial roots

¹⁰ அண்டர் மகானிர் தாங்களும் பூக்கள்
மாஞ்சலை விதித்த மாதல் போல்.

Agam, 59 II, 5-6.

The original of this tale is not found in Sanskrit so far as I know and perhaps it is not an Aryan legend of Kṛṣṇa but a Tamil legend of Māyōn.

In modern versions the story is somewhat altered. The ladies desire to wear their own clothes stolen by Kṛṣṇa.

¹¹ ஓர்க்கிர் கிளாத்த ஓயியன்று செல்லங்
போரடக் காலம் பொருத்தி தார்போர்
நிருவில்.

Agam, 175 II, 14-16.

¹² குட்டே ரிசாம் ஜூட்ஸ்புனார் சிக்கனை
வலித் தலை யாக்கன் கெள்ளிய குாங்கூற
சிலங்கீஸர் மத்ராவி கண்ட குருக்கின்
செம்முகப் பெருக்கினை விழுப்பெருக் காதங்கு.

Pu., 378 II, 13-21.

(the sound of whose birds disturbed) the thoughts of victorious Rāma, near the shore of the roaring ocean at the ancient Kēdi (Dhanuskēdi), which belongs to the Pāndiyas of the conquering spear.¹³

Svarga :

To turn from Ārya legends to Ārya beliefs which had begun to gain a foothold at last in Tamil India. The world of the Devas of the Aryas is noticed in a few passages. The Devas are "the denizens of the fair world where there are forests of gold flowers."¹⁴ Svarga is called "the world of the Gods," "the world to which people go rarely," "the world of the high," "the world of the Gods," "the world of the superiors."¹⁵ It is also

"As the jewels sparkled on the red-faced relations of the monkey that saw the bright ornaments dropped on the ground by Sītā, the wife of Rāma of the strong ear, when she was forcibly carried away by the powerful Rāksasa".

¹³ வெள்ளைத் தாயியார் சூதான்முது சௌது
முழக்கிறும் வெள்ளை மிரவகு முன்முறை
வெள்ளை ஸிராம எருமகைந் தலைத்த
பக்கீ முரலம் போல. Agam. 70 II. 13-16.

This story of the silencing of the birds nesting in the banyan tree, like that of the monkeys wearing Sita's jewels topsy-turvy, is unknown to Sanskrit literature. The Pandiyas are called kavuriyar perhaps because they worshipped Gauri i.e., Minākṣi.

¹⁴ சூரியங்கு கால அங்குடி செட்டும். Pur. 38, I. 12.

¹⁵ புத்தான்முலகம் Pur. 22, I. 35, அத்தான்மு,
Ib. 260 I. 21, முத்தான்முலகு Ib. 176 I. 20
சூதான்முகம், Ib. 228 I. 11, சூதான்முகம்,
Ib. 229 I. 22,

called the highest of the worlds. "The triple world of which the lowest is that which rests on water and the highest where the cow stands (i.e. goloka)."¹⁶ It is again described as "the world, very difficult to attain, which contains flowers that never fade, (gods with) eyes that do not wink, and sweet-smelling foods."¹⁷ "Being carried away by the winkless (God) called Kāla, he reached the land of the superior persons."¹⁸

Karma :

The law of karma, by which the results of good deeds in this life are reaped in the one after death is stated in one passage.¹⁹ In another passage the question of the enjoyments of the fruit of one's deeds either in the next world or in the next rebirth in this world is spoken of as a disputed point.²⁰ This poem was

முப்பு ரதிக்கிய முதலமுதற் கட்டு
ஏர்த்தீஸ் சிவப்பின் கூழ்மல
தங்கிலை புவக்த்தாலும்,

Pur. 6, II. 5-7.

¹⁷ வரடாப் பூவி எனவூரா ராட்டத்து
ஏற்ற வணவி சென்ற மாத்ர

வைக்கொத இலக்கம். Pur. 62 II. 16-18.

¹⁸ கால ஒன்றுங் கணவீலி புய்ப்ப

மேலோ குலக மெய்தினன். Pur. 240 II. 5-6.

¹⁹ ஸங்கிர செய் சல்விக் மாண்பெசென் அண்டுயர்

Pur. 214, II. 6-13

²⁰ உயர்தா வேட்டத் துபாக்கித் தேஷ்கருச்
செப்பினை மருங்கி வெய்த தங்கெட்டிந்
கூழ்மா ஏவகத்து அகர்க்கிபுக் கடுக்
தொம்யா ஏவகத்து தாஷ்கி யில்வெனின்

sung by Kōpperūñjōjan, when he "sat north", i. e. retired to a cave, where he dwelt till he died. The doctrine of rebirth mentioned in the last passage occurs in another, which says, "as in this birth (we delighted in each other's company,) so let my destiny make me see you constantly in my next birth and dwell with you."²¹ One other passage has been interpreted to mean "Let those who know the nature of the world do good deeds so that they may obtain release;" but the proper meaning of the passage seems to be "Let those who know the nature of the world take its pains as pleasure."²²

ஏதிப் பிரப்பி என்னவென்று கூற
ஏதிப் பிரப்பு சாமிதா மிசுவத்தகை
சௌரையாக தங்க தம்மினச வட்டுத்
தீதில் யாக்ஞகவெடு மாப்புறவுத் தலையே.

Pur. 214, ll. 6-13.

"In the case of the superior persons who are inspired by higher desires if you admit that they experience the fruit of their deeds they may enjoy pleasures in the next world. If they do not enjoy them in the next world they will attain joys in the next re-birth; if even that is not admitted, it is an excellent thing to die after having planted one's good name as high as the lofty Himalayas."

²¹ இந்தோ ஸ்ரோதை காட்டு யுமோ
வின்டையில் காட்டு சின்டே
குட்டுமுறை வாங்குக அமர்த்த பார்வே.

Pur. 236 ll. 10-12.

It may be pointed out that immai, ummai, and pāl are used and not the corresponding Sanskrit terms as in later times.

Vedic Sacrifices:

The patronage of yajñas by the Tamil Rājas of the V century A. D. has been described in two preceding chapters, and need not be repeated here. The last odo of Puram refers to the yüpas in Nalaṅgili's territory.²² The land of the minor chief Kāri is also described as abounding in Brāhmaṇas who maintain the sacrificial fire.²³ I have noticed a simile from the yajña in a very late Puram odo, and that is, "the white royal umbrella was beautifully bright like the triple fire of Brāhmaṇas."²⁴ Though the Tamil kings of the V century A. D. thus patronized Vedic sacrifices, it may be pointed out in the very odes that celebrate the patronage of Vedic sacrifices by the Tamil Rājas, their terrible martial exploits and their plying bards and harlots with meat and drink are also described. Thus the Pāṇḍiya of many sacrificial halls "destroyed the streets with ploughs to which rows of white-mouthed donkeys were yoked."²⁵ The poem that describes Karikāl's yajña also says that "he destroyed many forts in war and along with his

²² காந்தி சிவாலை முனை
காந்தி சிவாலை சிவாலை சிவாலை.

Pur. 194, II, 6-7.

²³ Pur. 400, I, 19., not quoted, the text being imperfect.

வெள்ளு
முத்துத் தலை முத்துத் தலை.

Pur. 122, II, 2-3.

companions drank up many potfuls of liquor."²⁷ This shows that their patronage of Aryan rites did not bring about a wrench from their old Tamil traditions.

In the companion anthology to the Puṣam, i. e., the Agam, there is no reference to Vedic sacrifices patronized by Tamil Rājas, but that performed by Parāsurāma is described. One of the many similes which occur in the odes of this collection says, "Like the long pole (yūpa) well-guarded, beautiful to see, and tied with rope round its middle, at which (the incarnation of Viṣṇu who wielded the battle-axe and destroyed the Kṣatriya dynasties, performed the yāga with great effort."²⁸

* * இருப்பிறப்பாகர்

முத்திப் புதை காண்டக விருந்த

தொற்ற வெண்குடை. Pur. 167. II. 12-14.

* * வெள்வாய்க் கழுதைப் புலவினம் பூட்டு

பாழ்செப்தனை.

Pur. 15. II. 2-3.

* * அருப்பம் பேணு தமர்கட்டத்தாடுக்

திணைபுண ராவ்மோத தசம்புடன் இருக்குதி,

1b, 224. II. 1-2.

* * மன்மஞ்ச சுற்று மழுவர இணுவேங்

முன்முயன் ரஸிளைன் முடித்த வெள்விக்

கார்த்தை யாற்ற காண்டகு வனப்பி

அருங்கடி சௌரிதாண் போல. Agam. 220, II. 5-8.

The first line occurs unaltered as Man. xxii, I. 25.

Brāhmaṇas:

In Agam is mentioned the Brāhmaṇa who has not performed yāgas (veṭappārppān).²⁹ This is the first mention in Tamil literature of the back-sliding Brāhmaṇa, devoted to secular occupations, who since the rise of the Āgama forms of worship became very common.

On the contrary, the Brāhmaṇas devoted to Vedic sacrifices were highly praised. One instance is the description of a person as "descended from learned men famous for having duly performed the twenty one parts of the Yāga, who taught the truth and rejected as false the heresies simulating correct doctrines, for the purpose of checking the growth of people who strayed from the ancient four vedas with their six (āṅgeas) which teach the one truth and which are always on the lips of the ancient (Śivan) whose matted locks are long."³⁰

²⁹ சூதரப் பாடப்பாளி. Agam, 24. I. 1.

The commentator explains this as அதைப்பாண் யாசனப்பார்ப்பாளி, 'the lay Brāhmaṇa, who does not perform sacrifices', and adds that such men were engaged in chank-cutting.

³⁰ எனக்கும்த சினிமிர்ச்சனை
முதலுதல்வன் வரப்பேஷன்
தெவை றபுசிக்த வீரிச்சந்த
ஞாஹனர்க்த வொருமுதன
விகல் கண்டேசர் மிகல்சாம்யார்
மெய்யன்ன பொம்புணர்க்து
பொவ்யாராது மெய்கொள்ளி
மூலைத் துக்காது மூட்டின்த போகிய
ஒகரசால் சிறப்பி தூரவோர் மருக.

Pug. 166. II. 1-9.

Agam 181, ll. 15-16 already quoted and translated also refer to Śivan's reciting the Vedas. Those who strayed from the path of the Vedas is a reference to the Bauddhas and the Jainas, the only reference to them in the early anthologies. These heretics lived in caves far from cities and, when in the VI and VII centuries A.D., they secured the patronage of kings and made them into lay disciples, commenced the fierce quarrels between them on the one hand and the Śaivas and Vaisnavas on the other, which are so frequently mentioned in the Tamil hymns to Śivan and Visnu composed from 600 A.D., to 900 A.D. The references to the Vedic Yajña are thus very few in Agam and Puram : and that the poems and the kings who patronized them must have lived at the very end of the period we are considering can be seen from the fact that the Tolkāppiyam, though it tries to impose the Aryan four Varṇas on the Tamil population and though it refers to the six-fold functions of the Brāhmaṇas and five-fold functions of kings prescribed in the Aryan Dharma Sūtras, yet does not specify the Vedic sacrifices of Tamil kings.³¹ The reason is that the Tolkāppiyam is based on the Tamil poems existing in the age of the author and those poems did not refer to Vedic yajñas because the kings had not yet taken kindly to Aryan practices. It surely must have taken some time for these practices to enter into Tamil life.

Cremation :

One of the customs which evolved in Northern India as the result of the development of the Vedic

³¹ In Por. 76 he speaks only of Tamil victory rites.

fire-cult was that of cremation. The underlying principle of that cult is that all offerings to one or more of the gods ought to be poured into the newly lighted fire, for Agni is the mouth (*mukha*) of the Gods. The offerings were derived from the animals killed for the occasion, called *medha*. The greatest *medha*, greater than the horse, was man. Hence the dead man was conceived as a fit offering for the Gods and became sanctified, as all sacrificial victims were, by being offered to the Gods through fire. On this account wherever the fire-cult spread, there too the custom of cremation was adopted. Before this custom arose, the dead were exposed either wholly or after being cut into various slices (probably to allow of the body being rapidly eaten up by birds of prey), or buried in the ground often within burial urns. The families that accepted the sanctity of the fire-cult took to cremation in South India. So, too, several hundred years earlier, a very degenerated form of the Vedic fire-cult reached Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome and cremation followed in its wake. The custom of cremation spread slowly in Southern India, where the section of the people who have persisted in remaining outside the Aryan cults still practice burial.³² The following are the only references to cremation in *Puram*. "The bright fire of the funeral pile of black fuel chopped from the garden after it was

³² Sanyāsīs are buried, not burnt. This may be because as they led a life of special holiness, their bodies would be desecrated by being offered to the Gods (who in status are not superior to the Sanyāsīs) or because burial being the older custom was reserved for them.

burnt by Kuṇavas."³³ "The owl with the split mouth from the hole in the tree cried to the dead man, '(your body) be burnt and (the ashes) be heaped up ;' he rested on the side of the burning ground in the yard behind the house where the tree-spurge grows; and his body was burnt down by the bright fire."³⁴ "She was placed on a bed of bright fire proceeding from the funeral pyre made of firewood placed in an open space in the back-yard where the tree-spurge grows."³⁵ "The funeral pile made of black fire-wood in the back-yard."³⁶ "Gone as the lord of the burning ground."³⁷

Burial :

Side by side with cremation the older custom of burial continued. Cremation is mentioned, in the passages above cited, only in connection with kings and

³³ ஏற்புங்க குறவன் குறைய கண்ண
கரிபும் விருத வீம வெள்ளங்குல.

Pur. 231, II, 1-2.

³⁴ பொத்த வளராய்ட் போற்காம்புக் கடமை
சட்டுக் குவியெனச் செத்தோர்ப் பயிருக்
கண்ணியம் பற்றதலை யொருகினை யண்ண
பொன்னெரி காப்ப விடம்பு மாய்ந்தது.

Pur. 240, II, 7-10.

³⁵ கண்ணி போகிய களரியம் பற்றதலை
வெண்ணினடப் பொத்திய விளைவிற் கீழாக
ஒந்தங்குற் பண்ணிப் பாயல் சேர்த்தி.

Pur. 245, II, 3-5.

³⁶ பெருங்காட்டுப் பண்ணிய கருங்கோட்ட மூம்.

Pur. 246, I, 11.

³⁷ கடுபினங்க
காடுபதி மாகப் போக.

Pur. II, 963, 4-5.

nobles. The ordinary poor were buried in the ground and the higher classes in burial urns.^{**} Apparently it was a matter of choice whether kings were to be buried or burnt; for the poet Aiyūr Muḍavanūr asks a potter, after the death of Killivalavan who died at Kulamurgam, "If you desire to make a broad-mouthed urn for burying him, how will it be possible for you to use the circle round the wide earth (horizon?) as your wheel and the great mountain (mēru) as the clay."^{***} The references to cremation in Puram are really very few, but the commentator makes the reader imagine that they are very many by invariably explaining the words īmām and kāḍu as śuḍukāḍu, the burning ground. Kāḍu is a place behind the house where the vegetation is allowed to run wild, and is either śuḍukāḍu or idukāḍu, the burning ground or the grave-yard. As cremation is in modern times practically universal, wherever kāḍu is mentioned it is interpreted by the commentator as the burning ground. This is clearly wrong as the context shows. Thus in "the broad thorny backyard (kāḍu), whose soil is brackish and where the tree-spurge

^{**} விவச்சமல ரகங்பெறுமி எஃகத் தாழி
உகால் திரை வளர்சூர்.

Pur. 256, II. 5-6.

'Make the burial urn (ஈக்தாழி) broad, (to be buried) in the earth which stretches wide.'

^{***} அங்கோத் தவிக்குங் சண்ணாங்க் குழி
கனிகாதல் செட்டினை மாலி சென்னையது-
மிருந்வக் திசிரியாப் பெருமலை
மண்ணு வகை நெரல்லாமை சினக்கே.

Pur. 228, II. 12-15.

grows,"⁴⁰ "the kāḍu where the red-cared eagle-cock and the Poguval sit without fear on the round side of the red round burial urn and the strong-mouthed crow and the hooting owl along with devils fly as they like,"⁴¹ "wild vegetation has spread; the tree-spurge has grown; even in the day time, with the hooting owl and the demonesses that resort to the cemetery-lamp, this dewy graveyard looks terrible", kāḍu is the graveyard.⁴²

Puram 359 contains the last remaining reference to the grave-yard, which it calls "the yard, whose surface has been rendered bleak by the vulture descending on its many pathways crossing each other, and wherefrom go away the cruel-mouthed owl which cries in different tones, and jackals which eat carrion, and where in front of the lamps burning on graves, many demonesses, whose teeth are stained with the flesh of corpses, grasp the bodies of the dead, eat the white flesh till they reek with the smell of rotting carrion and dance on the desolate-looking field."⁴³ In all these passages, it may again be pointed out that the commentators invariably explain kāḍu as śāṇukāḍu, crematorium,

⁴⁰ காட்டு பேர்கிய கன்றியம் பறக்கலை
முன்னுடை வியங்கட்ட துவே.

Pur. 225, II, 7-8.

⁴¹ செவிசெக் தழிக் குவிபுறத் திருக்த
செவிசெஞ் சேகதூம் பொகுவதூம் வெளுவத்
உம்புன் காக்கையுங் கையுங் கூடப்
போ யாய்மோடி பெட்டாங்கு கழங்குங்
காடி.

Pur. 238, II, 1-5.

whereas from the context it is plain that iđukădu, grave-yard is meant. This is because they do not realize that the old pre-Aryan way of disposal of the dead was by burial and that cremation was introduced by the followers of the fire-cult, when Aryan influence began to dominate the minds of the Tamils.

The after-funeral rites of this period do not seem to have been much influenced by Ārya ceremonies, though the passages dealing with them have been misinterpreted as such. Thus the widow, who was dear (to the dead one) made a small mound of the size of the foot-step of a female elephant and placed on grass a small ball of sweet rice⁴⁴ for the dead person. This has been

⁴² கனரி பார்து கண்ணி போகிப்

பகலுங் கலுங் கணக்கொடு பிறப்புவ
வீம விளக்கிற் பேசும் மகளிரூ
தஞ்சுவக் தண்ணியும் மஞ்சுபுடி முதுகாடு

Pur. 356. II. 1-4.

⁴³ பாறுபடப் பண்நாத் பண்மாறு மருங்கின்
வேறுபடு குரல் வெங்காய்க் கணக்கொடு
பிணக்கின் குதுங்கி நினங்கதிகழ் பஞ்ச
போம் மகளிர் பிணக்கலூடப் பற்றி
வின்னுங் நின்ற வெங்குவாங் மெய்யக்
கனரி மருங்கிற கால்பெயர்த் தாடி
வீம விளக்கின் வெகுவரப் பேருங்
காடு.

Pur. 359 II. 1-8.

⁴⁴ பிடியழி வண்ண சிறவழி மெழுகிற்
தண்ணமர் காதலி புஞ்சேல் கைந்த
வின்சிறு பிண்டம்.

Pur. 234. II. 2-4.

interpreted as an Aryan rite, the grass being explained as darbha grass. This cannot be; for in the Aryan rite, the heir, and not the widow, offers *pinda*. Another passage shows that this was an old Tamil rite. It says, "After leaning the hearse (against a tree or a wall), liquor and cooked rice were placed on grass, and in accordance with the commands of the pulaiya, the desired food on the grass was eaten and (the dead person) entered fire."⁴⁵ In another ode it is said that the wife of the deceased person whose eyes were unceasingly weeping prepared a bit of ground as small as a small winnowing fan and washed it with cow-dung mixed with her tears for offering him food thereon.⁴⁶ In another passage, it is said that "in the broad backyard filled with tree-spurge and thorny shrubs, the hearse was placed and (she) received rice boiled without salt from a low caste person, and without looking back (placed) it on the ground."⁴⁷ From this it is clear that though the

⁴⁵ வென்னி விதந்த பின்னாற் கண்ணடி
புள்ளைத் திட்ட சில்லவிழ் வல்ல
புலைப் பேரவப் புள்ளை வழக்கான
டழுப் பாய்ப் புக்க.

Pur. 360 ll. 17-20.

⁴⁶ எனித் தீற்ற தீக்க
யழுத வாளுக் கண்ணான்
மெழுகு மாப்பின் ஏழுத்தி ராசே.

Pur. 249, 12-14.

⁴⁷ என்னி ஒவ்வுத் துண்ணியம் புறக்கட்டு
வென்னில் போகிய வியலு காக்க
தூப்பிவரது விப்புழுக்கல்
ஈக்கொண்டு பிறக்கு ரோக்க
திழிப்பிறப்பினே வீயப்பெற்ற
சிலங்கல் ஞா விளக்குபலி.

Pur. 363, ll. 10-14.

Aryan custom of cremating the dead was adopted in a few cases, the ordinary funeral ceremonies were the old Tamil ones, though the commentators would make it out to be otherwise.

A curious custom:

One curious custom is described in the ode to Adiyamān Nedumān Añji, composed by the famous poetess Auvalyār. "When an ignoble king runs away from the battle-field and dies (a natural death) from disease, men of the highest caste, who are learned in the Vedas and desire Dharma, embrace his corpse and, forgetting their love (to the dead man), and in order to remove the evil of the wrong action (in running away from the enemy's sword), spread the green grass full of power, place (the corpse on it), and say, 'mayst thou go the way by which went the brave warriors who wore the long bracelet of bravery and fell in the battle-field, clinging to their heroism,' and cut it with the sword and buried it."⁴⁴ This same custom is mentioned in the Maṇimēgalai, where Vāsandavai, the grey-haired preceptor of the king, the princesses and the ladies belonging to the palace, tells the Śōla queen, "It is such a disgraceful thing, that my tongue cannot utter it, for a scion of this (Śōla dynasty) to die of old age and to be placed on the darbha, cut with a sword and told to

⁴⁴ ஒடங்க மரிடுவ தீழங்க மன்றம்
கோப்பால் விளிக்க யாக்காத தத்திடுக
ஏதன் மறந்தவர் திதமலுக் கதுமா
கதம்புறி பகம்புத் பாப்பைர் இடப்பி
மறக்காத நாக எல்லமர் வீழ்ச்ச
கீங்காதன் மறந்த செல்வழிக் கொல்களை
யாக்கோழி தட்காலம். Pur. 93. II. 4.11.

go the way of kings who have performed the royal duty of protecting their subjects, and, conquering the territory of longstanding enemies, died in the battle-field.”⁴² It may be pointed out that Auvaiyār calls this a general custom and she may have seen it practised; whereas Śāttanār, the author of Maṇimēgalai, makes it a peculiar custom of the Śōla family and probably refers to it from hearsay. Moreover Auvaiyār follows the old practice of Tamil authors and avoids the Sanskrit word darbha and uses the Tamil word pul, probably because any grass was used for the purpose. But Śāttanār uses taruppai; this shows that he belongs to a later age than Auvaiyār, a conclusion which is amply borne out otherwise, for Maṇimēgalai belongs to the age when Aryan culture, and Brāhmaṇa, Baudha, and Jaina literary traditions had begun to dominate life in Tamil India. I have not been able to determine whether the custom of cutting up the corpses of kings who have not fallen in battle and endowing them with sham heroism was a northern custom or a Tamil custom at which Brāhmaṇas were invited to preside when they had established their holiness in Southern India. It is worth while searching the Epics, the Īt̄uranas and the Dharma Sūtras, to find out whether there is any reference to such a practice in them.

“ செற்றல் செண்டி குடிபுறங் காத்து
 செற்றத் தெவ்வார் சொந்தம் தாக்கியுச்
 தகுப்புபயிற் கிடத்தி வளரிற் போழ்த்து
 செகுப்புகண் மன்னர் செவ்வயில் செவ்வெண
 முத்து விளிதலிக் குடிப்புறங் சொந்து
 காப்புக்கட பெயராது எத்துத்தா அடைத்தே.

Astronomy and Astrology:

Besides the Vedic sacrifices, and Epic and Puranic legends, all so poorly represented in Puram and Agam, other knowledge slowly spread from North India to South India, such as astronomical notions and astrological superstitions. In this connection it must be remembered that early in the Vedic age the path of the moon in the sky had been associated with 27 or 28 nakshatras, which meant at first, certain constellations which helped the early astronomers to mark the position of the sun and the moon in the sky, and later, arcs of the ecliptic; they had learnt to correlate the solar and the lunar years and to correct their calendar by adding two extra lunar months once in every yuga of five years. But there is absolutely no trace of planetary astrology in the Vedas or the subsidiary Vedic literature, nor the idea of the planets, as having erratic motions of their own, different from the ordered march of the stars in the sky. After the Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) established their rule in Gāndhāra and the valley of the Sindhu, Indian astronomy came to be subjugated by the Greek mixture of astronomical science and astrological pseudoscience. The sun and the moon were degraded to the position of planetary deities influencing the course of human lives and acting as rulers of particular days and hours. To the sun and the moon were added Jupiter and Venus and Mars and the less easily visible Mercury and Saturn and the concept of the astrological seven planets and seven days of the week ruled by them was reached. The path of these so-called planets was divided into twelve parts, all for the purpose of predicting the fortunes of man. These notions filtered down from Greece to India between

200 B.C., and 400 A.D. Old Indian astronomy and Yavana astrology became blended together and became the pseudo-scientific later jyotiṣa in which astrology could scarcely be distinguished from astronomy, different from the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, which was purely scientific. Two more members were added to the miscellaneous company of 'planets,' viz., rāhu and ketu. These new ideas seem to have reached South India in about the V century A.D., for in the latest poems of Puram and Agam, and, that rather rarely, occur astrological allusions. Kūdalar Kūjār describes elaborately the point in the sky where he saw a shooting-star, in Puram ode 229. It is to be noted that the author follows the early custom of not borrowing from Sanskrit even technical terms. Thus anurādha from its real or supposed resemblance to a palm is called mudappanaiyam; punarvasu, for a similar reason, kaṭaikkūjam. It is not impossible that the Tamils gave names to these and some other constellations without help from foreign cultures. But the name of aṇarkkuttam for the Pleiades is the translation of 'the star of fire,' agniṇakṣatra, one of its special Sanskrit names⁵⁰; and āḍu is the translation of mesa which is itself the translation of Greek aries. Notwithstanding this adhesion to ancient Tamil practice, the poem is sufficiently late to use foreign words (for metric purposes), such as pūsi, east and ūgi, west, borrowed from Prakrit. Paṅguni has been borrowed and not translated. In this ode the author says that he sa w a

⁵⁰ It is also called ṣaḍśāś, 'the six fold star', in Agam 141 l. 8 and ḡāv, 'fire,' in Malaipadikadām 1. 100. Rohini is called ṣaḍāḍu, 'plate' or 'cart' in Agam, 136 l. 5.

meteor falling from a particular point in the sky and thought that it indicated the coming death of the chief Kēcōramān Yāniakkatōy Māndarēñjērāl Irumborai who must therefore have been a very late chief.

Mars is called the 'red star' in the following passage:—"When we saw the full moon in the zenith of the broad sky when the red star was twinkling like the light of a fishing boat on the middle of the ocean, the dancing woman decked with bangles, looking like the untamed peacock, and I hastened to worship (the moon) in the middle of the forest."⁵¹ Venus is the 'white star' and Saturn, the 'dark star'. "Whether the 'dark star' is dim, the comet appears, or Venus goes south."⁵² Apparently these were omens of evil. The explanation of eclipses as due to the serpent swallowing the moon is referred to in the phrase, 'like the moon who has escaped from the sharp teeth of the serpent which has

51 முத்தி வாயைக் குமித்தடர் போலச்
ஒன்றி விசைவங்கு மாச விசம்பி
ஷாச்சி சிஞ்ச அயவுதி கண்ட
கட்டி மஞ்சங்குமிற் சுரமுதல் சேர்த்த
சில்லை விதவியும் வராறும் வஸ்விஜார்த்த
சூரமுதனா.

Pur. 60, l. 6

52 அமங்கீன் பலாவிலூர் தாஷ் செங்க்ரஜூ
செங்கின் கருங்கிள் வெங்கி சுடாந்தாம்.

Pur. 117, ll. 1-2.

That the southing of Venus is a sign of impending disaster is also mentioned in Pattiappālai ll. 1-2. ஏங்கு வெங்கீன் க்கைதிரித்து செற்றெத்தூம், 'though the bright Venus changing the direction of its motion go south.'

surrounded it,"⁵³ and "the setting sun soon disappeared like the moon swallowed by the serpent"⁵⁴ and "the face became dim like the moon swallowed by the serpent."⁵⁵

Fewness of Aryan ideas:

The Aryan allusions in the Kurundogai and the Narginali are so few as to be negligible. One reason is that a larger number of the poems in these collections are older than those in the Agam and Puram and of the two latter, the Agam has more old poems than the Puram. Moreover the subject of love necessitates the use of old Tamil literary conventions more than that of war. Of the four anthologies, the Puram contains the largest number of late poems, those of the V century A.D. and a few of the VI century A.D. It was after Karikāl's time that kings loomed very large in the imagination of poets and their eulogies of kings were preserved with care. In the older ages, poems in praise of kings or petty chiefs lost their interest after the heroes died; it was not so in the case of love, it being a subject of eternal interest to man. This explains the fact that the love-poems that have come down to us from the early ages so largely outnumber the war-poems. The fewness of Aryan ideas in the anthologies which contain

⁵³ வீரவிய பால்தோ
கங்கையிற் தமிசு மதிலை.

Ag. 260, II, 16-17.

⁵⁴ சூரியை ஒழுநி
உறுதாக்கு மதில் கொடுவேன மக்ராம்.

Agam, 114, II, 4-5.

⁵⁵ அரங்கு மதில் தூத்துவெளி ஏப்பு.

Agam, 313 I, 7

the most ancient Tamil poems now available shows how little Aryan ideas had been absorbed by the Tamils before the VI century A. D. That these were really very few can be realized when we remember that these poems refer to many hundreds of genuine old Tamil rites and practices, beliefs and superstitions, customs and conventions, the discussion of which would fill a large volume. This shows that the bulk of the people and the great majority of the poets of the period did not easily take to Aryan culture which belonged to the Brāhmaṇas and with which the latest kings of this period now and then coquetted. Some of these kings, though their private life was lived in accordance with the old Tamil customs, desired to be also affiliated with Aryan culture. They patronized yūgas and desired to be reckoned as descendants of the Ksattriya Rājas of Northern India. Obliging Brāhmaṇas furnished them with the necessary genealogies.

Of the anthologies, the Pugam was the first to be printed (it was published in 1834), along with its old commentary (the other three possessing none such); its introductory ode by Perundēvanār, being a late poem, describes Śiva quite in the style of Sanskrit poems; the next ode, the first of the anthology, is full of Aryan ideas, and several poems that immediately succeed it are late poems; most people stop with reading these, and do not study the other three anthologies and the Poruladi-gāram of Tolkāppiyam and straightway rush to the wrong conclusion that Tamil poetry began only after Sanskrit poetry reached Southern India, and others go one better and believe that the Tamil muse was the daughter of the Sanskrit muse.

CHAPTER XXV

ŚERA KINGS.

Perūñjeral Adan :

This monarch was defeated by Karikāl in the battle of Vennil and committed suicide on the battle-field to wipe out the disgrace. He must therefore have lived before 400 A. D., i.e. before Karikāl extended his empire beyond the traditional boundaries of the Śēlanādu. This Adan is referred in various occasional odes; but no long poems were composed about him, such as those of the Ten Songs, and the Ten fold Ten celebrating the greatness of the greater monarchs and nobles of the V and VI centuries. The only incident of his life that is known is that above referred to, forming the subject of the following fine elegy. "The paste is no longer smeared on the drum (i.e. the drum is no longer being beaten); the yūl has forgotten the tune; the broad (milk) pot is upside down and butter is being churned no more; the (royal) kindred are no longer drinking the liquor round which bees swarm; the ploughmen are no more hearing the sound produced by their labours; festivities have deserted the broad streets of the villages; as on the great day of the New moon, the two flames (i.e. the Sun and the Moon) being in conjunction, one vanishes in the dim evening behind the hill, the heroic king [Śeral Adan], being ashamed of the wound on his back inflicted by his rival monarch, killed himself with his sword. So in future the sun will not move for us in the day-time as easily

as he did in the past".: From the colophon we learn that the king who committed suicide was Śrāmāṇa Perūñjēral Ādan.

This same event or rather its consequences are described in Agam. "The great ones, who heard the unpleasant news that Śēral Ādan committed suicide with his sword by the side of the field of death (battle-field), because he was ashamed of the wound which he got when he fought with Karikāl Vaṭavan in the plain of Veṇṇi, went along with him to the (heaven) world which is difficult to reach (i.e. committed harikari).² The ode is by Māmūlanār, a later poet, and this

¹ மண்முதே மறப்ப பண்யாந் மறப்ப
விருக்கட் குதிசி சம்பந்திமுத மறப்ப
சுரும்பார் தேநல் சுந்த மறப்ப
அழவ ஓராகத மறப்ப விழவு
மாதை ஊங்கட் சிறூர் மறப்ப
அவைத் தலைவாக்த பெருள ஊமயத்
திருக்கடர் தம்மு ஒன்றுசி யொருக்கடர்
புன்னண் மாஸை மலைமகநாச் தாங்குத்
தங்போல் வேங்கதன் முங்புகுறித் தெறிக்க
புறப்புக் குணி மறத்தகை மன்னன்
வாள்வடக் கிருந்தன வீங்கு
ஏங்போத் எழியல ஞாவித்தப் பகலே.

Pug. 65.

² கரிகால் ஊவகெனுடி உவண்ணப் பறக்கலைப்
பொருத்துண் ஞானிய சேர வாத
எழிளன் மருங்கின் வாள்வடக் கிருந்தென
வின்னு வின்றுகூர செட்ட சங்கே
ரகும்பெற லுலகத் தலைஞுடி செல்லுயர்.

Agam, 55, II. 10-14.

explains his speaking of the harikari as the attempt to reach Virasvarga, an Aryan idea. This poem calls the monarch Śēral Ādan and the colophon to Puram 65 above quoted, distinguishes him from other Śēral Ādans by prefixing the epithet 'Perum.' Another reading makes him 'Perundōl Ādan.' Ādan of the big shoulders'.³

Udiyan of the Big Feed:

The first great Śēra monarch, about whom we have some information is Udiyañjeral Ādan of the Big Feed. This epithet has been so much misunderstood from early times and has given rise to such absurd legends that the one Puram ode in which a contemporary poet, Mudināgarāiyar of Murisjiyūr, has eulogized him deserves to be fully quoted and fully discussed. It runs thus:—"The earth is packed full of molecules, the sky is supported by the earth, the air embraces the sky, the fire encounters the air, and the water is hostile to the fire. Like, in nature, to the five elements, you bear with your enemies; you possess extensive wisdom, you have strength, you have might (to destroy) and mercy (to protect); the sun who is born from your ocean, moves on and bathes in the western sea which is topped by white waves; you are the lord of a fair land in which there are (many) places which yield a large revenue, Lord of a country which has (but) the sky as its boundary, you are a great (monarch). The twice fifty (Kauravas), who were enraged with the five (Pāṇḍavas), possessors of horses with flowing manes, seized their lands and wore the golden Tumbai garland (i.e. proceeded to fight with

³ Puranānūru, 2nd Ed. p. 135.

them), having fallen on the field of battle, you distributed a large quantity of cooked rice without limit. Even if (fresh) milk should taste sour, the sun turn dark, and the four Vedas turn from the path (of righteousness), [i.e. even if the essential nature of things should change], along with your loyal kindred, may you, without fear, live your full length of years, like the Podiya hill and the gold-peaked Himalayas on whose side the small-headed stag and the large-eyed hind sleep beneath the light of the triple-fire at which Brähmapas offer their evening libations.'⁴

⁴ மண்டிலைக்த நிலதூங்
கிலானக்திய விசம்பும்
விசம்புகதவரு விளியும்
வளித்தலையுப் பியுங்
நிமுரனிய கீரும் என்னுங்
கைம்பெரும் பூதத் தியற்கை போவட
போற்குரச் பொறத்தலாகு குழ்ச்சிய தங்கும்
வலியுங் தெற்று மளியுப் புண்டயேங்
கிஞ்கடற் பிறக்த குருமித பெயர்த்துங்கன்
கெங்கடலைப் புணரிக் குடகடற் குளிக்கும்
யானார் காவப்பி என்னுட்டுப் பொருங்
கான உரம்பனை நியோ பெரும்
வலங்குளைப் புரவி யைவரொடு சிங்கி
கிலாந்தலைக் கெங்கட பொலம்புக் தங்கப
மீங்காம் பதிங்கமரும் பொருதுகளத் தொழியப்
பெருக்கு சோற்கு மிகுபதம் வகையாது சொற்கதோய்
பாதுல் புளிப்பியூங் பகலிகுளியூங்
ஏதுவ்வேத கெறிதிரியூங்
திரியாக் கந்தமொடு முழுதுசேண் விளக்கி
கடுக்கின்ற கிலாவோ அத்கை பகிளத்துங்

Lines 15 and 16 of this ode are rather ambiguous. They say, "the twice-fifty having fallen (ōjiya) on the battle-field, you distributed without limit a large quantity of cooked rice." The participle 'having fallen' is capable of many meanings, (1) for the reason that they fell, (2) when they fell, being two important ones. Of these the second is susceptible of misinterpretation, because it may mean 'at the moment they fell' or (long, we do not know, how long) after they fell. The former is the proper interpretation, but all Tamil scholars from early times have taken it to mean "at the time they fell," thus necessitating the inference that Udiyanjēral was present at the battle. So the commentator of the Puram anthology has, as so many commentators of Tamil poems have done, imported into his paraphrase things that are not found in the text but have been acquired by his wide reading and by his ratiocination, and said that the Sēra king fed 'both the (contending) armies unstintingly,'² [probably during the whole course of the war.] The commentator in importing this new idea, probably relied on that unlimited repertory of myths regarding old kings—the romance called Śilappadigaram. In this poem Udiyanjēral is called "the Sēran, the Pēraiyan, the Malaiyan, who distributed unhesitatingly a large quantity of food in the fight (tōril) between the

தெற்றை கவுவிப் பெருங்கண் மாப்பினை
யந்தி யந்தன ரகுங்கட னிதக்கு
முந்தி விளக்கிற் தஞ்சம்
பொற்றோட் டமயமும் பொதியமும் போக்கே.

Pur. 2.

² உண்ணய இருபடைக்கும் வண்ணவாது அழக்கிடேஷ்

five and the hundred."³ The commentator made the implication in these lines explicit by saying that Udiyan fed both armies, without realizing the absurdity of the idea that a Rāja of the Southernmost corner of India carried rice and condiments to Kuruksetra for the purpose of feeding of the wheat-eating followers of Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭhīra!

As I have said, the proper meaning of the passage is that Udiyan celebrated the death of the Kauravas by distributing food to people. This celebration was probably of the nature of a Śrāddha or perhaps the finale of a dramatic representation of the Bhāratī battle. The Sēra country has been famous from ancient times for the peculiar kind of drama, called Kathakalī—a dumb show performance, the actors dressed in character, of (amongst other things) incidents from the Mahābhāratā, accompanied by songs. It may well be that the Big Feed occurred at the end of such Kathakalī. Such funeral oblations to heroes who died long, long previously, was very common in the Tamil country. They were called pattiavar kūpi, feeding as a mark of respect for the dead. Dramatic representation of the valiant deeds of ancient heroes, followed by a big feed was, and continues to be, a common event in the Tamil country. It is now called Kamba Sērvai or Kambakkūtu or Kalaikkūtu, at the end of which Kambāñjeymākkal, the farm-labourers who take part in the merry-making, are fed by the largest owner of the fertile fields of the village.

³ தொரை சிவாம்பதிக்கும் குடங்கநாயகர்
போற்றி பெருஞ்சோது போற்றுத் தானால்தூ
சேர்த் தொகையை மனையன்.

Other poems on the Big Feed:

But we need not depend entirely on conjecture to conclude that Peruñjeral Ādan's renowned Big Feed was a memorial feeding or one that was the final incident of a village festival, for two passages in the Agam anthology also refer to that fact, and in unmistakable terms. The first is from an ode by a Sera prince, called Śeramān who died at Kōṭṭumbalam, which contains the simile, "like the kitchen of Udiyan who ungrudgingly accepted the duty of the gift (of food) in the village of Kulumūr, where cows abound."⁴ This fixes the place where the famous feeding took place as Kulumūr (probably identical with a place of the same name in the Coimbatore district) and not Kurukṣetra. The other passage speaks of "the day of the distribution of a large quantity of cooked rice by Udiyañjēral, who (thus) honoured the elders who had died and earned undying fame, when a crowd of large-teethed goblins swarmed round."⁵ This poem definitely informs us that the Big Feed did not take place during the battle, but on a very much later occasion, when some kind of celebration of the memory of the battle took place. And what kind of celebration could it have been other than a

* ஸ்வர்ஜ பரப்பிற் குழலு ராக்கட
தொட்டக்கட இன்ற தேடா செஞ்சி
ஓயிய கட்டில் போல.

Agam. 168, ll. 5-7.

⁵ தநக்க மூத்திய தொய்யா ஸ்வினச
முதியர்ப் பேணிய ஏதியஞ் சேவல்
பெருஞ்சோற தொடுத்த ஞான்சை மிருங்பல்
உளிச் சுற்றுக் குப்பியிருக் காங்கு.

Agam. 233, ll. 7-10.

dramatic performance, at the close of which the actors and the audience were fed on a large scale, at the place called *Kulumūr*?

This poem is by Māmulanār, one of the latest of the poets whose poems have been included in the early anthologies. Hence Udiyañjēral's date cannot be very early.

This Udiyañjēral seems to have been a great warrior. For Nappinai has the simile, "like the noise of the lily-flute (or the tune called 'the lily' played on the flute) of the musicians on the noisy battle-field where Udiyan fought fiercely."⁶ Agam has the simile, 'like the bards who sought bounty by singing the praises of Udiyañjēral who enlarged his dominions.'⁷ Hence this Udiyan was a warrior and a generous patron of letters and scarcely likely to have been butler-in-chief to the contending armies on the field of Kuruksetra.

Time of the Big Feed:

Otherwise, too, it is the height of nonsense to ascribe this Pupam ode, its author and its hero to any date earlier than the V century A. D. The first six lines of the ode constitute a pedantic enumeration of the five great elements' (aimberumbūdam) i.e., the five

⁶ உதியன் மண்டிய வெளிதலை குட்பி
ஏற்றுமென் பெருங்காத் தியவ குத
மாற்பலக குழலன்.

Nag. 113, II, 3-11.

⁷ காடுகள் காந்திய ஏதியன் சூரத்
பாந்த சென்ற பரிசிலை சூல.

Agam. 65, II, 3-6.

This is also by Māmulanār.

classes of permanent possibilities of sensation into which the Sāṅkhya philosophy analysed the objective world. Such an allusion could have been made only after Āryan ideas had thoroughly saturated the mind of the Tamils. So also the other allusion to the golden-peaked Himalayas, which occurs only in later poems. We may take it that Udiyan lived after Perūñjērāl Ādan, for the one Puram ode on the latter by a contemporary poet is, judging from internal evidence, anterior to the one on Udiyan, also by a contemporary poet.

The Ten fold Ten:

We can derive information about the kings who succeeded this Udiyan from the Padippuppattu or Tenfold Ten. The Paippuppattu is an anthology of ten poems, each poem being made up of ten odes of varying length but containing on an average about 20 lines each. This is the first of the anthologies of odes, not occasional, but of groups of ten poems each, each group composed with the set purpose of elaborately eulogizing one particular monarch or chief. Of these the first and the last have been lost. Each of these is about a Sera king or chief, and is furnished with an epilogue (padigam) found not in the manuscript copies of the text alone, but only in the copies which contain also the commentaries; these padigams furnish historical or legendary notes about the heroes of the poems containing matter mostly not found in the text. As usual, modern writers have confused the text of the poems with the epilogues and speak of the whole as Padippuppattu and attributed equal evidential value to the text and the epilogue and also the commentary.

The poets of the Tenfold Ten were Brāhmaṇas of the V or VI century A. D. Hence the poems seem

with references to Aryan ideas and Āgama practices and therefore must have been composed after the Āgama temple worship had spread in the land. Thus the opening lines of ode 14 of the second Ten eulogize the king as possessing "greatness," unmeasurable like the four (elements), earth, water, air and sky and splendour equal to the effulgence of the (following) five, viz., the stars, the planets, the moon, the sun and the intense fire, when they are gathered together in one place."⁸ In this passage, besides the differentiation between the stars and the planets, an idea taken over from Greek astronomy, there is probably an allusion to the later Indian concept of the celestial bodies being all concentrated in one quarter at the beginning of a Kalpa.

The first line of ode 21 mentions as five aids to the right conduct of kings, "grammar, artha sāstra, astrology, the gruti, and the pure reason."⁹ This indicates that the Śēra kings had been sufficiently Aryanized to break from their age-long moorings, but conservatism still reigned in the region of language, for the "aids to conduct" are called by Tamil names, ingenious translations of the Sanskrit ones, the words 'nāttam' and 'kēlyi,' being specially noticeable. The old conventions are slipping from the minds of monarchs and the precepts of the Brāhmaṇas are gaining a strong grip.

" சிவரீசு வாரிவிசும் பெந்த என்றி
ஏன்பூரி வைபே
ஏந்தோ தின்களை குறித்த சினாவழ
வைக்காருங்கு புணர்த் தினாக்கத் தினாவ.
Padig. 14, II, 1-4.

" பெந்தவையும் ஏட்டுக் கொல்லி
பெஞ்சுமென்ற காற்கடு
Padig. 21, II, 1-2.

showing that the age is one of transition. That Brāhmaṇas became the keepers of the royal conscience is proved by another passage where the king is praised as "following the ways of the virtuous Brāhmaṇas whose duties are six, viz., learning, offering sacrifices, assisting others to do these, taking and making gifts."¹⁰ Another reference to the new ways that were spreading in the land is an allusion to a king giving gifts of jewels to temples¹¹ and to the destruction of forests and the building of temples in the sites.¹² In these temples the Āgama form of worship was followed. Thus, "The well-cast bell was sounded so as to emit a clear, loud note. Men who were fasting bathed in the cool bathing-ghat. They worshipped the fair feet of the Lord Viṣṇu who wears the garland of clusters of sweet-smelling holy basil, and (wields) the discus which dazzles the eyes, and on whose broad breast is seated Lakṣmī who is adorned by a garland (of flowers) round which bees are humming."¹³

¹⁰ தத்து வேல் வைவயிராக செய்த
நீது வேற்றவேன் குறபுரிக் கொழுகு
மரம்புரி யாத்தோர் குழிமசுபிக் கொழுகு.

Padig. 24, II, 6-8.

¹¹ புரைவழித் துரைவழித் தெரிய என்கி.

Ib. 15, I, 37.

¹² காட்டு கட்டுக் கோர.

Ib. 13, I, 20.

¹³ தத்துவர் வடிமணி யெறியுக்கு எல்லை
வுங்குப் பைஞ்சலிலும் பளித்துறை மண்ணி
யாங்குத பொலிதார்த் திருக்குப் பலவத்துக்
கண்பொரு திலிரிக் கங்குரத் தழுஷ
யலங்கற் தெல்லான் சேஷ்ட பாய்.

Padig. 31, II, 5-9.

But yet the old Tamil customs had not been ousted by the new Aryan ones. For there are four references to the old Tunangai dance by kings on the battle field, of which the following is a specimen. "Raising high the strong shoulders and dancing the Tunangai (beating the sides of the body with bent arms during dancing) on the battle-field filled with corpses."¹⁶ The other ancient kuravai dance is also mentioned as taking place in Pugār.¹⁷ The ancient Tamil dance of victory on the battle-field is also described. "The powerful drum was beaten; the sword was raised aloft by the bejewelled king, who wore the ulīñai creeper made of gold, and danced on the battle field."¹⁸

Another case of the persistence of Tamil ways is the continuance of the practice of burial, even of royal corpses. "The burial-ground where the burial urns in which kings were buried were seen in the assembly place under the vanni (Suma) tree".¹⁹ The commentator

¹⁶ தெங்கோடு சூரிய வோசிப்
தீவும்பிரகார கழுவத்துத் தூண்டிலை மாறு.
Ib. 45, II, 11-12.

Other references are found in 13, I, 5, 53, I, 14, 57, I, 4, and 77, I, 4.

¹⁷ குருவை மயஞ்சும் புகார்.
Ib. 73.

¹⁸ வலம்புத் தூரசு துகவப்ப வானுமாத்
திவங்கும் புணன் பொலங்கொடி ஏழினஞ்சுயன்
.....போர்சனாத் தாடுக் கேட்வே.

Ib. 56, II, 4-5 and 8.

¹⁹ மன்னர் மகறத்த தாழி
வள்ளி மன்றத் து விளங்கிய காட்டு.

Padi, 44, II, 22-23.

explains that under this tree the mourners sat as in a mangam (assembly). Even the old Tamil gods are holding their own against the new Aryan deities. Thus the god of the mighty war-drum is lauded but along with mantras.²⁰ The mantras were of course not genuine but imitation ones invented for the benefit of the newly Aryanized kings. The goddess of victory still continued to reside in the Vāgai tree.²¹

Hence it is plain that though the Aryan intrusions are more intimate than in the previous ages, the Tamil literary tradition was carried on in these poems. They are each assigned to the Tupais into which the Tinalis are divided in Tolkaṇpiyanār's grammar; all the old turns of expression, the distribution not only of food and drink to singers and dancing women, but presenting them with gold ornaments, horses, elephants and chariots abound in the Padippattu. The primary object of each group of ten odes is to sing of one great Sēra hero. The first ten is lost and it has been guessed that it must have sung of Udiyāñjēral. The second is about his son Nedūñjēral and the fifth about the latter's son, Kṛtuvan. The rest are about junior members of the family or more distant relations. The achievements of the two great Sēra monarchs will now be taken up for consideration.

M. Raghava Iyengar has in his Tamil book on Sēran Śenuguptivan selected the accounts of the exploits of the

²⁰ முத்து மத்திர
தலுக்கிரும் மாபிற் ஸ்டாட் பூஷ்டியர்.

Ib. 30 II. 33-34.

²¹ சடவித் வரை.

Ib. 66. I. 15

Séra kings celebrated in the eight poems so far discovered of the Tenfold Ten and narrated them briefly. But he has taken the references by contemporary poets, the later references in the *Silappadigāmm*, and the accounts in the Epilogues, which were composed centuries after the poems, and whose texts are in some cases hopelessly corrupt, as all having the same historical value, whereas the information about the Séra heroes of the poems given in the padigams can be accepted by us only if the poems themselves even remotely confirm it. Where such confirmation is not available it is difficult to decide whether the statements in the epilogues, can be accepted as true. In them improbably long periods are assigned to the reigns of some kings. For the matter of that, the poems themselves adopt an exaggerated style of adulation not found in the earlier anthologies. An example will be given in connection with the king dealt with in the section that immediately succeeds this. This exaggeration shows that the old realism is giving way and the methods of the artificial Kāvyas of Sanskrit are beginning to influence Tamil bards.

Imayavaramban Nedūñjēral Ādan :

From the padigam we learn that Nedūñjēral was the son of Udiyañjēral by Nallini, daughter of Veļiyan Vēñmān. This king's greatest achievement was his sailing to an island where was planted the Kadambu tree, the symbol of the sovereignty of a rival monarch. Such trees were called guardian-trees (Kāval maram), and each Tamil monarch or chief grew a special tree symbolic of his power and perhaps, like a totem, mystically connected with his might. The felling of the tree was something like capturing the chief's flag. It

has been surmised that this Kadambu tree was identical with the Kadamba tree after which the Kadamba Kings of Banavāse got their dynastic name. This identification is not improbable, because the Kadamba kings rose to eminence in the latter half of the V century A. D. when Nedūñjēral must have flourished. The praise of this achievement is the chief subject of Ode 11, the first of the second Ten, and is referred to also in the 12th, 17th and 20th odes. He carried the cut trunk in his ship and made a war-drum out of it, for such was the use to which all kings put the trunks of the 'guardian-trees' of their foes. That Nedūñjēral Ādan did so is said in a simile in an Agam ode by Māmūlanār, which says that a certain noise was like "the roar of the well-tuned drum made from the Kadambu tree, cut, after sailing along the broad sea, by Seral Ādan who possessed a large army."²²

Nedūñjēral and vedic sacrifices :

These poems of the Padippuppattu mostly contain general eulogies of kings and princes, but a few more facts can be gleaned from them about our hero. Thus he cleared forests and built temples and made many offerings to temples.²³ Hence we may infer that Brāhmaṇas gained a very firm foothold in Tamil courts in the reign of this King. Perhaps on account of this, a legend arose in later times that Kaudamanār, the enologist of Nedūñjēral's brother, a Kuttuvan who drove (?) many elephants, performed ten yāgams with

²² சால்பெருக் தானைச் சேர வாதன்
மால்கட சோட்டுக் கடம்பறத் தியற்றிய
பண்ணவை முருகின் கண்ணாலிர்க் கண்ண.

Agam 347, II. 3-5.

²³ Vide p. 497 supra.

the help of this prince and was translated to Svarga along with his wife when he was performing the tenth.²⁴

Nedūñjēral's military exploits :

Ode 11 also says, we "have seen with gladness your wealth, praised by many, carried on the bedecked back of the excellent elephant on whose breast there were garlands, (whose forehead was adorned by) a face-plate and whose tusk was strong and long. You quelled the valour of those who called themselves monarchs of the land between Comorin on the south and the famous Himalayas where the Āryas abound and the yak sleeps on the hills covered thick with the Oleander and dreams of the broad mountain streams and the narandam (lemon-grass ?)".²⁵ It is not easy to discover the grain of fact within this straw-heap of flattering verbrage. Possibly Nedūñjēral,

²⁴ The earliest reference to this miracle is found, as usual, in that storehouse of legends, the Silappadi-gāram, xxviii, II, 137-139.

²⁵ மாச்சுமலி கூபத்தை சோகந்வோதி விளக்கும் அவனுயர் முறப்பிற் பழிதீர் யானைப் பொன்னன்றி யெருத்த மேல்கொண்டு பொலித்ததன் மலர்புகற் செல்ல மிரிதுகன் டகுபே கவிர்த்தத சிவம்பிற் தஞ்சக் கூயி பாக்கிவைக் கருவியொடு கர்த்தக் கணவ மாரியர் துவண்டிய பேரினை மியை தென்னக் குமரியை டாயிவை மன்மீத் குறைச் சுற்றுபக் கட்டுத,

Padig. 11. ll. 17-25.

marched a few miles north of the Sera country (into the Kadamba territory or Keuknā and brought back some presents, and poets eager for reward, spoke of it as the expansion of his Empire throughout the whole of India. And they thence gave him the title of Imayavaramban 'he whose kingdom had the Himalayas as its boundary.'²²

Possibly as a result of this achievement Sera Adam assumed the title 'One to whose broad breast, where prosperity resided, belonged the seven crowns', implying that he deprived seven kings of their crowns and melted them and made a gold necklace out of them.²³ This title also was inherited by his son, who was called also 'the Sera on whose breast were seven crowns.'

In the contemporary eulogy, Kumattūr Kannanār merely says that his master "quelled the valour" (whatever it may mean) of northern kings upto the Himalayan region "where the Āryas abound." As another passage shows, the description of the Himalayas as the regions of the Āryas was a conventional phrase. "The rain protects and causes to flourish the (region of the) tall mountain of the Āryas where gold is found."²⁴

²² This title is applied also to Śenguttuvan, the hero of to the third canto of Silappadigāram, in xxvi. 1. 23 and xxx. 1. 161.

²³ செப்புத் தெந்திலப் பிரக்கென்ற சூலத்து.
Padig, 14, 1. 11, 16, 1. 17.

ஏழுமூடுத் தெந்திலப் பெரிதும் சேரல்.
Ib. 45, 1. 6.

ஏழு வூர்த்தைச் சீதை அதியார்
பொருள்புத் தெந்திலவர்.

Agam, 398, II, 18-19.

But Paranar, the eulogist of Nedunjerai's son, Kuttavan, magnifies the story. He says that this Seral Adan "charged the Aryas so as to make them howl, cut the bent bow on the ancient Northern mountain, and captured (lit., trussed up) the ferocious kings (of that region)."²⁹

Māmūlanār, a late poet who refers in his odes to numerous kings and chiefs who preceded him in time, summarizes Nedunjerai's exploits in these words. "Seral Adan of the powerful drum, sailed on the sea, cut the Kadambu, incised the bent bow on the Himalayas, so as to cause terror to those who lived before it, (and spread) on the plain of the fair city of Māndai the famous jewels, the idol made of gold, and (heaps of) diamonds respectfully given to him as tribute by his enemies."³⁰

இ திய சுவரத் தாக்கிப் பெரிகாக்
தொன்றமுதிர் வடவகை அணக்குவித் பொறித்து
வாஞ்செ வீரிதூப் பிஸித்தோன்.

Agam, 336, ll. 16-18.

Kumstūr Kannanār's "quelled the valour" of the northern kings has in one generation grown into "trussed them up".

30 வலம்பு முருகித் தெர் வாதன்
முக்கி சேஷ்டிக் கடம்பெரிக் கிமுத்து
முங்கேஸ் மருவ வணக்குவித் பொறித்து
வண்ணெ மாணக முத்துக் கொன்னுர்
பணிதினத் தாத் பாதிசை வணக்குவம்
பொக்கெய பானல் வழிசுமா?

Agam, 127, II. 3-4.

Nedunjerai's father was Vānavaramban, 'one who had the sky as his boundary' and the son became 'Imayavaramban' 'one who had the Himalayas as his boundary.'

Nedūñjēral myths:

We thus see that the wild, vague statement in *Padippattu* of the extension of Nedūñjēral's sway upto the Himalayas has crystallized into a definite fact that he carved his bow-emblem on the top of the mountain. In the V century when on account of the rapid spread of Aryan ideas in Tamil India, Tamil poets became familiar with the Sanskrit phrase 'from the Setu to the Himalayas' they began to refer to the Abode of Snow in their poems; and they invented legends about Tamil kings conquering the whole of India and each of them carving his emblem on the Himalayas—a more permanent sign of conquest than planting a flag. This feat was attributed first to Karikāl and then extended to others. Karikāl was the first Tamil king who extended Tamil sway beyond the borders of the Tamil land. As the geographical notions of the Tamil bards were of a nebulous kind, to them whatever was beyond the Tamil land belonged to the Gangetic—Himalayan region, as to the average Englishman whatever is not 'home' is 'abroad' and Paris is as much 'abroad' as Pekin. So when a Tamil king possessed real or mythical sway outside the Tamil Nādu, he carved his emblem on the top of the Himalayas. Thus Karikāl incised there his tiger, Nedūñjēral, his bow, and an unnamed Pāndiyan, his carp. Thus sings the *Silappadigaram*:—"The Pāndiyan, who wore the (pearl) garland (sat under) the white umbrella and ruled the earth, when the Sōlu and the Sēran who cut the tiger and the bow by the side of the carp incised on the head of the Himalayas and other kings of Jambudvipa obeyed his behests."³¹ The poets imagined that Imayam, as they

called the range, was a solitary hill, 'a big stone' ²² 'a tall mountain,' ²³ and not a series of folds of the crust of the earth, one above another in an increasing series of peaks, each overtopping the one below, till the highest reaches the thinner levels of the atmosphere, and stands there relentlessly mocking human efforts to reach it. This ignorance of the geography of the Himalayas on the part of the Tamil poets is responsible for their making Karikāl reach the top of the giant mountain range and even peer beyond on Tibet and the other Tamil Kings to emulate his example.

Māmūlanār records another myth that had gathered round the name of Nedunjēral. The wealth which he brought on the backs of elephants, according to the contemporary testimony of ode 11 has by Māmūlanār's time grown into a heap of beautiful jewels, an idol of gold and a hoard of diamonds. In the Padigam annexed to this second poem of Padigappattu, devoted to Nedunjēral Ādan, the snowball has gathered more matter and become greater in size. It says, "Nedunjēral carved his bow-emblem on the Himalayas whose streams are beautiful, wielded his sceptre which shone all throughout the Tamil land, surrounded by the roaring sea, with befitting fame subjugated the Āryas who belonged to celebrated families, captured the wicked

²¹ சூவரமுதிய விமா செற்றிய
சூவரமுதிய பலியும் வில்லு
ஈவலதேன் பொழுங் மன்ன
கோவி செப்பப் பாரா காண்ட
மாலை செவ்வகுலைப் பாந்தியை. Sil. xvii, 1-5.

²² பெருக்கல், Pur. 17 1. 1.

²³ ஓவைசூர், Ib 6 1. 1.

yavanas of barbarous speech, poured oil on their heads, tied their hands to their backs and took their priceless jewels and diamonds." ⁴⁴ Verily poetic imagination plays sad tricks with history.

The colophons to Pāram 62, 63 and 368 say that the three poems were sung about Sēramān Kudakkō Nedūñjēralādan and Sōl in Vēppahraḍikkai Peruvirapkilī, both of whom fell dead when fighting with each other. Apparently this Nedūñjēral Ādan is different from the hero of Padiruppattu, for he was but Kudakkō, ruler of the Kuda provinces. But it is doubtful whether the note in the colophon is at all reliable.

A digression on the fights of Tamil kings with Āryas :

Besides Sēral Ādan's fight with the Aryas (of Banavāse or Konkan), the later odes refer to a few more fights with Āryas, which may be taken up for discussion here. Two of them occur as similes in poems of the Marudam class. One compares the victory of the virali who appeared in a festival clad in a leaf-garment⁴⁵ over the friends of a husband who tried to save him from her wiles, to the fact that " at

* அமைக்க வருஷ வினாயகம் விற்பெற்ற
திரித்தடல் மேலித் தமிழகம் எனக்கத்
தன்சோ எரித்துத் தங்களை சிறப்பெறி
பேசினை மாபி ஞாயிர் வணக்கி
ஈனில் வங்கொல் யவனர்ப் பினித்து
ஒந்தெப் பெய்து மாபித் தொல்டு
யருவிலை சங்களை வழிமாரு சென்று.

Padig. 2nd Padigam, ll. 4-10.

⁴⁴ Vide p. 287 supra.

the famous town of Mullūr the Arya (soldiers) swarmed but ran away before the unparalleled lances-brigade of Malaiyan (a Sēran), who unsheathed his bright sword and (attacked them) with his large army.^{**6} Mullūr was the capital of Malayamān Tirumuqik Kāri. The titles Malayan and Malayamān show that he was a scion of the Sēra dynasty. It is said that "Kāri of the beautiful spear, who wore the (heroes') anklet (on his feet), lord of Mullūr, killed the strong bowman, Ori of lasting fame, and gave to the Sēras the fair vēl tree as well as the jack-tree, which are the produce of the fertile (region of) the Kolli (hills) where there is an idol of the eternal goddess praised by many"^{**7}. The Kolli region was ruled over by Ori before Kāri killed him. Kāri's killing of Ori was apparently an event which appealed much to the imagination of the ancients, for Kabilar, the eulogist of Kāri and other Sēras, says that the public appearance of a harlot with but a leaf garment on created an uproar, "as loud as that which rose from his enemies when Kāri entered the

^{**6} துஷ்வி துவண்டிய பெரிசை முச்சஞ்சுப்
பலகுடன் கழித்த தொங்காந் மலைவன
தெற்றுவேற் சோந்

Nag. 170. ll. 6-8.

தெங்காந்

முச்சஞ்சு மங்காந் சும்புருத்தகாநி
தெங்காந் செல்லைச் சிறத்த வல்லை
தெங்காந் தெங்காந் செல்லைச் சிறத்
தெங்காந் பலவின் பயங்கரமு தெங்காந்
தீவைப்புத் தடவு எங்கிய
உங் புது பாணை.

Agam. 209. ll. 11-17.

unrivalled broad streets, after killing Ori."³⁸ Kāri is called lord of Mullūr, as well as the land adjoining the Pennai (Southern Pennār)³⁹ and therefore the Āryas that fought with him must have been the Pallavas, who were trying to extend their dominions after recovering Kāñcī in the VI century A. D.

In the other simile a harlot says "may my bangles break like the army of the Āryas in the forest of Vallam where (stood) the close array of Kurumbu bowmen who rained a shower of arrows and (fought under) the Śōlas, the wielders of the victorious spear and the black buckler."⁴⁰ The Āryas referred to here must have also been Pallavas. Vallam, whose forest guarded Tanjore, is here mentioned for the first time. Very soon the two places were destined to become the capitals of the Muttaraiyar and later of the great Śōla dynasty when it was established in the middle of the IX century A. D.

³⁸ காரி கொன்ற மெருப்பகுதி தெள்ளிர்
ஏறி புச்ச ஓராச் சும்போத்
கல்வென் நன்றால்.

Nar. 320. 5-7.

³⁹ பெண்ணையும் படப்பை ஈடுகிடு கொடுவா.

Pur. 126. 1-23.

Mullūr is near Jīnji, on the southern limit of the ancient Aruva Nādu.

⁴⁰ காரி யம்பின் மகந்தேஷ்வர் சௌழி
எல்லான்டு குதும்பின் வல்வத்துப் புதியை
யாரியார் படையி ஞானத்தை யென்
(உள்ளே)

Agam. 336. l. 19-22.

A minor king of Madura was called Āryappādai Kadanda (or tanda) Nedūñjeliyan. This probably means 'Nedūñjeliyan who defeated the Ārya army.' But there is no mention anywhere of his fighting with an Ārya army, so it may have been an empty title. This king is mentioned in an epilogue to the II Canto of Silappadi-gāram as the one who unjustly ordered the execution of Kovalan, was hence cursed by Kangagi and died in consequence. But as the text of the romance does not mention his name, not much weight can be given to the statement in the epilogue. One short ode is assigned to him, which says "when (one's teacher is) in difficulties, it is good to help him, to give him wealth and, without being put out by his later condition, to (continue to) learn (from him). Even a mother's mind will turn to one of those who are born from the same womb on account of his excellence. Of those that are born in the same family, the king does not welcome the eldest but follows the path of the wisest of them. Of the four castes whose different qualities are well-known, if one of a lower caste is learned, a member of a higher caste will become his pupil."⁴¹ This is very poor

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41 ஏத்துமில் பதவிய முதலொருள் சொல்லத்தும்
 பிற்காறாலே முனியாது எத்ர என்றே
 பிறப்போ உண்ண அடக்கவிட தங்களுக்கு
 சிறப்பின் பாலான் ஒயுகளைச் சிரியு
 மொருகுழுப் பிறக்க பல்லோ குன்று
 மூடுதோன் வருக வென்னு தவரு
 எறியுடை யோனு நான்கு தெல்லும்
 ஓயற்றுக்கூட தெரிக்க வாற்பா ஜக்ஞுப்
 சிழ்பா வெளருவன் கஷபின்
 மேற்பா வெளருவனு மயன்கட் பழுமே

poetry and the only thing we can infer from it that the royal author must have lived after Aryan culture was firmly enthroned in the hearts of the kings and the people. The guess can be made that by men of the Brāhmaṇa caste learning from those of lower ones, the author perhaps refers to Brāhmaṇas learning Tamil poetry and grammar from Tamil scholars.

Another Pāndiyan, whose title Māraṇ Vajudi and not personal name is known, and who died at Kūdagāram, is said to have caused 'northern kings to fade.' This may be an empty boast, because no particular battle where he defeated them is mentioned. This king must have been a late one, because his eulogist is Marudan Hanaganār, author of Marudakkali in which Aryan ideas abound.

This subject has been discussed in so much detail because on the strength of these few passages, and a few more to be discussed in a later section, Krishna-swami Ayyengar has boldly constructed the theory that 'there was a series of Aryan invasions under the Mauryas and their successors the Andhras, as distinct from Aryan settlements.'

Kadalēṭṭiya vēl keļu Kuttuvan:

This 'Kuttuvan to whom belonged the spear with which he turned the sea back,' according to the Padigam at the end of the fifth Ten devoted to his praise, was the son of Nēduñjēral Ādan. But the line which mentions this Kuttuvan's mother's name is hopelessly corrupt. The passage says that he was "the son begotten by Nēduñjēral the king of the Kuḍavar whose

* 2 The Beginnings of South Indian history, p. 96.

victorious flag touched the sky and terrified the Northerners, on the Sōl in Maṇakkili].⁴²

As one male cannot very well be the wife of another male, we have to infer that the text must be corrupt; and so long as we cannot inspect the mss. from which the editor of the poem got this line, it is impossible even to guess what the proper reading was likely to have been. Moreover no one who has seen the bad state of preservation in which the decayed and poochi-eaten palm leaf mss. of old Tamil texts are, can venture to discuss how the corruption arose in this line. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar boldly attempted to cut the gordian knot by taking Maṇakkili as Nedūñjēral's sister's husband.⁴³ He assumed that descent of the right to the throne from uncle to nephew, now obtaining in the Malayalam country, existed in old days. The old Sera kings were Tamils, and Malayālī dynasties following the Marumakkattiyam (inheritance by nephews) law rose only after the X century A. D. Kutṭuvan's father, Nedūñjēral, got the throne because he was the son and not the nephew of his predecessor.

Kutṭuvan's exploits:

The achievements of Kutṭuvan were as few as those of his father, according to the testimony of Parśaṇar, his eulogist. As courteous post-laureates do, the father's achievements are by the poet attributed to the son. He is addressed as "Kutṭuvan of the gold garland,

⁴² வடை குட்டும் வாணிரூப செல்லெறக்
குடவித் தோன்ற வெட்டுத்தேர வாதற்கு
செய்யீர் மொல்லித்தி விழ்ற மான்.

Padig. Padigam on the 5th Ten, ll. 1-3.

⁴³ Tamil studies, p. 287.

whose armies destroyed the beauty of many lands, till the noise rose loud of the drums used in numerous battles with the monarchs of the country between Comorin on the South and the Himalays, the mountain that rises high as the northern boundary."⁴⁴ The title of the Sāraṇ 'who wore on his breast the (garland made from) seven crowns' was also transferred from father to son.⁴⁵

Another boast of this king was that which gave him the epithet which has become a part of his full name, that of beating back the sea by throwing a spear at it. This conquest of the sea is frequently referred to. Thus "your feet with which you rode on the white-maned, fast-running horse conquered the cold sea, whose waves are breaking and where spray is produced by the beating of the wind."⁴⁶ "Besides you there will be no more kings, nor were there any before you, whose army, like the white buckler of buffalo-hide, quelled the might of the

⁴⁴ சல்லோக்கு தெடிவூர்
வடத்திசை யெல்லை விழை மாசு
தெக்கைக் குமரியொ டாயிகட யசர்
மூர்க்கடப் பெருஞ்சமக் தலைய வார்ப்பெழு
சொல்பவ சாட்டுக்கட தொல்கலி ஏழித்த
பேரரு தானைப் பொலுத்தார்க் குட்டுய.

Padig. 43. II. 6-11.

⁴⁵ எழுமுட மாச்சி னெய்திய சேஷ்.

Ib. 45. I. 6.

⁴⁶ எதுளைக் குடும்பிக் குடைய வாதுளைக்
குடும்பரிப் புரவி பூர்க்கதின்
புதுக்கிரைப் பாரிக்கட உழுக்க தாரை.

Padig. 41. II. 25-27.

bows of enemies. No one else could throw the spear bright like a shining gem and conquer the cold sea, which does not diminish by clouds taking water from it and increase by rivers flowing into it, on which the waves roar, when it is beaten by the moving wind and the large full cloud shines."⁴⁷ The poet returns to the subject in the next ode and calls the king, "Kuttuvan, famous for victory, who threw the spear so as to agitate the sea which contains the chank shell fit for blowing, which is broad and whose waves are (constantly) breaking."⁴⁸ Once more the poet calls him "the Paradeva (sailor) on the cold sea, who established undying fame by going on the sea and fighting with it."⁴⁹

It is difficult to guess what this oft repeated eulogy means. Kuttuvan's spear did apparently succeed in doing what Canute's loudly-uttered order could not. Probably

தெவ்வர்

47 சிலைங்க யடக்கிய முரி வெண்டோ
வளைய பண்பித் ரூபைமன்ன
நினியா குள்ளேசின் முன்னு பிள்ளை
மணழகொளக் குறையாது புன்புக ஸ்ரையாது
விலக்குவளி கடவுச் துளக்கிறுக் கமஞ்சுல்
வயங்குமணி யிழைப்பின்வே எழிபு
முழங்குதிரைப் பணிக்கடன் மறந்திலேஞ்சு:

Ib. 46. II. 15-22.

48 கோடுகரல் பெனவக் கலங்க வேவிட்
இகடதிரைப் பரப்பிற் படிகட வோட்டிய
வெப்புகழ்ச் சூட்டுவன்.

Ib. 46. II. 11-13.

49 கெடவரும் பஸ்பும் சிலைடு சீர்புக்குக்
கடவெர உழங்த பளித்துறைப் பரதவ.

Ib. 48. II. 3-4.

the throwing of the spear was solemnly performed by him as a symbol of Kṛttivan's lordship of the sea. Parapar returns to the subject in an occasional ode. "Kṛttivan, not finding an enemy worthy to fight with, became angry, with martial might besieged the sea, and with his magnificent spear drove back the sea whose waves rise high."⁵⁰ In later times this same feat of driving back the sea by throwing his spear at it was also attributed to a Pāṇḍyan, who was hence called Vāṭimbalamba nirgapāṇḍyan, 'the Pāṇḍyan who stood while the sea washed the edges (of his feet).' (Vide p. 240 supra : also commentary on Puram 9 and the modern editor's note on line 10 of the above poem). The references show how a simple sea festival became magnified into this feat.

It is just possible that the Sēra country, having been brought under Aryan influence in the time of Nāduñjēral, he was fired with zeal by the story of Parusarāma's flinging a spear against the sea to make it retreat and the king emulated the example of that Brāhmaṇa warrior : and later on when the sthalapurāṇam of Vadura was evolved, the feat was extended to a Pāṇḍiya king and the story of Ukkira Pāṇḍyan obtaining a consecrated spear from the Śivan of Madura and by throwing it, drying up the sea which had presumed to wash the edges of his feet, was evolved, as narrated in Tiruvālavāyudaiyar's Tiruviṭaiyādī purāṇam, xxi. 6.

ஏராகுமான் பெருத்த விவக்குசினஞ் சிதந்து
ஒஞ்சலெப் புண் பாடி முக்கி முற்ற
வோக்குதிரைப் பெண்ண கூட கூட்டுவ
கீழா ஜோகிங்கம்.

Several modern-day Tamil scholars say that Vadimba-lamba nīra Pāndiyan is referred to in Puram; that is wrong, for he is merely mentioned in V. Swamināda Iyer's foot-note on the phrase 'the king who celebrated the sea-festival,' munnir vilavi nediyōn, in l. 10 of Puram 9.

Kuṭṭuvan and Mögūr :

The one genuine martial exploit of Kuṭṭuvan is described in the following terms :—He declared Arurai, victor in battles who wore the thin creeper of uññai (i.e., was besieged), though far from him, to be his friend. To relieve him from the sorrow of going away and concealing himself, (the king) took upon himself the work of destroying forts and captured the drum of the lord of Mögūr who spread disaster. He quelled the boastful words (of the lord of Mögūr, cut off the trunk of the margosa (Mögūr's tree), broke it into small bits for making drums out of them, and yoked many elephants to his cart. The urns in which were buried many kings who possessed drums and ruled joyfully over the broad earth and the bright sea and who were defeated (by Kuṭṭuvan) filled the graveyard where under the vanni tree the mourners sit and where the female owl twits the crested male owl for having forgotten where he dropped his piece of lean meat."⁵¹

51 குட்டுவன் புதினாக வெல்லூர் திருவத
கோவி அபிஞாக சென்னை வெறித்த
புலம்பெயர்க் கொள்ளித்த எனியாக புரம்
ஏன்றாக அத்தி மணக்குரிகழுக் கங்கள்
போக்கு மன்னான் முரசுக் கொண்டு
கொவெந்தி பயிந்தவன் சௌக்குமத தஷ்டு
முரசுகெய் முரசுகில் களிதபல புட்டு

Apparently Mögür was helped by a number of petty chieftains in the fight. For it is said, "Several victorious kings and chiefs whose fierce front ranks could capture the leaders (of the armies of their enemies) who discharged lances and swarmed in the fight, vowed (to help him) and so Mögür rushed to the battle, proud of his strength. The warriors (of Kuttuvan) crowded so as to shake the assembled warriors, and reddened their hands with the blood (of Mögür's followers). The red blood spread on the ground, filled pits there as the stream does during the rains, and was filled with fallen corpses. They destroyed the land, sounded the spotted⁵² drum, looted the country; and many inhabitants died. The feroocious Kuttuvan then cut the strong neem-tree with black boughs."⁵³

மொழுளை புத்த கொழுவிள் வைக்குணி
ஈயத்தலை மராத் தப்தத்தலைக் குடை
கவில் ஈயற்றுக் குராவும் பறந்தலை
முரசுடைத் தாயத் தாசுபல் ஓயாட்டித்
நுன்குநர் வியலை மாண்டினரிது சுழிக்க
மன்னர் மகற்ற தாபு
வன்னி மன்றத்து விளக்கிய காடை.

Padir. 44, ll. 10-23

⁵² The black mark on the side of the drum, caused by beating it with the wand is called its 'eye.'

⁵³ எஃகுதூர் தெழுதருங் கைவர் குடிதூர்
வெஸ்போர் வேச்தரும் வேவிகு மொன்றுமொழிக்கு
மொம்பனஞ் செகுக்கி மொசிக்குவரு மோடர்
வலம்படி குழுக்கின புரிர மண்ட.
கெப்ப்ரோர் தொட்ட செக்கை மரவர்
நிறம்பு குகுநி சிலம்படர்க் கீதாடி.

Padir. 49, ll. 6-17.

In Purum 369 Parshar has sung this Kutṭuvan's fight, in the form of an allegory, where every incident of the battle is described as an incident of agricultural operations : but as the poem has only a literary and not a historical interest, it need not be quoted here.

Kutṭuvan Myths :

The Epilogue to the Fifth Ten contains allusions to several of Kutṭuvan's feats not referred to in the text. They are as follows :—" Desiring to get a stone for (making the image of) the goddess of chastity, he went like an arrow through forests where the wind blows, felled the Ārya king, bathed in the famous Gauges into which many streams flow, captured many cows and calves swarming there, camped in Idumbil, full of strong arrows, killed enemies like a tiger, pounded the town of Viyalūr full of clusters of lilies, went on the other side and destroyed Kodugūr, cut the trunk of the black-boughed neem tree guarded by Palsyān, made ropes of the many tufts of black hair of many women who had discarded their bright ornaments (their husbands having been killed in the battle, they shaved their heads and cast aside their jewels) and with the ropes thus made yoked elephants to the cart, (for carrying the blocks of neem wood), encamped

உறையாட புணவி அவர்பதி செறுமேல்
புதியோன் பிறக்கப் பாற்பல தெங்கு
புதியோன் முரச ரதைடு சிலைப்ப
வானநாற சிகந்து வரமுதர் பலக்கிடங்க
கருஞ்சினை விந்துவேங் பறத்த
பெருஞ்சினைக் குட்டியன்.

Padi. 49, II, 6.17.

near (Néri) Väyil and killed nine princes belonging to the Söla house in a terrible battle."⁵⁴

The first four lines of this extract contain matter taken from the Silappadikāram account of the expedition into North India of Śēraṇ Śenguttivan, whom the writer of this Padigam, following the author of Silappadikāram identifies with Kadaloṭṭiya Vēl Kēlu Kuttuvan. The next five and the last four refer to fights not described in any of the early odes, but alluded to in Silappadikāram, with this difference that he inverts the order of the incidents.⁵⁵ The other lines deal with the fight of the Śera monarch with Telaiyan, but introduce the story of the elephants being made to pull the blocks of

54 கடவுட் பாதனை ஏற்கொள் விழங்குக
ஏ எவில் காலங் கணிசமிற் போல
யாரிய வண்ணலை வீட்டுப் பேரிலை
மன்ப வருவிக் கங்கை மண்ணவி
மன்னெதிர் பல்லான் கண்ணெழு கொண்டு
மாசு அல்லி விழிம்பிற் புரத்திலை
துறபுளி யன்ன வயங்கி வீழு
சிறதூர நொங்கலை வியழூர் தாரி
யக்கரை சண்ணவிக் கொடிடை தெரிக்கு
பக்குயன் காக்குக் கருஞ்சிலை கேங்கின்
முருரை முழுமுத துமியப் பண்ணி
வாவினை ஏழிக்க ஏழும்பன் பெண்டுர்
பல்லிருக் கட்டுக் குரத்தியாற்
குஞ்சர வொழுவாச பூட்டு வெக்கிற
வர்ராச் செருவிற் சேரமுர் கடுக் குநியோ
மொண்பதின்முக் வீழு வரவிற்புரக் கிறக்கு.

Padig. Padigam, 5th Ten, II, 4-20

⁵⁵ Vide Sil, xxviii, II, 115-119. The war with the Söla princes is alluded to also in Sil, xxvii, II, 118-123.

neem timber with ropes made of women's hair. The introduction of this absurd detail vividly shows how men of a later generation tried to improve on a story coming down from old times, by letting loose their fancy and inventing stupid embellishments. Modern scholars are too prone to swallow every ridiculous legend, by giving it the name of 'tradition.' If the original poet had put in this thing in his poem, one might call it an excusable exaggeration by a flattering courtier; but if a commentator of several hundred years later puts it in, it must be due but to unlicensed fancy.

A digression on the "Mauryan invasion" of the Tamil country:

About fifteen years ago, M. Raghava Iyengar brought to light from the Agam Four hundred, then not yet printed, three passages in which the word 'Mōriyar' occurs. The chief passage says, "On the day of the shattering of the wear-front, when the Kōsar, who had decorated chariots fast as the wind, (flying) a flag of victory, unfastened and sounded the sweet-sounding drum in the assembly-place under the big boughs of the old wellgrown banyan tree, as Möür did not submit, the mountain-pass shining with streams was lowered so that the wheel of the decorated chariot of the Mōriyar, who newly came as enemies with the elephant-brigade, might roll." ⁵⁶ There is no means of knowing whether this

⁵⁶ கூற்கொடுக்

அனார வந்த புளைத்துக் கோர
கொங்கு தாலுத் தலும்பளைப் பெருமி
வின்னிலை முரசுக் கடிப்பிகுத் திருக்கந
கெப்புளை சிலைத்த அரச்வர மேஷா

arrogant Mögür was the same man as was punished by Kuṭṭuvan or merely a namesake of his; but this is certain that certain Möriyar came as his enemies, sending Kōśar in advance to demand his submission. The Kōśar were inhabitants of the Tulu country.⁵⁷ The

பண்ணியர் கூவிலிற் பண்ணத்தை காட்டு
மாத்தெழு தானை எம்ம மோத்தை
புளிச் சேர் சேர் வழுவிய குறைத்தை
விளக்குவென் எலுவிய வைரங்காம்.

Agam. 251, ll. 6-14.

57 தெய்ம்மலி பெரும்பூட் தெய்ம்மற் சேசைர்
தெய்ம்மலைம் பசுஞ்சாம்பு குடிம் விலைக்க
பாக வார்ஜைப் பலாஞ்சுட் பீநித்
உரைஞக் காலிற் காங்காட் காங்கா

Agam 15, ll. 2-5.

Like the Tulu country of the excellent Kōśar whose bodies are fully adorned with jewels, in whose forest the peacock, with spots like the side of a drum, pecks at the well-grown, magnificent, green jack-fruit (hanging from its) tuft-like stem." From this passage combined with another, which says, "who will part from you for earning wealth, even if thereby one would obtain the sevenfold hill, the fair land of Nannan of Konkānam?" S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has inferred

கெங்காந் நன்ன வாஸ் கூடு
கேட்டிற் குன்றம் பெற்றும் பொருள் வாயிலை
ஏரை பிசிகிற் பக்ரை.

Nap. 391, ll. 6-7.

that the Tulu land or Konkānam was "the territory of Nannan" and "was broken into by a new people called Kōśar as the result of a war in which Nannan obviously suffered defeat, and lost his state-elephant." (Beginnings

Kōśar from the Tuju land kept making incursions into the Koṅgu land and founded Coimbatore (Kōyambuttūr, the new town of the Kōśar). North the Tuju land of the Kōśar lay the territory of the Mauryas, perhaps "descendants of some branch of the Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra," and foes of Kirtivarman I of the Cūlukya dynasty (566 A. D.—597 A. D.).⁵⁸ These Mauryas were the only possible Mōriyar, who in conjunction with the Kōśar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country.

The authors of the odes in which the Mōriyar are mentioned were not concerned with the solitary, unimportant raid of the combined army of the Kōśar and the Mōriyar but only with the fact that the hill which was cut down for their chariots-wheels to roll along was a

of South Indian History, pp 84-85). To prove the last clause, he quotes a passage, which means, "it is necessary to employ cruel stratagems like those of the Kōśar who stick to their vow and who cut off the sweet-smelling mango-tree of Nannan and took it to their land."

*நய சௌரை முடியா சுரத்தை
சூரை தமரியா சௌரை சுரை
நய சு குப்பதை சௌரை சு.

Kep. 73 II. 2-5.

The editor of Kupundogai explains 'nayumā,' sweet-smelling mango tree, as 'state-elephant' and Krishna-swami Ayyangar accepts the interpretation, forgetting the word 'nayu' and the fact that the Kōśar would have been fools if they had carried the corpse of an elephant to their country.

⁵⁸ Bom. Gaz. I. ii. p. 287.

distant one, beyond which the lover who was intent on earning wealth went.

The second passage dealing with this subject runs thus:—‘The hill which was lowered so that might roll the wheel, decorated with gold, of the Mōriyar whose chariot moved on the hill which was so tall as to reach the sky.’⁵⁹ The third passage is by Māmūlār, the author of the first and says “In front went the Vadūgar, strong fighters with arrows which fly fast with a roaring sound and cause pain when fitted to the edge of the string of the bow powerful enough to pierce the sky and adorned with the feathers shed by the languid-looking peacock which has a wobbling gait. So that the Mōriyar might reach the south, the cold black hill rising aloft to the sky was lowered for enabling the bright-felloed wheel to roll.”⁶⁰ The Kōśar are called here Vadugar; the latter name, literally meaning ‘Northerners’, was used for all people who lived to the North

⁵⁹ விண்பொரு தெடுவை யியுறேச் சோமியக்
போங்புன திகிஸி திரிசுக்குழத்த
வைர.

Agam, 69, II. 10-12.

⁶⁰ துங்கியன் மடமயி வொற்றுத் த எல்
வாங்போற் வாலித் தந்தி சோங்குலை
யாவர் விளிம்பித் தங்குத் த வொங்லியற்
ஷனாகுர விளாக்கும் விளாசேயற் த குஞ்சினை
முரண்மிகு உடுக்கர் முங்குற சோமியர்
தெங்கிலை மாதிர முங்கிய வாலித்து
விண்ணாற வோங்கிய பளியிருக் குங்ரர்
தொங்கதிர்த் திகிஸி பகுவிய குழற்த
வைர.

Agam, 281, II. 4-12.

of the Tamils viz., the Telugus, the Kannadas and the Tulus.

The last passage about the Mōriyar is found in Puram and refers to "the mountain-pass which forms the corridor of the world, which was lowered so that might roll the strong-felloed wheel of the Mōriyar, who possessed a victorious spear, a tall umbrella which reached the sky and a chariot on which flew the flag."⁶¹

The theory of the "Mauryan invasion of India" in the reign of Chandragupta or Bindusāra rests on these four passages. Possibly as a prop for the theory, S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar assumes that these passages are "ascrivable to the first century of the Christian era,"⁶² and says that "there is enough internal evidence to show that Māmūlanār was the exact contemporary of the chola ruler, Karikāla."⁶³ He does not tell us what that "internal evidence" is. He alludes to the fact that when Peruñjēral Ādan, the foe of Karikāl, committed suicide, his courtiers heard of it and they also committed suicide.⁶⁴ This will make Māmūlanār belong to an age later, how much later we cannot say, than Karikāl. As a matter of fact Māmūlanār speaks in many odes as the contemporary, not of any of the kings referred to in

⁶¹ வெங்கலை

வினாபொரு செத்துசொல்லக் கூறுத்

சேத் தெர்மோ

தென்றெத்த திட்டி திருத்தக் குறைத்த

ஏடு வின்டுத்தி யற்றவர்கள்.

Pur. 175 ll. 5-8.

⁶² Beginning of South Indian History, p. 85.

⁶³ Ib. p. 87.

⁶⁴ Vide p. 483 supra.

Chapters XX, XXI, and XXIII and in this chapter, but of the numerous chieftains that rose to power after the decline of the three Tamil dynasties at the end of the V century A.D. and is hence the latest of the galaxy of poets whose poems are included in the early anthologies.

S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar also makes the tide of Mauryan invasion reach "Madura and the Podiyil hill."⁶⁵ This conclusion is due to a misunderstanding of the word 'podiyil' in the passage quoted above.⁶⁶ 'Podiyil' cannot mean 'Podiyil hill' in any of the passages referring to their appearance, for the 'podiyil' where they appear was under an old, well-grown banyan tree, a position too cramped for the hill where the deathless Agastya and his disciples are residing.

Before closing the discussion I will quote two more passages from the many odes referring to the Kōśār in early Tamil literature, because they have a bearing on the question. The first again is a simile, which means, "like the **vow** of the Kōśār of Nallīr, who appeared in the assembly beneath the old well-grown banyan tree, where the god resides, while drums were sounded and chank-shells were blown."⁶⁷ All these references are only to one event—the appearance of the Kōśār with dramatic suddenness as the advance-guard of the Mōriyar. The other passage says, "As the four-tongued Kōśār appeared in the assembly place of

⁶⁵ Beginnings of South Indian History p. 84.

⁶⁶ Vide p. 520 supra.

⁶⁷ மூறுபட்டு பாலிவ கார்ப்பு விசேஷகோள்பு

தென்கு தாங்கதுப் பொதியிற் கூண்டிய

தீநாந்தி கோசி காஞ்சியி புரவ. Kur. 15, II.

Paiyaiyan's Mögür, where the crops never fail, because the rains never cease."⁶⁸ 'Four-tongued' apparently means that they could speak four languages, Tuļu, Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil; these four languages can be heard even to-day in the streets of Coimbatore. The commentator rearranges the phrase as *Quargal eśārē Gāsasār*, 'the four kinds of Kēśar, who stick to their vows'. This is a forced interpretation: moreover the division of the Kēśar into four kinds is unknown otherwise.

Other Sera notables:

The Padippattu deals with many other Sera notables and the Puram refers to some more. They possess some of the following titles, Popaiyan, Malaiyatt, Vānavan, Imayavaramban, Kuṭṭuvan, Kēdai, and Villavan. They were not monarchs and the poems dealing with them have no historical, but only a biographical, interest; so these chiefs need not be referred to here.

*68 மது வாழக் கருதுப் பொழுது என்னுட
பொழுது சூரை தெவாயும் என்னுட
என் குருபிக் களை சுதந்தி வாசு.*

Maduraikkāñji II. 507-589.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ECLIPSE OF THE EARLY DYNASTIES.

The last Pāṇḍiya and Śōla Kings :

It is significant that the commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporul makes Ukkirapperuvaludi the last of the Pāṇḍiyas who maintained a Śāṅgam. From this we may deduce that probably some misfortune temporarily cut off the ancient line of the Pāṇḍiyas. Ieśavāyam Veṭṭa Perunagkilli, according to the colophon attached to Puram 867, was a friend of Ukkirapperuvaludi. Probably with this Perunagkilli the Śōla line too was interrupted, for the poets that sang after the age of these kings, like the author of Sirupānarpuppadai, did not sing in praise of of Pāṇḍiya or Śōla kings but of minor chieftains who seem to have risen to prominence after the decline of these ancient dynasties; and when they do refer to the traditional kingdoms of the Śōjas or the Pāṇḍiyas, like the authors of Kalittogai, they speak generally of kings and do not name any reigning monarch. We may therefore believe that some catastrophe threw into the shade the power of these ancient dynasties at about the time of these two kings.

The rise to popularity of the Jainā and Baudhā cults :

The Ārya cults, especially the Baudhā and the Jainā ones, were practised in the outskirts of the town in the time of Nedūñjeliyan.¹ The old Tamil cults were the main ones patronized by kings. In 470

¹ Vide p. 452 Supra.

A.D. however, a Jaina congregation was, apparently established in the city of Madura.² As this fact has been specially recorded by a Jaina writer, we may take it that this was a case of an Aryan cult first finding royal favour and attaining to a position of prominence in the Tamil land.

To this may be added another fact that a similar high position was accorded to the Baudha cult in the city of Kāvirippattinam about the same time. In the last quarter of the V century A.D. Buddhadatta, elder contemporary Buddhaghosa, composed Baudha works in the Śōla country. In the concluding lines of his Abhidhammāvatāra, he says, "In the lovely Kāveripattana, crowded with hordes of men and women not belonging to impure castes, endowed richly with all the requisites of a town, with crystal clear water flowing in the river, filled with all kinds of precious stones, possessed of many kinds of bazaars, beautified with many gardens, (and in a beautiful and pleasant monastery adorned with a mansion as high as the peak of Kailāsa, built by Kañhadāsā, having different kinds of beautiful entrance-towers in its outer wall, while I was living in an old house there, by me who am shining with qualities, such as writing beautifully on good topics, who am intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively."³ After the closing benedictory lines, some

² Vide p. 247 supra.

³ Nara nārīgañkinnō asaṅkinnō kulañkule
Phite sabbañga sampanne pasanna saritādake
Nānāratana sampunne vividhāpapa sankate
Kāveripattane ramme nānārāmo 'pasobhite

later writer has added the colophon, 'This work named *Abhidhammāvātara* was composed by Bhadanta Buddhadatta Ācariya, inhabitant of Uragapuram (Uraiyyūr).'⁴

In the closing passage of the *Vinayavinicchaya*, Buddhadatta says, "In the undisturbed town of Bbūta-maṅgala, containing all kinds of people, which was the navel of the great Cōla kingdom, and filled with groves of plantains, salwood, palmyra, and cocoanuts, shining with tanks densely covered with lotuses and lilies and whose soil is sanctified by the flowing waters of the Kāverī, blessed with prosperity and all the requisites of a town, in the beautiful and pleasant monastery, surrounded by well-built outer walls and moat, belonging to Vēṇhudāsa, brilliant with vānīra trees lining the banks (of the river), rejoicing the mind with many gardens filled with different kinds of birds, adorned with tanks thickly enveloped with pleasing lotuses, beautified with excellent wells full of sweet water, filled with excellent mandapas, well-built, wide, white, very bright with many houses, the surface of the earth being broken by tall stūpas which outrivalled and derided the rough peaks of Kailāsa, and were high, beautiful, and bright

Kelāsa sīkarākāra pāśāda pati maṇḍite
 Kārite kaphadāsona dassanīye manorame
 Vihāra vividhākāracāru pākāra gopure
 Tatha pācīnapāśāde mayā nivasatā satā
 Ramma sallakha sākhalya siladi guṇa sobhinā
 Ayam sumatinā sādhu yācitenā kato tato.

Abhidhammāvatāra, Sl. 1409-1413.

⁴ Uragapura nivāsikena Ācariyena bhadanta Buddhadattena kato Abhidhammāvatāro nāmāyam. By 'inhabitant of Uragapura' is probably meant a native of that city.

like autumn clouds, by me who lived (there) in a mansion which clarifies the mind, was composed in honour of Buddhasimha this compilation on the principles of Vinaya taught by Buddhasimha, for the sake of my pupils and for the good of the Bhikkhus who want to learn the Vinaya in a short time without difficulty. It was begun and finished during the reign of the blemishless Accuta Vikkanta of the Kalabbha kula."⁵

* Setthassa Colaratthassa nābhībhūte nirākule
 Sabbassa pana lokassa gāme sampiṇḍite viya
 Kadaliśālatāluechunālikeravanākule
 Kamaluppalaśāñchannasalilāsayasobhite
 Kāverijalasampātāparipūtamahitale
 Iddhe sabbaṅgasampānne maṅgalo Bhūtamaṅgale
 Pavarākārapākāraparikhāparivārite
 Vihāre Veṇhudāsassa dassaniye manorame
 Tīrantaruḥavānīratarurūjivirājite
 Nānādijagapārāme nānārāmamanorame
 Cārupaṅkajasaṅkīṇatajākasamalaṅkate
 Surasodakasampūṇṇavarakūpopasobhite
 Uggatena ea thūpena bhettā va dharaṇītalām
 Jitvā v' avahasantena Khelāsasikharāmukham
 Saradambudasaṅkāse dassaniye sammussite
 Pasūdajanane ramme pāsāde vasatā mayā
 Vuttassa Buddhasihena Vinayassa Viniechayo
 Buddhasiham samuddissa mama saddhivihārikam
 Kato' yam pana bhikkhūnam hitatthāya samāsato
 Vinayassāvaboddhattham sukhen'evācirena ca
 Accut' Accutavikkante Kalabbhakulanandane
 Mahim samanusāsante āraḍḍho ca samāpito.

Inferences from Buddhadatta's testimony:

From the two passages taken from Buddhadatta's works, printed under the editorship of his modern namesake, A. P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon (the first in 1915 and the second in 1928), we see that in the last quarter of the V century A. D., when the ancient Buddhadatta lived and taught, Kāvirippūmbattinam was a very prosperous city, crowded with people, full of precious things and bazaars. This description of Kāvirippūmbattinam incidentally proves that the destruction of the city by the sea, and its desertion by its inhabitants, described in the Manimegalai (xxv. ll. 199-204.) is either pure romance or took place sometime after the V century. Rapid must have been the advance to popularity of the Bauddha cult in Kāvirippattinam since Karikāl's time, for fine monasteries to be built by lay admirers like Kasphadāsa. The king who overthrew the Sōla dynasty must have also been an admirer of the Bauddha cult and actively encouraged the building of monasteries for its monks. This king, who is called Accuta-Vikkanta in the Vinaya vinicchaya apparently ruled over the whole of the Sōla territory, for we find monasteries built also inland at Bhūtamahgala. The modern representative of this town is Būdalur near Trichinopoly.⁶ The region immediately north of this village fits in with the description of Buddhadatta. In the region near, served by the road which leads from Tanjore to Nāmakkal, numerous reliques of the Bauddha and the Jaina cults have been unearthed. Till recently this region contained great centres of Aryan learning.

⁶ I owe this idea to K. R. Subrahmania Iyer of Vijayanagaram.

Accuta Vikkanta belonged to the Kalabbha dynasty. The printed text prefers the reading Kalambha because I suppose the editor had heard of the Kadamba dynasty and not of the Kalabbhas, but the Kadambas ruled at far Banavāse nor were they Bandhas. Kalabbha, the alternative reading, has been adopted by me, because at about this time ruled a great king of the Kalappa clan and the Tamil name Kalappa naturally became Kalabbha in Pali.

In Tamil literature there is mention of ancient Kalappa kings and a Kalappa clan as existing till comparatively recent times. The father of Meygandadēvar, the founder of the modern Tamil Śaivism in the thirteenth century, was called Accuda kalappūlār. This fact directed my attention to the Kalappāla clan and led me to note that the Accuda Kalabbha of Buddhadatta must have belonged to this Tamil clan.

In the Tamil Nūvalar śaridai⁷, p. 56, there occur four *vānbis*, said to have been composed, the first by a Sēran, the second by a Sēlan, and the other two by a Pāṇḍiyan, all of whom were put in chains, as the colophon informs us, by one Accuda Kalappālān. The first runs as follows:—“The Tinal seeds will be drying in the front yards of those who grow the Tinsi; the front yards of those who raise the fair paddy will be filled with those (grains). In the front yards of Accudan are waiting kings who possess the strong chariot-brigade, while the drums roar and the chank is blown.”⁸

⁷ I have referred to this book in p. 414 ante as Tamil Nūvalar varalāpu; though varalāpu and śaridai are synonyms the above is the usual name of the book.

⁸ தினைவினாத்தார் முற்றா தினைபுணங்குஞ் செக்டேஷன்
தீவாவினாத்தார் முற்றமத தாஞ்ச — செக்டேஷன்

The second stanza, by a Śōla king, runs as follows:—On the day when in the front yard of Accudan, the forehead-mark of the royal dynasty, (the bright mark on the forehead is the most prominent feature of the face) kings were reborn (restored to sovereignty ?), the noise of the striking off of the gyves from the legs of kings drowned that of the beating of the drums.”¹⁰ The first stanza sung by the Pāṇḍiyan was :—“ Where can there be men without distress? Irāman of the sharp spear waited for a whole six months in the hill belonging to the younger brother of Vāli. Accordingly (I am waiting) before Accudan whose army is roaring and garland waving.” As the Pāṇḍiyan, by comparing himself to Irāman and Accudan to the monkey-follower of Irāman, insulted the Kalappāla monarch, the latter doubled the Pāṇḍiyan’s letters; so the Pāṇḍiyan sang again :—“ Accudan, of the Southern Tillai, the drum roaring in front of you was called the western ocean by the people of Kudagu, and the northern ocean by those to the left of them; people living on the borders of the north sea called it the south sea.”¹¹ The Southern Tillai, where

முரசுவாங்கச் சங்குணங்கு மூரித்தேர்த்தானை
அரசுவாங்கு மர்சதங் முற்றத்து.

* அரசு குலதிலக வச்சதங்முற் தந்தில்
அரசு ரவதரித்த வக்காம் — முரசுதிரக்
ஷாட்டுவிடு மோகைபிழுக் கோவேஷ்டர்

காற்றுவீரமுய

வெட்டுவிடு மோகை மிகும்.

¹⁰ குணறுணர செங்கிரார் கார்வை விராமன்
கிளைவாற நிங்க விருங்தங் - முனைநமையால்
ஆலிக்குங் நாளை யலங்குதா ரச்சதமுன்
வாலிக் கிணியங் வகா.
அடைக் குணைட்டவென் குந்தார் குடைக்

these kings were assembled, is Chidambaram, where the coronation of Śōla monarchs was celebrated since they were Aryanized. Probably Accudan started this fashion, the temple of Chidambaram having by his time obtained a reputation for holiness.

This Accuda Kalappālan must be the same as Accuta Kajahbha of Buddhadatta. For the Pāṇḍiyas again rose to power at the end of the VI century, and the Pallavas having recovered Kāñcī in the middle of that century, we can find room for a Kalappa who was overlord of the whole of the Tamil country only between 450 A. D., and 550 A. D. It is not a valid objection to say that the same monarch could not have patronized the Śaiva, Baudha, and Jaina cults and got himself crowned at the Siva temple at Tillai, and supported the Baudha Vihāras in the Śōla territory and the Dravida Jaina Sangam at Madura. In the early days when the Ārya cults spread in South India, there was little animosity amongst them. Their quarrels began only after 600 A. D., when sectarian rivalry was first born. Mahendra Vikrama Pallava built stone-temples to the Jina, to Śiva, to Viṣṇu and to the Trimūrti. It was in his time that we hear of the first quarrel between Jainas and Śaivas. A century later we notice Vaiṣṇavas deriding Śiva and Śaivas speaking of Viṣṇu without respect, but before 600 A. D. when the followers of the Aryan cults were gaining mastery we do not hear of their opposing each other. We may

கிடை வடைவேன் குத்தான் — வடைவ்
உதைவேன் குத்தான் உதைவெல்லையாச
தாதின் தன்
மன் எடுத்தின் குத்தகு முரு.

therefore take it that Accuda Kalappāla and Accuta Kalabbha were one and the same person.

The Vēlvikkudi grant, discussed in chapter xxiii tells us that a cruel king, called Kalabhrā, i. e., of the Kalabhrā clan (because both the forms Kalabhrān and Kalabhrar occur indiscriminately), defeated many ādirājas, original (Tamil) monarchs, and established his sway over Madura, among other Tamil districts. Since the Pali Kalabbha will invariably become Kalabhrā in Sanskrit, it follows that the Kalabhrā king of the Vēlvikkudi charter is identical with Accuta Kalabbha and Accuda Kalappāla. Notwithstanding the completeness of Accuta Kalabbha's subjugation of the Tamil country, the old dynasties were not extirpated. The Pāṇḍiyas regained their greatness under Kaṭungōn before 600 A. D.; and Colas, Ceras, Pāṇḍiyas and Kalabhras are mentioned for two centuries later, in several inscriptions, as the foes first of the Pallavas and then of the Cālukyas.

The Kalappālas were Tamil chieftains, as is proved by the fact that the three Rājas sang to them in Tamil. They were completely Aryanized because they encouraged the Aryan cults; and the Aryan cults which had been besieging the out-skirts of Tamil culture for many centuries dramatically captured the Tamil imagination from the time when the three old dynasties, patrons of the old order of things, collapsed before the might of Accuta.

Were the Kalabhras Kallar?

S. Krishnaswami Iyengar has given his support to the theory that the Kalabhras were the Kallar of old Tamil poetry. Kallar has an alternative form Kalvar,

and Kalvar, being usually written in ancient mss. without the dot on the head of ല, became kalavar, which turned into kalabar, kalabara, kalabhara, and ultimately into kalabha. But since Kalabbha has been discovered in a Pali poem, we need not resort to this ingenious etymology; all the more so, because there is no evidence that the kalvar were anything more than petty chieftains in old times.

A note on Kalappālār:

A number of Kalappālār besides the father of Meyganda dēvar has been traced in Tamil literature. One Neṭkunram kiliñ, a Kalappāla rāja has been brought to our notice by S. Sōmasundara Dēśigar in an inscription¹¹ which he discovered sixteen years ago. Küppuva Nāyanār, one of the Sixty three Śaiva Saints is called a Kalappālan by Nambyāndār Nambi (X century) in his Tiruttoñdar Tiruvandādi.¹² This person is called Kalandai Mudalvanār, 'lord of Kalandai' by Sēkkilār (XI century),¹³ and Kalandai Vēndar, king of Kalandai (Periyapurāṇam, Küppuwan̄yanār Purāṇam, st. 1. l. 4) and Kalandai in Umāpati Śivām's Tiruttoñdar Purāṇa sāram. From this we may infer that the Kalappālār originally belonged to Kalandai, a well-known Śiva shrine in the Tanjore district. Probably the suffix ālar is the same as the suffix of the Tamil word Andapālār, a formation from andapar, the Tamil word for Brāhmaṇa, for which several fanciful etymologies, none very convincing, have been invented by the commentators. Kalappālār, then, is a variant of Kalappa, which became Kalabbha in Pali and Kalabha in (Southern) Sanskrit.

¹¹ Šendamīl, Vol. xii. p. 268.

¹² St. 47, l. 4.

¹³ St. 44, l. 1.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE LATER OF THE TEN SONGS.

The Remaining Six Songs :

Four of the poems gathered together under the name of *Pattuppāṭṭu* have been already discussed. The other six are later and belong to the VI century A. D. This is proved by the fact that the references in those poems to Aryan concepts are not of the nature of passing allusions to semi-foreign beliefs, just working their way into the Tamil mind, but indicate ideas that had taken root in the Tamil scheme of life and were fast smothering out the old Tamil notions. Moreover these poems were not sung in honour of great victors like Karikāl or Nandiraiyan or Nedunjeļiyan but either of the minor chiefs who had gained power on account of the eclipse of the three dynasties or of the god Murugan or of no one person in particular. These poems, moreover, seem to have been composed with Tolkāppiyānār's rules of poetics prominently in view ; that is, they are not the outcome of poetic genius working spontaneously, as in Homer's Epics and the early Greek Dramas from which Aristotle inferred the principles of epic or dramatic poetry, but, like the French classical drama of the XVII century, consciously based on the poetical canons of Aristotle and Horace. Not that the old Tamil poetic flame is obscured ; it shines with all the old effulgence, but the muse moves under the control of the reins forged by the critic. This will be illustrated in the succeeding sections.

"The long, good winterwind.":

According to the commentator, Naccinārkkiniyar, this poem was composed by Nakkirar in honour of Nedūñjejīyan. But in the text of the poem, this king is not mentioned. The hero is "a king. (Vēndan) who did not sleep even at midnight, but wandered round his camp accompanied by some (followers), when he was encamped in his war with many (foes)"¹ "He carried a strong spear round whose top margosa leaves were tied."² It is a bold inference from this description that the hero was Nedūñjejīyan, the victor of Talaiyālāngānam. The object of the poem is to describe the sorrows of the king's wife on account of her separation from her husband and her prayer to Korravai, the old Tamil goddess of war, to bless her husband with victory, so that he might return soon to her arms. Though thus the queen prays to the Tamil goddess, it is plain that the poem was composed after Aryan concepts had definitely established themselves in the life of the Tamils. Not remote but intimate references to Aryan culture abound in the poem. Thus the sāstra of architecture is mentioned. "Men learned in the (Silpa) Sāstra stretched a thin thread, marked the directions of the compass, located correctly the gods of the various directions, and set out the plan of a house fit for famous

¹ சுந்தரம் யாமத்தும் பாஷ்டிகாராம்
செல்வாடு திரிதகும் சூதை
பவுக்காடு முருணிஸ பாசுகாது செய்திலே,

Ned. II. 186-188.

² செங்குத்தை யாத்த செந்தை சூதைக்கொடு.

Ned. I. 176.

kings.”³ The part of the wall into which the top of the doorframe is let, called *uttara karkavi* is the subject of an astronomical pun in a certain line, which speaks of a “beam named after the star, to which the door-frame is fitted.”⁴ The star referred to is *Uttaram* and the beam is also called *uttaram*. The royal chamber in the interior of the palace, like the sanctum sanctorum of a temple, is called *garbhagha*, literally the womb of the house, or rather the house that is the womb; and *garbha* is in Tamil *karu*. So the royal chamber is called “the chamber, fair to the sight, named after the womb.”⁵ In another place forty is rendered by a compound of the Sanskrit *daśa* and the Tamil *nāngu*.⁶ The signs of the zodiac, are described as “having as the first, the ram with strongly fixed horns.”⁷ *Adu* is the translation of *mīśam* which is itself the translation of Greek Aries. In another place, the constellation, *Rohini*, is named in its Tamil form *Uröhini*.⁸ Notwithstanding this intrusion

³ நால்தி புவனர் தாண்ணிதீத் வீரித்துத்
தேங்க செந்து தெய்வ செந்துப்
பெரும்பெயர் மன்னர்க் கொப்ப மனைவகுத்து.

Ned. II. 76-78.

⁴ ஸாக்ஷரடப் பெயரிய செந்தும் விழுமரத்து.

Ned. I. 82.

⁵ ஏறுவோடு பெயரிய காலை வேல்லில்,

Ned. I. 114.

⁶ காசாங்கு.

Ned. I. 115.

⁷ தின்வையை மருப்பி குடுத்தை யாக.

Ned. I. 160.

⁸ Ned. I. 163.

of Aryan ideas, Tamil poetry still keeps up the old spirit of realism in descriptions. Thus "the clouds, true to the seasons, chilled the world and circled round the hills and poured the new rain. The herdsmen, who wielded the cruel wand, hated the flood, and let the crowds of cattle, male and female, graze on the higher lands, sorrowfully giving up their usual grazing grounds. The garlands made of the long petals (of the November flower) were ruined by the fall of the rain. The men suffered much from cold ; all of them carried torches in their hands but their teeth were chattering like drums. The beasts gave up their grazing ; the monkeys shivered. The birds dropped from the trees. The cows would not admit their calves to their teats but kicked them off." * Now for winter scenery. "The white flower, with rounded back, of the thin creeper, musundai (*Iponaea candicans*) and the gold-coloured flower of the pirkku gourd bloomed on every thicket. The carp swam against the fast-flowing current. On the temporary cessation of rain, swarms of the yellow legged crane whose feathers were fine and the heron with red streaks on its body, ate the

* ஈயயகம் பளிப்ப வலனேசுபு கண்டிப்
பொய்யா வங்கம் புதப்பெயல் பொழிச்சென
வார்களி முளைதூய கொடிச்சோக் கோவல
சேறகட விருதிகார சேறபுலம் பரப்பிப்
புலபுபயர் புலம்பொடு சுவகுகிக் கோட
எந்தழுக் கண்ணி கிருஷ்ணகார
மெய்க்கொள் பெருங்பள்ளி கலியப் பலருடன
கூக்கொள் கொள்ளியர் கவுள்புக்கட்டியும் குடிக்க
மாமேயன் மறப்ப மத்தி கூப்
பறகவ பாதுகன வீழ் கறைய
கன்றுகோ கெற்பிய.

carp where the wet white sand was mixed with the black clay. The rising white cloud from the broad sky drizzled. The stalks of paddy with shining leaves rose bending above the water which filled the broad, beautiful fields. The areca nuts ripened and looked as if they were swollen with the clear water inside them, as they appeared in clusters on the broad spathe of the areca palm whose base is thick and neck like sapphire. The tops of the trees of the large forests were filled thick with blossoms."¹⁰

"The Song of the pastoral region":

The Mullaippāṭṭu sings of the suffering of the love-lorn wife during the spring season, when her husband was away on a military expedition. The author Nappūdanār does not give us any indication about his hero, except

¹⁰ புன்கொடி முசங்கைப் பொறிப்புத் தாங்குப்
பொங்போற் பிரமோகி புதற்புதன் மலரப்
உபக்காற் கொக்கிள் மெங்பனைத் தொழுதி
விஞக்களி பரக்கத் வீசு யென்மணாற்
செங்கயி காண்டுயோ தெங்காடுக் கவரக்
கவுனத் கெதிரக் கடும்புனற் சாதுப்ப
பெயலூலக் தெழுக்கத் பொங்கல் வென்மழு
யகலிரு விசிம்பிற் துவகை ஏற்ப
வங்க ணாங்காய ஈர்பெயற் கலித்த
உங்டோட்டு இங்கிள் வருக்கிர் வங்கக்
மூலமுதற் கழுகின் மணியுற நூருத்திற்
கொடுமெட வலிப்புக்கத் தூருக்கொள் பெருக்குலை
நங்கீர் தெயில வீக்கிப் புகைத்திரண்டு
தெங்கணீர்ப் பக்காய் சேறுகொள் முந்த
காலெராக் கிளமய விரயுமலர் வியங்கா.

that he employed yavanas and mlecchas among others and hence many languages were heard in his camp. In this poem also, the Aryan allusions are not casual but intimate. Thus the black god Māyōn of the ancient Tamils has been so fully identified with Visnu that the cloud is said to be "like Māl who holds in his large hands the discus and the right-whorled chank, in whose breast resides Lakṣṇi, and who rose up after water was poured into his hand (by Mahābali)."¹¹ Another simile refers to the Brāhmaṇa ascetic carrying a triple wand with his cloth dyed with (ochre) stone tied to it and wearing a similar cloth on his person.¹² Certain interesting facts connected with ancient Tamil life we learn from this poem. One Tamil way of reading the future was to go to the outskirts of the villages and listen to words casually uttered by people there and prognosticating the future therefrom. Thus "We went to the suburbs of the well-guarded ancient town; elderly ladies carried a small measure (nāḍi) of paddy and sweet-smelling Mullai flowers round which crowds of bees were humming with a sound similar to that of the Yāj, and scattered them, and worshipped God and we waited for an omen. The cowherdess, shaking with the cold, held her arms tight on her shoulders. The calf, distressfully held by a short string, did not take to the teats of its dam, and turned round. She saw the sight and said, 'The herdsmen

11

கும்பை

வளம்புக் குபரத்த மாதாக்கு தட்டுமை
கிருஷ்ண திவிர்த்த மாதை கூறல்.

Mul. II. 1-3.

¹² சுத்ரோம்த துத்தக பதிவப் பார்ப்பான்
முக்கோல அகாச்சிலை கடுப்ப.

Mul. II. 37-38.

holding the cruel stick will drive the cow and your dam will come soon.' We heard this auspicious speech and decided that our lord would seize the enemy's territory and receive tribute and return after finishing the work undertaken by him. This is truth.'¹³

The author of *Mullaippāṭṭu* describes nature quite as well as other poets. "The flowers of the kāyā (*Memecylon tinctorium*) which grows on sand and is thickly overgrown with leaves, open out and look like collyrium. The cassia, which bears tender leaves and clusters, sheds (its flowers, which are like) good gold. The closed buds of the kōdal (white variety of the November flower) open out like the palm of the hand. The rounded red lily flowers (red like) blood. In the broad red plain filled with shrubs, the stalks of ragi on which good rain has fallen in the month of the early dew when it will drizzle white, bend and

¹³ அகுங்கடி மூதர் மகுங்கிற் பேரெ
யாழிலை வினவைச் சார்ப்ப செல்லாட
யாழிலென்ட நூல் மூலிலை
மகுங்பவி மலரி அங்கி கைதொழுத
பெருமுத பெண்டர் விரிக்கி தீற்பச
சிதநாம்பு தொடித்த பகலைக் கண்றி
ஆரய சலமர ஞேக்கி யாய்மக
வைக்குசுவல்ளத்த கையள் கைய
கொடுக்கோற் சௌகார் பின்னின் தய்த்தா
வின்னை அகுங்கர் தாய கொங்போ
அங்கர் கங்கமாழி செட்டை பதனுவ
ஏவ்வெ எவ்வேரர் வருப்புட் தெவைர
முனைகங்க்கு தொண்ட திங்கயர் வினைமுடித்து
அகுத நலைவர் காய்வது.

(in the ragi field), the stag which has twisted horns will gambol with the hind.”¹⁴

From this poem we learn that in royal camps hours or rather the watches of the day were announced by the ringing of bright bells with large tongues¹⁵ and time was calculated by means of water-clocks.¹⁶ Dumb mlaechas were employed as body-guards round the tent of the sleeping king.¹⁷

“The Song of the Hilly Region” :

The commentator Naccinārkkiniyar says that the Kurūñjippātṭu was composed by Kabilar for teaching (the principles of) Tamil poetry to the Aryan king Pirahattan. This it might well be, for this poem was

14

அம்ர

செறியினா எயா வஞ்சன மஹர
முதியினாக் கொன்றந கண்பொன் காவக
கோடற் குலிழுக யக்ளக யவிதுக
தோடார் தோன்றி குருதி ழப்பங்
கான காதிய செக்கிவப் பெருவழி
உணம் உருப்தூ உருக்கு எதிர் உருகிற
நிருமரு பிரளையோ மடமா ஜூஷன
வெதிர்செல் வெண்மகூ பொழியுக் கிண்ணன.

Mul. II, 92-101.

15 கொடுக் கொண்மலை நிழற்றிய கடிகள்.

Mul. I, 50.

16 குறாக் கண்ண வினாத்தென் நினைப்ப.

Mul. I, 58.

17 உடம்பி ஜூஷன்கு முகையா எவிற்
பட்டப்புகு மலேசீ குஞ்ச யராக.

Mul. II, 65-66..

not sung in honour of any god or king or patron of letters, but was intended to illustrate most of Tolkaṇṇiyānār's rules regarding the Kuriñji class of poems. All other poems we have discussed so far, to whatever class of poems they belonged, were primarily intended to eulogize somebody or other and only incidentally illustrated the rules of poeties; but this is the first long poem which regarded grammar as a prescriptive and not descriptive science and was composed in obedience to the rules of the critic. After this time, numerous poems were composed not as the poet's genius guided him, but with Agattiyanār's or Tolkaṇṇiyānār's grammar set as the authoritative guide for the poet.

The poem probably belongs to the end of the VI century. The Aryan allusions are sufficiently intimate to support this view. Thus "even the aiyar (ṛṣis, or holy ascetics, in later ages used as the title of lay Brāhmaṇas) who are learned in the ancient sāstras and whose mental vision is not clouded by defects, cannot reattain to their former status, once they lose the qualities, excellences and conduct pertaining (to their caste), even though they wash out (their sins)."¹⁴ This shows that the Aryan caste-system and the Aryan Dharma sāstras had become guiding factors in the conduct of the life of the Tamils when the poem was composed. Another Aryan doctrine is referred to, when the heroine consoles herself with

¹⁴ சங்கம் விவப்பு மியல்புக் குன்றின்
மரசநக் கழீது அயங்குபுத்தி தொத்த
வாசந காட்டி அயர்க்கு மக்கிலை
வெளிய வெங்குர் தொக்கமருக் கழிஞர்.

the hope, "In the other world, (i. e., the next rebirth) I will join my lover."¹⁵ Another Aryan allusion is to the evening rites of Brāhmaṇas.¹⁶ An adumbration of the exaggeration which caught hold of Tamil poetry, under the influence of the later artificial poetry of Sanskrit, is found when the poet speaks of "the clouds which move in crowds high (in the sky), after having reduced, by drinking, the quantity of the water of the full, broad sea, and thundered with a sweet sound, like a drum gently beaten."¹⁷

In view of its character of a poem intended to illustrate the rules of the grammar of poetry, the author gives an absolutely unpoetical list, quite like a florists' catalogue, of nearly a hundred flowers of the Kuriñji region. Not that the poet is wanting in true poetic fire: witness his description of the evening. "The many-rayed sun, in his chariot to which seven horses are yoked, has ridden (all day in the sky) and has reached the horizon and disappeared behind the hill. The deer have crowded at the feet of trees. The herds of cows, crying for their calves have entered all over the village common. The nightingale, who has a bent mouth, sounding like the trumpet, from the broad leaf

¹⁵ ஏன் வாந்து வினாவற எடுக்கோ.

Ib. l. 24.

¹⁶ அதி வர்த்த ஸர.

Ib. l. 235.

¹⁷ சிறப்பிலும் பொலி குறைபட முக்குமிகுகு¹⁸

முசுதிர்க் கண விச்சுர வேற்குகு¹⁹

சிறாசை விவப்பிற் கொண்டு.

Kupi. l. 47, ll. 49-50.

of the tall palmyra, calls (her mate). The serpent vomits out its gem (to enable it to eat). Herdsman from many directions play on their sweet fair flute the tune called Āmbal. The lily opens out its beautiful petals. Brāhmaṇas perform their evening rites. In the houses of the wealthy, women who wear bright bangles light the lamp and do other evening duties. The foresters, in their lofts which reach the sky, make fire from the fire churn and light their fires. The clouds that surround great hills turn black. The beasts in the jungle cry to each other. The birds cry."¹⁸ Two beautiful poetical images may also be quoted to show the talent of the poet. "My plaited black hair falling down on the small back, looking like the sapphire set on gold,"¹⁹ "Like the heroes who wield spears and have

¹⁸ எல்லை சென்ற வேறுர் பிகந்துபிப்
பல்கதிர் மண்டிலங் எல்லேர்பு மகநய
மாஞ்சன மாருதற் ரெவிட்ட எஞ்சனை
கண்தபமிர் குரல் மன்றநிற புகுதர
வேங்குவயி ரிஷை கொடிவர யன்றி
வோக்கிரும் பெண்ணை யகநட வகவப்
பாம்புமணி யுமிழப் பல்வளித் ரோவு
ராம்பவக் திங்குதற் றென்வினி பயிந்த
வாம்ப ஸாவிதழ் காங்குவிட வாம்பினப்
பூக்கிராத மகனிர் காட்டாலைச் சொஞ்சுவி
யங்கி யங்கன ரயங்க காணுவர்
விங்டோப் பண்ணை விசைக்குகிழி பொத்த
வான மாமனை வாம்குத்தபு கநுப்பக் கானக்
எல்லென் நிரட்டப் புங்கின மொலிப்ப.

Kupi. II. 215-228.

¹⁹ போக்கெறி மணிவிற் சிறபுறக் தாழ்க்கவைம்
பிங்கிரும் காந்தல். Ib. II. 59-60.

seen the backs of (i.e. driven away) their powerful foes and whose might destroys the fields of their foes, the dog is inspired by fierce anger and inflamed with fury whenever it is approached, and possesses large claws and teeth bright like the shoot of the bamboo."²⁰

"The sound oozing from the hill":

The finest of the Ten Songs is Malaipadukadām, lit. the seeration oozing from the hill (which resembles the mast elephant). Its description of mountain-scenery cannot be easily surpassed. Its author Perūngausiganār intended the poem as a praise of Nannan, but the description of the hills that belonged to Nannan is longer than the lines devoted to his eulogy. The opening lines describe an orchestra of the hill country. "Like the roar of the black cloud which by raining from the sky produces wealth, the drum fastened by strong strips of leather sounds from its sides (various) tunes. The small drum (āguli), the cymbals made by melting metal and making it into a flat sheet, the horn to which bright black peacock feathers and leaves were tied, the long oboe like the proboscis hanging between the eyes of the elephant, the short, excellent pipe which produces a cerebral tone and the sweet flute which sings in unison with these, the karadigai which produces an intermediate note, the strong-toned large cymbal (ellari) which keeps time, and the wide-faced drum (padalai) which shows the measure of the notes and others (were

²⁰ முளைபாற் படிக்குர் தன்னருக் குப்பிற்
பக்கபுதல் கண்ட பல்வே விளைகுரி
மூரவுச்சினஞ் செகுங்கிற் தன்றுதொறும் கெளு
முளைக் கெவிற்ற வக்ஞுகிர் ஞாவி.

placed in) a bag, thick enough to support them, which looked like a bunch of many jack-fruits which ripen in the rainy season."²¹

From this poem we learn that painting was fairly common in this age, for a woman's "breast is described as possessing the beauty which is found in works of art."²² "Princes daily held assemblies in which they poured presents to those that praised them as ceaselessly as the rain pours in the proper season, not being satisfied with giving them their enemy kings."²³ "In these

²¹ திருமூர்தி தலையிய விருணிற விகங்பின்
விண்ணதி ரிமிழிசை கடிப்பப் பண்ணவைத்துத்
திண்ணவர் விசித்த குழவெவா டாகுளி
துண்ணாருக் குற்ற விளக்கடறப் பாண்டன்
விள்ளிரும் பீலி யனிதங்குச் சேட்டோடி
கண்ணிலை விடுத்த வளித்து விருத் தும்பி
வளிப்பவி ரிமிருக் குறும்பாக் தங்பொடி
விளிப்பது கலருக் தீங்குழ நாநாதி
கடிவகின் நிசைக்கு மரிச்குரத் தட்டை
கடிவகர் பொலிக்கும் வஸ்வர யெல்லாரி
கொடித்தரு பாணிய பதிலையும் பிறவுப்
கார்ஜோட் பவவின் காப்த்தணர் கடுப்ப
கேரசீர் சுருக்கிக் காய கலப்பை.

Mal. II. 1-13.

²² வணபுனை வெழின்முலை. Ib. I. 67.

The work of art is a statue as well as a picture.

²³ புகழுநாக
காகமுழுத கொடுப்பினு மரச சேங்க மொகி
தாத்தளி பொழிக்க பொய்யா வானின்
வீயாது சுருக்குமா அண்மகி மீருக்கை.

Ib. 73-76.

assemblies, if learned people who crowded there were unable to display all their learning, the courtiers covered up the defect by expounding what the scholars meant to say and thus helped them."²⁴ The scholars referred to were probably Sanskrit pandits.

The author's description of the vegetation of the hill-region is a splendid specimen of realistic poetry. "The thin climbing plant musundai produced white flowers which looked like the Pleiades in the broad, black sky. From the sesamum seeds sown in the fields, the plants with many branches rose, looking like sapphires, and as the water from springs, full like water-pots, embraces (the stalks) and prevents them from turning red the young fruit becomes mature and black and so thick that seven fruits can be held together in one grasp and the seed is full of oil. The panicum, whose ears intertwined like the trunks of elephant-calves engaged in a mock-fight, is fit for harvest. On the cut stalks of the panicum beans have shed flowers white like the droplets of sour curds and have produced fruits which look like swords. On the rocks which lie like buffaloes on the pathway, large fields yield double ragi stalks like the joined fingers of the logician when he argues. The terai paddy in the flowering forest has become fully matured by rain and its clusters are ready to be crushed into flattened rice. The white mustard sown in fields

²⁴ அல்வேர் குழிய சாகவி வணவயத்து
வல்லா ராவினும் புறம்பைத்தகச் செங்குரோகச்
சொங்கிக் காட்டிச் சொர்வின்றி விளக்கி
வல்லினி வியக்குமவன் சுற்றத் தொழுக்கம்.

Ib. II. 77-80.

which were not ploughed but only picked by the pickaxe, has grown thick. The roots of the ginger which look like natural (not man-made) pictures have grown fair and acquired acridity. The kavalai, (probably tapioca) whose vine is thick has in pit after pit grown tubers like the bent knees of the strong female yak and fit for being ground into flour. The plantains grew in abundance round hills and their tops with buds that do not blossom pricked the hill-side, as spear-heads fitted to handles prick elephants, and they have produced fruits so thick in a bunch as to bend it. The bamboo-rice has also matured and become fit to eat and stands motionless. The trees there yield fruit independent of the seasons (on account of the fertility of the soil). The black Jambolan fruits lie scattered on the broad rock. The uyavai (*Clitoria ternatea*), which makes the mouth water, has spread wide (its stems intertwined). The küvai (arrow root) has matured so as to produce flour. The sweet mango, abounding in juice, prevented people from eating any other fruit. The fruit of the long-trunked variety of the jack, called äsini, has burst and scattered the seeds. On the hillside where the male and the female owls hoot alternately like the small drum, called äguli, whose "eyes" are beaten by the fingers, jack-trees with waving boughs, on account of plentiful rainfall, have drunk water and are bent by (the weight of the) fruits which grow up and down and look like the drums (mattsjam) of dancers who walk along the road. In the fields where the cut stalks are white, the aivana and the white rice have gone to seed and, blown by the strong wind, are flourishing. The leaves of the sweet sugar-cane are bent and the canes have grown thick, so that the bed has become invisible; like a series of spears leaning on

one another, the sugar-canies have slanted on account of the wind ; they have been cut and are waiting to be taken to the press. The long fragrant negisdayi spread out as if it were blackness itself."** This poem contains beautiful

** அகவிரு விசம்பி ஆதல் போல
வாவிதின் விஸிக்த புன்கொடி முசங்கை
கிலத் தன்ன விதைப்புன மருங்கிள்
மகுளி பாயாது மலிதுளி தழவலி
ஈசாந் தன்ன சியநக்ஞைப் புறவிற்
கெங்கை போகிய கருங்காப் பிடியேற்

Ib. ll. 100—105.

கெய்கொள வெராழுகின பல்கவரிரெண்
பெருப்பொரு கலமுளி முயக்குங்க கடுப்பு
கொய்பத முற்றன குவங்குர லேசன்
வினைதயிரப் பிதித்வின் வீயுக் கிருவிதொறுக்
குளிஸ்புகர கொடுக்காம் கொண்டன வயங்க
மேறி யன்ன கல்பிறகு கியவின்
யாதிகை யன்ன கவுக்காதி சியநஞ்சு
விரும்புகவர் ஏற்றன பெரும்புன வரடே
பாஸ்வார்பு கெழிலுப் பஸ்கவர் வனி பொழுப்
வாவிதின் வினைக்கன கைவனம் வெண்வினை
கேள்வுமிதி தொழுதி விரியுத் தென்னக்
காலுத துவைப்பிற் கவிழ்க்கணைத் தியநஞ்சிக்
குறையங்க வரரா நிவப்பி எறையுற்
குலைக் கலமருக் தீங்கணமுக் கரும்பே
புயற்புளித போகிய பூமலி புறவி
எவற்பதங் கொண்டன உம்பொதித் தோகர
தொய்யாது வித்திய தார்படு தட்டவை
கையவி யமன்ற கெண்காற் தெறவின்
அம்பெண விரிக்கன கீணற கெய்தல்
கெப்பாப் பாகவ வளர்க்குவின் முற்றிக்

single sentences descriptive of natural objects, but too numerous for quotation. "Honey combs arranged like chariot-wheels on the precipitous hills where the god resides,"²⁶ "Birds which sing in a choir like a number of musical instruments tuned in unison, on the banyan trees of many branches and filled with

காயக் கொண்டன விஞ்சி மாவிருக்து
வயக்பிடி முத்தாள் கடிப்பக் குழிதொறம்
விழுயிதின் விழுக்தன கொழுங்கொடுக் கவலை
காஷ்மண் டெட்டிங் கனி தழுகம் பாம்க்கென
ஆழ்மை ரொழிமுணை யுயர்மூன் தோயத்
துறகல் சுற்றிய சேரலை வாயை
பிறகுகுலை முதைப் பழுத்த பயம்புக்
கழுத் தலமகு முத்த முகவைறக்
கால மன்றிய மரம்பயன் கொடுத்தவிற்
காலி ஆதிர்க்கென கருக்களி காவன்
மாது கொள வொழுகின சூதாசி குயவை
நுகருடி குழிலியின கூயை சேநுசிநக்
துண்ணுக்கார்த் தடித்தன உதமாப் புண்ணரிக்
தாலை யுக்கன கொடித்தா எங்கினி
விராங்கந பழிக அகுளி கடிப்பக்
குடியூ விரட்டி கெடுமலை யாத்தத்துக்
கீழு மேறுக் காஸ்வாய்த் தெதிரிக்
காஞ்செல் ஒராதியர் முழவிற் நாங்கி
மூரஞ்செலாண் டின்தஞ்சின வலங்குசினைப் பலகே

Mal. II. 106-144.

I have followed the commentator closely in translating this passage.

²⁶ ஓர்கொ ஜெவிவைர ஓயியிற் கெடுத்த
குர்புக வடிக்கத்துப் பிரசம்.

Ib. II. 238—239.

fruits." ²⁷, "(The foresters will run to you) as fast as people run to rescue men who have missed the usual ford (for crossing rivers) and walked into deep pits in the river and are sinking," ²⁸ may be quoted as samples. The following lines display a foretaste of the spirit of exaggeration that is gradually possessing the Tamil muse. "The python which lies (on the road) like a huge log, which has a large hood and beautiful eyes and swallows the strong, fierce elephant." ²⁹ A curious custom is alluded to, that of "forest-women, with hair like the waving, black river-sand, singing a song to heal the long gaping wounds caused by the striped tigers on the breasts of their husbands." ³⁰ The gathering of honey is described as "the looting of the honey gathered by the bees for its own benefit, by going up bamboo trees planted on the beautiful, tall hills, which even the bearded ape cannot climb." ³¹ The cumulus cloud is

²⁷ சோபில முருஞ்சொ சேவி யாலத்துக்
சுடியத் தன்ன குடல்புணர் புள்.

Ib. II, 268—269.

²⁸ சிலைத்துக்கற வழிலுயமகணமி மாக்கள்
புன்றபதி புச்சின் விரைக்குவல் வெப்பந்.

Ib. II, 280—281.

²⁹ அகன்ஸப யங்கன்
ஆமக்குமலி சினத்த எளிறமத ஏழிக்கு
துஞ்சமரக கடிக்கு மாசனம்.

Ib. II, 259-26

³⁰ சொமிவரி பாம்புதனாக் சோமுஙர் மாங்பி
வெடுயசி விழுப்புங்க டெவிஙர் காப்பென
வற்றுவாழ் காந்தந் சொடிசியர் பாடல்

Mal. II, 302-304.

³¹ கலைகா யந்த காண்பி செடுவார
கிளைபெய் திட்ட மால்புகெறி யாகப்
பெரும்பயன் வெளுக்கத் தேங்காள் சொன்னை.

Ib. II, 315—317

described as "swelling like carded cotton, and resting on the high hill."³² Nannan ruled over the valley of Śeyāru.

"The smaller guide to poets.":

As Malaipadukadām directed indigent poets to go to Nannan for reward, so Śirupāṇḍrappadai guided them to the court of Nalliyakkēdān. The fact that these odes were sung in honour of petty chiefs is itself an indication that the greater Rājas—Śeļa, Śera, and Pāṇḍiya—had declined in importance. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the poet praises Nalliyakkēdān as superior in generosity to the "three kings" and the "seven princes," and incidentally gives brief descriptive notices of the three kingdoms and the seven principalities of the Tamil land. "In the western country (that of the Śeras), the buffalo, treading on fat fishes, eats with its large mouth the red lily which has thick petals; its hairy back is rubbed by the soft turmeric leaves under the shade of the jack-tree on which grows the green pepper vine; it chews the cud smelling of immature honey and sleeps on a bed of wild-jasmine."³³ "The southern (Pāṇḍiya) country

³² அமைகி மாமலைப் பழுவளித் தெரங்கி,

Ib. I. 361.

³³ கொழுநின் குணதய கொதுங்கி வள்ளிதழ்க்
கழுகி சேஷ்ட கயவா செய்குமை
பைங்கறி சிவந்த பலவி ஓழக்
மஞ்சன் மூல்விலை மயிர்ப்புறச் சைவ
வினையா விளக்க ஞா மெங்குபு பெயராக
குவலிப் பங்கிலிப் பாயல் கொள்ளுக்
கட்டுவம்.

Sig. II. 41-47.

which was ruled over by the lord of Koñkai, has as its boundary the breaking waves; near them came the salt-sellers, carts, the front of whose axle-boxes were made from a block of the ripe nūñā (*Morinda umbellata*) whose flowers shed honey, turned with sharp chisels and covered with red lac, and which were drawn by strong bullocks, adorned with garlands passing behind their ears. In the carts came monkeys which were treated like children (by the salt-vendors) and they shook the rattles of the jewelled children of the wives of the salt-sellers, who wore on the waist (a garland of) pearls bright like the teeth of women and also saw-mouthed shells, who embraced their men, and whose hair was plaited fivefold."⁵⁴ "The East (Sēla) country possesses places where the tune called Kāmaram is sung, and where the bees embrace their mates, and go to sleep on the golden seed-vessel, surrounded by the petals, red as if covered

34 தறவுவா புனர்க்கு ராகுமுதிர் தணவத்
 தன்றவாய்க் குதங்குவன் யமிழுளி பொருச
 வைபுனை செப்பக் கண்டகத மர்பித்
 செம்புக் கண்ணி செவிலுத நிருத்தி
 சேங்பாட் உணை ரொழுகையோடு வந்த
 மகாது ரண்ண மாதி மட்சோர்
 சுகாது ரண்ண வளிசீர் முத்தம்
 வாஸ்வா பெயருத்தின் வயிற்றகத் தடக்கித்
 தோஷபுற மன்றக்கு கல்கூர் தங்பிபி
 ஜூனரிய ஜெம்பா துமட்டிய ரீன்ற
 சிவர்பூட் புகல்வெரை கிழவிலி யாடுக்
 தத்துசீர் வணப்பித் தொற்றுகைச் சோமாஞ்
 தென்புலம்.

Sir. II. 51-63.

Lines 58-59 are obscure.

with lac, of the holy lotus whose bud looks like the rising breast and whose full-blown flower is bright like the (human) face. This lotus grows on the ghat, which looks like a picture, because on it is spread the cochineal-like pollen of the crowded flowers of the Kadambu which grows on the banks of the tank full of water."⁵⁵ The other descriptions are too slender to be quoted. Vellore being one of the towns belonging to this prince, his principality was perhaps coterminous with the present North Arcot district.

"The Guide to Murugan":

In imitation of the three guides to poets in this collection, the Tirumurugāppūpādai is a guide to Muruga shrines. In this poem Nakkiaranār describes the worship of Murugan at (1) Tirupparāngunām, (2) Tiruccīralaiavāy, (3) Tiruvāvinangudi, (4) Tiruvēragam (5) on hills and (6) in orchards. This poem belongs to the eve of the final absorption of Aryanism by the Tamils, when the Tamil Murugan had just been identified with the Aryan six-faced Kārttikeya, fosterchild of

55 ஏற்கில் பொய்கை யடைக்கர சிவங்க
 துறைக்க கடம்பின் நல்லையார் கொலை
 யோவத் தன்ன அண்டுவற மகுங்கிற
 கொலைத் தன்ன கொக்குசேர் புறைத்தலின்
 கருமுலை யன்ன வண்முகை புடைக்கு
 திருமுக மலிழ்க்க பெய்வத் தாமரை
 யானி எங்கை யாக்குத்தோய்க் குண்ண
 சேவிதழ் பொதிக்க செம்பொற் கொட்டை
 யோம விள்ளநலை தழிலு விறகுளர்க்கு
 காமர் தும்பி காமரஞ் செப்புக்
 தன்பொன தழிலுய தளரா விருக்கை.

Sig. II, 68-78.

the stars of the Pleiades. In it we can notice the dying Tamil rite of Muruga worship coalescing with the rite of the Aryan worship of *sapmukha*. "The frightful demonesses with dry hair, irregular teeth, large mouth, yellow eyes rolling with anger, cruel looks, ears which distressed their large breasts, like fierce snakes hanging from owls with prominent eye balls, rough-skinned belly, and terrible gait, with bent fingers whose nails were dipped in blood, gouged the eyes and ate them, and carried in their large bangled hands the black heads (of corpses), and singing songs of victory and shaking their upper arms danced the *Tunaṅgai*, their mouth eating carrion."²⁷ But yet "the Lord who possessed the tall flag adorned with the bird which has many stripes and bent feathers and strikes the snake dead, the Lord who in the field of victory held up of the white bull as his flag, who has *Umā* in one half of his body, whose thick shoulders are praised by many, who possesses three unwinking eyes and burnt the three cities, the Lord of Fortune who has ten rows of hundred eyes each, performed a hundred sacrifices and defeated his enemies, and who rides on the back of

²⁷ உவற்யகதுப்பித் பிரஸ்பத் பேஷ்வாஸ்
சுமங்கலிப் பகங்கட் குர்த்த செங்கிற
சுமங்கட் குணவொடு குமிழ்பாஸ்பு தங்கப்
பெருமூளை யனைக்குங் காதிற் பின்னாஸ்
கிலுகெழு சேவயி ஞஞ்சுவங்கு பேய்யாஸ்
குகுதியாடய கூருகிர்க் கொடுவிரத்
கண்டொட் கண்ட சுபிமுகைஸ் கருச்தலை
யோண்டெராத் தடக்கையி ஜெந்தி வெகுவர
வெங்நால் விந்தனம் பாடுத்தேந் பெயரா
கிணங்கின் வாய இணங்கை நாங்க.

Tig. II. 47-56.

the elephant on whose head grow twice two horns, whose gait is beautiful, which has a bent trunk hanging low, and who is praised by all, the Lord whose one aim is to guard the universe so as to keep up the towns belonging to the four Gods”²⁸ visited Murugan at Tiruvāvinangudi. The last God is explained by the commentator to be the same as the first and the four Gods in the last phrase to be Indiran, Yaman, Varuṇan, and Śēman. This explanation is forced; but I cannot offer any other.

The part of the poem that relates to Tirucciralaivāy is an elaborate explanation of the functions of the six faces and twelve arms of sanmukha, nothing like which was known to Tamil literature before the VI century A. D. The fourth part of the poem, that which describes Murugan at Tiruvēragam deals with Brāhmaṇa-worship of the god. It runs thus:—“The twice-born descended on both sides from families which have earned the respect of the world, who have not failed to discharge

²⁸ பாம்புபடம் புகை-க்ஞம் பங்கரிச் சொடிஞ்சியறப்
புள்ளவி சில்லோடிச் செல்வதூம் வெங்கேற
வலவயி தூயரிய பவர்புகற் தினீடுதா
ஏகையெர்த்து வினங்கு மினையா முக்கண
மூவெயின் முருக்கிய முரண்மிகு செல்வதூ
நாற்றப்பக் தழிக்கிய எட்டத்து நாறபல்
வேங்கி முற்றிப் பென்றும் சொற்றத்
தீசிரண் டேக்கிய மருப்பி ஜெழின்னடத்
தாற்பெருக் தட்க்கை யுயர்த்த யானை
யெருத்த மேறிய நிகுங்கிளர் செல்வதூ
நாற்பெருக் கெங்வத்து ஒன்னக்கி சீலைதிய
ஏவகங் காக்கு மொன்றபுரி செரங்கை.

the twice three kinds of Brahminical duties, and who have trodden on the path (of Brahmascarya) for forty-eight years, and who possess the eternal principles of Dharma and the (spiritual) wealth of maintaining the triple fire, praise the god in proper season. They wear nine strands of thread twisted in three, and wet clothes (after bathing) which dry on the body; they join their palms above their heads, praise him and sing the six-lettered mantra as long as their tongue can move. They then take sweet-smelling flowers in their hands (and scatter them) before the god who lives joyfully at Eragam."³³

In this place the worship of Murugan was conducted purely in the Aryan style, but on hills it was in the pure Tamil style, as described in the section of the poem called "Dancing on the hills." There "the priest of Murugan wore a garland of green creepers on which were strung the sweet smelling nutmeg, the wild

³³ இகுமான் தெய்திய வியஸபினரின் அழகால்
திருவாச்ச கட்டிய பல்வேத தொக்குட
யதான் கிரட்டி விளைம என்னியான்
டாறிலிற் கழிப்பிய அனலில் கொள்கூ
முன்றுவகைக் குறித்த முத்திச் சென்வத்
திருப்பிறப் பாஸர் பொழுதறிக்கு அவல
வொன்பது சொண்ட முன்றுபுரி அண்ணான்
புவராக் காழகம் புலர ஏக்கு
உச்சிக் கப்பிய கூவினர் தந்புகழ்
தாரெழுத் தடக்கிய வருமங்கை கேள்வி
காவியன் கருங்கி அவிலப் பாட
விகறபுத ஏதுவ சேக்கிப் பெசிதுவக்
தோக்க துறைதலை முரியன்.

jasmine flower and the white convolvulus and daubed on his breast the bright fragrant sandal-paste. The foresters who kill (beasts) with their strong, cruel bows, along with their kindred in hill-hamlets, drink the liquor which has been matured in long bamboo stems and dance the Kuravai dance to the beating of the small Tondagam drum. Their women wear garlands of full-blown flowers which emit different kinds of odour, and strings of flowers which grow in deep mountain pools, on their well-combed hair. They wear round their waist the leaf-garment made of the leaves and flowers of the sweet basil and the flower-clusters of the fair-trunked marā (Eugenia racemosa), whence bees drink honey and (the women) with the gait of the peacock dance so that the leafy girdle waves on the forelap. The priest puts on red garments, sticks behind his ears the cool tender leaves of the Asoka, whose trunk is red, ties a cummerband, wears anklets, as also the garland of vēci; the flute is played, the trumpet is blown, and other instruments are sounded. A ram and a peacock are brought; the cock-flag is raised. He wears armlets, is surrounded by songstresses whose throat sounds like a string. On the cummerband wound tight round his waist, he wears a thin cloth, hanging down to the ground, while women with soft shoulders like the deer dance; he grasps them with his hands broad like a drum and dances on the hills."²

²⁰ பைக்கொடி சுறைக்கா பின்டமிடி மேல்
ஏம்பொதிப் புட்டில் விரைவுச் சுனவியெடு
வெண்க தாள் தெடுத்த கண்ணிய
நற்குசாக் தலைக்க சேழ்கிளர் மார்பிற்

The last section of the poem which is called "The garden where fruit is matured," shows the old worship of Murugan mixed with the new mythology about him, so that we can watch the process of the welding of the Tamil and Ārya cults. "They mixed the panicum with

தொடித்தொழில் யக்கிற கொலையுடை கானவர்
 தேங்கம் விழைச்சுத் தேங்கட் தேறத்
 குன்றங்க் கிருஷ்ணக் கிழைபுடன் மகிழ்ச்சு
 தொண்டகச் சிறப்பூரைக் குருகைய யயா
 விரதுளர்ப் பவிழ்ச்சுத் வேதபாடு ஏதங்காற்
 குன்றெளியை பூத்த வண்டிபை சண்னி
 விழைச்சுத் கோகை யிழைத்த கஞ்சங்
 முகுத்த குவ்வை விழைபுடை ஏறம்பூசு
 செங்கான் மராகுத்த வாலினை ஸிடையிடுபு
 சுரும்புணாக் தொடித்த பெருங்கண் மாத்தனை
 திருக்தங்கா மூல்து நினோப்ப ஏடு
 மயிள்கண் டன்ன மட்சூடு மகனிரோடு
 செய்யன் சிவந்த யானையன் செய்யகைச்
 செயைவத் தண்டனிர் துயவில்வருக் காதினன்
 கச்சினன் கழவினன் செக்கைச் சண்னியன்
 குழவன் கோட்டன் குறும்பஸ் லியத்தன்
 நாகன் மஞ்சளங்கள் புகரில் சேயலன்
 கொந்தய ஜெடியன் கெடும்யனி தோன்
 எரம்பார்த் தன்ன வின்குரற் கெடுகுதியொடு
 குறும்பொறிக் கொண்ட ரந்தன் சாயன்
 மகுங்கிந் கட்டிய கிலகேர்பு தகிலினன்
 முழுஏறழ் தடக்காகவி எரியல யேக்கு
 யென்குட்ட பல்ம்பீண தழிதித் தலைத்தாக்கு
 குக்குதொ ரூட்டு கின்றதன் பண்பே...

flowers, cut up the ram, and planted the cock-flag,"³¹ in all sorts of places. "They daubed white mustard and ghi, muttered (prayers), worshipped him, threw beautiful flowers on him; they wore two pieces of cloth of different colours, tied red thread (round their wrist), scattered white fried rice, mixed white rice with the blood of the strong-legged ram, gave it as a minor offering, placed other dishes (before the god), and spilted green turmeric paste and fragrant sandal paste; they cut off the heads of garlands of the cool red oleander, raised it high, prayed that the hill-side villages might prosper, offered incense, and sang the Kuriñji tune. The hill-streams and the musical instruments sounded; they spread red flowers and panicum mixed with blood."³²

³¹ சுதுதினை எல்லராடு விளைடு மறியறத்து
வாரங்கள் சொஷ்டவோடு வயிற்பட சித்தி

Ib. II, 218-219.

³² செம்போ நடையலி யப்பி வைதுகாத்துக்
குட்டத்து பட்டுக் கொழுமலர் சித்தி
முரண்கோ ஞாகுவி எரிக்கேடு ஞாகுவி
செக்கால் யாத்து வெண்பொரி சித்தி
மதவலி சிலைடுய மாத்தாட் கொழுவிக்கடக்
குகுதியோடு விளைடுய துவென் எரிகி
கிள்பலிச் செம்பு பல்பிரப் பிரிடுச்
சிறபக மஞ்சளோடு கறவிலர தெளித்துப்
பெருக்கண் கணவீச = தாங்கண் மாலை
துணையற வறத்துத் தாங்க எற்றி
ஏவிமைச் சிலைப்பி என்னாச் வாழ்த்தி
+ நம்புகை யெசிக்குதுக் குறிச்சி பாட
பிலிழிச் யஞுவியொ டுன்னியக் கநக்க
ஏஞுவப் பல்பூத் தாங்க வெறுவரக்
குகிச் செக்கினை பரப்பி.

Tir. II, 228-242.

This is followed by an account of the birth of Kumāra, taken from Aryan legends. The poem ends with the phrase 'Lord of the hill on which there are orchards where fruits mature.'³²

From now, Murugan almost entirely dropped out Tamil literature for nearly three hundred years, Śiva and Viṣṇu claiming the undivided attention and the one-pointed devotion of Tamil poets.

³² உயிர்ச் செலவு வெங்கிய சூரூர்,

Ib. I, 317.



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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE KALI COLLECTION ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY:

Kalittogal :

This anthology is the swan-song of the old Tamil literary tradition. The five songs that constitute this collection all belong to the VI century A. D., with the end of which century, the old love songs ceased to be composed, being ousted by the new kind of poems which were inspired by devotion to Siva or Visnu enshrined in particular temples of the Tamil country, and, therefore, in a vocabulary, choked with borrowings from Sanskrit. The few love-songs, now called Kōvai, that were composed in the later ages, though they nominally followed the Tamil tradition and followed the rules of Tolkāppiyānār's grammar and others of later date, with regard to the Agam class of poems, yet had as their subject-matter not human love, but that of the devotee, treated for the time as a woman, to God, conceived as the lover. Songs of human love did not entirely die out, but they degenerated into a very artificial love-poetry, quite the opposite pole to the realistic poetry of the early ages.

Old Imagery long drawn out :

Kali is a kind of metre in which the hundred and fifty poems of this collection are composed. As in the Five Short Hundred, each tipai was taken up by a separate author. The poems too were deliberately composed to

illustrate the rules of Tolkāppiyānār, and hence cannot be attributed to an age earlier than the VI century. This is also proved by the fact that the Aryan gods were well-established in the Tamil land before these poems were composed. But yet there are echoes of very old Tamil customs which had not died out in the VI century. Moreover whereas the older poems dealt briefly, as do sonnets, with one sentiment, in the Kalittogai, a single situation is beaten out into a long poem, artificially subdivided into parts. Thus the Pālaikkali deals with the misery of the heroine on account of the lover's proposal to go to far countries to earn wealth and her attempts to restrain him from going away. The agony is drawn out over many hundreds of lines of the first Kali. The other Kalis, too, go in systematic order through the whole gamut of love-incident that according to Tolkāppiyānār constituted each class (*tinai*) of love-poetry. So that may be noticed a continuity of story in each Kali, and each Kali may almost be called the epopee of a particular *tinai*. As an example may be quoted the Marudakkali, which is the epic of harlotry, consisting of the speeches of the heroine, her companion, the erring lover, his mistresses, and the pāṇin (bard) who is the go-between that first secures mistresses for the hero and later tries to bring about a reconciliation between wife and husband. The result of this method of treatment is a wearisome repetition on a very large scale of the images and concepts of the five kinds of poetry, of which illustrations have been given in Chapter XVII. In the Pālaikkali by Pālai pāḍiya Perungsūnigō, the heat of the sun, the mirage, the lack of roads, the superiority of the joys of love to the joys of wealth, the loss of beauty owing to the pangs of parting and the like incidents of Pālai

occur endlessly. As it is not possible to quote the whole or a large part of any one Kali to prove this point, a specimen or two may be given of the repetition of the same sentiment in three successive passages. A mother searching for her daughter who had eloped with her lover was told the following words of consolation by an ascetic. " Sandal, with which many fragrant substances are mixed, gives pleasure to those that rub its paste on their body ; but though born on the hills, what good does it do to them ? If you think about it, your daughter will be to you (like the sandal to the hill). Excellent white pearls are useful to those that wear them ; but, though born in the water (of the sea), what good do they do to the water ? When you consider it, your daughter will be to you (like the pearls to the sea). The delightful notes from the seven strings are useful to the players ; but, though born from the yāj, what good do they do to the yāj ? When you enquire into it, your daughter will be to you (like the notes to the yāj)."¹

Here is another example :— Women who have been abandoned after the beauty of their shoulders have been enjoyed, are like a leaf-cup from which one has drunk

¹ பலதுற ஏற்குசாக்தம் படிப்பவர்க் கல்வதை
மனையுளே பிறப்பிலூ மனைக்கலவதா மென்செய்யு
கிளையுக்கா ஜம்மக ஆமக்குமாக் கிளையுளே
கீர்த்து வெண்ணுத்த மனையுவர்க் கல்வதை
கிருளே பிறப்பிலூ கிர்க்கலவதா மென்செய்யுக்
கேதுக்கா ஜம்மக ஆமக்குமாக் கிளையுளே
எழ்புண நன்வினைச் சூரப்பவர்க் கல்வதை
யாழுளே பிறப்பிலூம் யாழ்க்கலவதா மென்செய்யுஞ்
குருக்கா ஜம்மக ஆமக்கு மாக்கிளையுளே.

water with great desire. Women whose beauty has been enjoyed with great desire are like a town from which its dwellers have departed. Women whose beauty has been enjoyed by men who have embraced them, are like a flower which has been worn."* In these specimens there is at least variety of imagery; but there is no charm in the repetition ad nauseam of the fighting of elephants and tigers, the scaring off of parrots from the millet-field, the crawling of crabs on the sandy beach and the waves moving to and fro the boats from which fishermen catch fish; such constitute the bulk of Kalittogai.

Allegorization of images:

This tiresome repetition of imagery is partly due to the fact that a scheme of allegory had been developed and every natural object had become the symbol of something or other connected with love. This extensive use of symbols instead of the straight names of objects has become a disease of poetry and poems have thence degenerated into riddles. Such use of symbols, called ulluraiyuvainam (Metaphor) occurs now and then in the early literature, and applies to single words or epithets but becomes an extensive allegory in this poem. The following is a specimen. "In the sweet-smelling spring

* தென்ன முண்டு தந்தைப் பட்டுடோர்
வேணி குண்ட குண்டேயர ரண்ணர்
கல்குார் புரிச்த கல்குணப் பட்டுடோ
கல்குார் போகிய ஆரோ ரண்ணர்
குடுணர் புரிச்த குணதுணப் பட்டுடோர்
குடுண ரிட்ட பூயேர ரண்ணர்

flowing from the broad rock where the bamboos cut off the desirable light of the morning sun, grows the fragrant, beautiful lily. The cluster of its flowers is mistaken for the rare-gemmed serpent drinking water. On the hill side where the flowers smell sweet flows the roar of the thunder when it rains hard and the wind shakes the huge hills. The men of the hill-hamlet rise from their sleep."³ The allegorical interpretation of this beautiful passage as given by the commentator is:—The broad rock is the house of the heroine, the lily in the spring is the fair maiden whom her relatives are looking after, the fragrant lily looking like the serpent is the love of the lovers, which though it will lead ultimately to a happy wedded life now appears as it were sinful, the flow of the sound of thunder along the hill-side is the spread of the rumours about their love-passages throughout the village, the villagers rising from their sleep is the obstruction to the even course of their love by her relatives placing a guard in the house to prevent her from meeting the lover. In some of the latest of the odes of Neppinai also occurs this kind of allegory and I think it is the reflection of Sanskrit love-poetry of late times, because this kind of "metaphysical poetry" is very rare in early Tamil literature before it was influenced by Sanskrit literature.

³ விடுயல்வெக் கதிர்காவும் வேவும் வகலங்கா
காட்சனைக் கவினிய காக்தளங் குணப்பூர்
யகுமணி யவிருத்தி யரவி குணங்கெத்துப்
பெருமலை மிரிச்ப்பன்ன காற்றுக்காக் களிச்செய்
ஊருமுக்கண் ஆவுதலி ஆயர்க்குர வொச்சிப்போடு
ஏற்கீய கூஞ்சாராற் கிளம்பவிற் காதுமணங்
சிறுகுடி தவிசெழுஷும்.

Kal. ii. 9. ll. 1-7.

Aryan Similes:

In these poems several similes are drawn from Aryan mythology. Thus the companion of the heroine describes the proposed parting of the lover from his mistress in these terms:—" You have resolved to go along the hot, endless way, where the path is obstructed by rocks, cracked by the heat of the bright sun, as the (three) forts were destroyed by the fierce anger of the wielder of the battle-axe. The sun is like the face of the three-eyed God, when, being requested at the beginning (of creation) by Brahma, the Ancient, and other Gods to fell the necks of the rebellious Asuras, Śiva with the ferocity of Yama defeated in open fight the crafty Asuras and broke their three forts. Your sweet-heart who cannot forget you will die here (as soon as you go away)."⁴ A simile based on Aryan rites is found in "my breath comes in gasps like the smoke of the yajñas performed by Brāhmaṇas learned in the śruti,"⁵

* தூதங்கர்த் தேவதிய முதியவன் முதலாக
வடக்காதர் மிடில்சாய வமர்வர் திரத்தலின்
மடக்கல்போற் சிலை மரவஞ்சிச யாணகரக்
ஏட்டுக் குங்பொடி குங்கண்ணுன் குவெழிது
முடங்நக்கான் முாம்போல வொண்டதிரதெறதலிற்
இற்றுக் கணிசியோன் சிறைவி ஜக்ளவி
வேறுபெற்றதிர் கணபோல் வகரபிளக் தியங்கு
ராதுகெட விளக்கிய வழவுவி ராதினை
மறப்பறுக் காத விவர்வை உடையிய
விறப்பத் துணிக்களிர்.

Kal. i. 2. II. 1-10.

* கேள்வி யக்தவன் கடவும்
கேள்வி யாவிய ஓயிர்க்குமென் கெள்குரை

Kal. i. 35. II. 22-56.

and in "As the Rāksasa king who had twice five heads inserted his hand shining with bangles under the high hill on which sat along with Umā the Brāhmaṇa God, whose locks are (always) wet and who bent the bow made from the Himalayan bamboo."⁶ This latter is a specimen of the many allusions to northern legends that occur in the anthology. The following is a specimen of similes taken not from nature, nor from legends but from the teachings of the Dharma Sastra and coming straight from later Sanskrit literature where such conceits abound. It also illustrates the intimate coalescence that had by that time taken place between Tamil and Sanskrit poetic imagery. "The leaves of the trees on the banks of the sweet water grow more and more, as does the wealth of the faultless man who gives unstintingly and follows the path of Dharma."⁷ All this is evidence that these Kali poems were begun after Aryan culture had attained a position of eminence in the VI century.

Persistence of the old poetical spirit !

The increase in the number of Aryan allusions does not mean that the old poetic fire was at all extinguished. Kadungō thus describes the oncoming of spring:—"As

⁶ இமையலில் வாங்கிய வீரஞ்சலை யந்தன
ஒடுக்கையாகச் சுயர்மலை யிருக்கன அது
கையிலு தலையிட ஏற்காத கோமாங்க
பெழுத்தொலி நடக்கவிற் கீழ்க்குத் தம்மலை
வெளிக்கல் சென்னா தழுப்பவன் போல

Kal. ii. 2, ll. 1-5.

⁷ சதலிற் குறைஷட்டா தறைறிக் தெரழுதை
திதிவாண் சென்னபோற் நின்கை மரக்கத.

Kal. i. 27, ll. 1-2.

if the river desired to witness the spreading beauties of the great earth, and opened its eyes, flowers blossomed and beautified the tanks near ; the petals of the murukku (coral flower) dropped from their stalks on the tanks and looked like coral fixed on crystal-like glass. The bees crowded and hummed when they saw themselves and the flowers reflected in the clear ponds. The buds of the trees on the banks opened out and adorned the tree like several kinds of gems. The spring scattered the pollen, even when the hands of women who have embraced their lovers were not taken out from below their lovers' arms."¹

Kabilar thus describes a lady :—" Like the clouds that penetrate between the interstices of the bright lightning, the (fivefold) partings of the hair fair like the lines cut on gold, shine between the fivefold plaits (on the head). Behind was the fragrant flower-garland in which at various places strips of Pandanus petals had been inserted. Sweet smiles adorned her teeth and sweet words beautified her mouth naturally red."² This

¹ விதானங் குலத்து வியவனி என்னிய
யாதான் விதித்தபோற் கயக்கிள் கவிஞபெற
மண்புரை வயங்கருட் உப்பெறிஸ் தகவபோவப்
பின்னில் முருக்கித முளியக் துறிக்கதகந்
துணிகய சூழுக்கித் துஷதபுடன் வண்டர்ப்ப
மண்ணிபோல வருங்குற்றது மரமென்ற மலர்வேயக்
காதவர்ப் புணர்ததார் கவுக்கை கெழுநாது
தாதவிழ் ஒகளிரோ வந்தன்ற.

Kal. i. 32 II. 1-8.

² மின்தெனுநி ரமிரத வினடபோரும் பொய்வேபோற்
பொன்னாக தகசககிர் வகைகொறி வயங்கிட்டுப்

is how a lover praises his mistress in the form of a conundrum :—" (Your) beauty is waning ; but you are not the crescent moon. (Your face) has black (tilakam on the forehead and collyrium on the eyelids) ; but you are not the moon. You possess (shoulders like) the bamboo but you are not a hill. You have flowers (i. e., flower like eyes) ; but you are not a (mountain) spring. Your gait is slow ; but you are not a peacock. As you speak, you get tired ; but you are not a parrot."⁹ This is another description but less like a conundrum " Your fair face is like the moon. The back of your head is like the black cloud near the moon which resembles your face. The flowers strung together with fine thread and with petals wet with honey, placed on the back of your head, resemble in beauty the Pleiades, being contrasted with (the hair which is like) a black serpent."¹⁰

போழிவு யிட்ட கமத்தும் பூங்கோகை
வின்னைக் கிளங்கெயித்துத் தேமொழித்
துவர்ச்செங்காரம்

Kal. ii, 19. II, 1'4.

⁹ ஒத்துப் பண்டு பின்றபு மன்ற
கைத்திர்க் கண்டு மறியு மன்ற
கேயைன் நன்று மனையு மன்ற
பூங்கள் நன்று களையு மன்ற
மென்ல வியறு மயிழு மன்ற
சொல்லத் தன்றுக் கிளியு மன்ற

Kal. ii, 19. II, 9-14

¹⁰ அணிமுக மதியேயப்ப வம்மதியை கணியேய்க்கு
மணிமுக மாயகைழகின் பின்னெனுப்பப் பின்னின்கண்
விரிதுண்ணால் கற்றிய வீரித மூலி
யசாயுக்கண் எணியுத தாரங்மீன் நகையொப்ப.

Kal. ii, 19. II, 9 4.

References to toy-chariots to which toy elephants were attached, occur in all the early poems; but Marudan Ilanāganār, the author of Marudakkali, turns it to good use in the mouth of a wife whose husband has resorted to hetairae. "Let those who do not love you, neglect you. Come, my charioteer of a son, on whose soft head shine three strings of pearls, to me who have given you birth and who with an unchanging love may see you to the full satisfaction of my eyes. Slowly, slowly drag with the twisted soft rope, while the bells within your anklets tinkle, the elephant made by (human) hands, which does not require food and bears (on its back) a seat made of coral with bud-like bright pearls set on its edges. It is sweet to witness your tired, wobbling walk, while bright (little) bells (at your feet) tinkle; but it is bitter to see the girls who have conveyed my message to your father and have returned with their bangles slipping out of sorrow."¹¹

11 சுவந்தனை யாத்ராவார் மாறங்க மாறுக்
 சுவந்தனை மின்னுங் கலிஞ்விடி முஷ்சந்தப்
 பயந்ததெங்க எண்ணுர யாங்காண எங்கிற்
 திகழேநரி முத்தல் கரும்பாகத் தைடுப்
 பவழம் புளைக்க பருதி கமப்பக்
 எழு மறியாநின் அவபீன வேழும்
 புரிபுளை பூங்கவித்திற் பைபய காங்கி
 புரிபுளை புட்டுவி ஜூங்கணீர்த் திக்கே
 வருத்துவம் பாக மகன்
 கிளர்மணி யார்ப்பார்ப்பப்பச் சாதுப்ச்சாதுப்ச் செங்லுக்
 சுவந்தங்க காங்க வினிதுமற் தின்னுடே
 முனமென்னு நுக்கைமாட் தெங்க முழப்பார்
 வளைகெகிழ் பியாங்காந்துங் காஸ்.

The following description of the evening is by Nallanduvanār, the author of Neydaṅkali and the editor of the Kali collection. "The sun, which resembled the discus with which he cut the skull of the murderous elephant on which was seated his foe, when the broad-chested One who wore a garland of cool, blown flowers, quelled the valour of his enemies who attacked him in a body, gathered together his rays and disappeared behind the hill. The broad ocean roared; and the sounding waves of the sea reached the shore as if to see the night. The banks of the backwaters lost their beauty because the bees had flown away. The flowers of the pond closed up their petals as if they had gone to sleep. The world took fear and trembled. The dark night causing distress to all, subjugated the wide earth."¹²

"The Song of the Pestle":

In the Kupiñjikkali by Kabilar occurs a beautiful specimen of Vallaippatti. Vallaippatti is a song sung by two women while they are pounding grains in a wooden

¹² மன்னரை மறந்துசாய்த்த மலர்த்தண்டா ரகவத்தோ
களுவ்வாதா குடக்கேட ஏருத்துட ஜெற்தலிற்
கொன்யானை யணிநுத வழுத்திய வாழிபோற்
கல்சேப்பு ஞாயிற கதிர்வாங்கி மங்ரதலி
னிருங்கட வெலவித்தாங்கே பிரவுங்கங்பது போலப்
பெருங்கட வேநதீர் வீங்குபு கங்கநேப
போதுய வண்டிகுற் புல்வென்ற துறையவாய்ப்
பாயக்கொக் பகுபோவக் கயமலர் வாய்க்கூப
வொருங்கையே கிடிக்குற்றி அலகெனா மச்சர
விருதிலம் பெயர்ப்பன்ன வெங்கங்கீர் மருண்பாலை.

mortar and consists of a series of strophes and anti-strophes sung alternately, each accompanying the downcoming of the pestle, to relieve the tedium of the monotonous work. The Kuṇava girls pound the panicum, with pestles made of the heartwood of a tree which grows on the hills, on a pit on a rock, which serves as a mortar. This practice coming down from the stone age is idealized and used as an incident in Kuriñji poetry and the occasion is used by maidens for alternately praising and damning the lover. (The foster-sister says), "Let us sing, my friend, as we like." (The maiden replies), "Let us pull the mature spikes of the millet whose heads are bent like (those of) shy girls with fair eyes and glad speech, raise alternately the pestle made of the ivory full of pearls, (pound the grains in) a mortar made of the wood of the sandal-tree on which buds grow, and sing as we like in praise of the hill which belongs to the man who has caused (in my bosom) the disease (of love) for which there is no remedy." (The foster sister then says), "Girl with a fair forehead, handsome locks, soft shoulders looking like the beautiful bamboo, and cheeks smelling like honey, I shall sing a song in praise (of the hill); you, too, sing a song eulogizing the fruitful hill where the bamboo grows in clusters."¹³ After singing about the hill, the foster sister and the heroine began to sing alternately praising and blaming the hero, in the style of the regular

¹³ அதனினம் பாடுவர்க் கோழி யார்க்க
வைக் கூறப்பட வல்லவர் காது சிலைபோற்
நொச்சென்ற வேங்கட் டாம்குர் ஜி இ
முத்தவர் சாக்துரன் முத்தர் மகுப்பின்
வணக்கர முலக்கை வல்லவரி கேள்விப்

vallaippāṭṭu or ' pounding-song' (Foster-sister). " Friend, may you live long. Come, let us consider why the hill which belongs to the country of the shameless one who has neglected you is lower than the (next) hill on which flows the bright stream."

(Heroine). " Will he whose heart is inspired by truth, and whose conduct is as straight as the beam of a balance which does not lean to one side, desert and destroy the heart of one who loves him ? " (Foster-sister.) " Beside the hill on the land of the worthless person who has neglected us, the neighbouring hills, on which the cool, fragrant Kōagu flowers look like an elephant wearing gold ornaments." (Heroine) " Will he whose hands generously bestow chariots on those that seek his gifts and whose complexion is clearer than the water from his hills, desert me so that love-sickness may torment me ? "

(Foster-sister). " The hill of the person who has caused us distress and hence made the bangles slip (from the hand), looks like the (useless) moon behind a cloud, whereas the next hill shines with honeycombs placed on its top and dripping with honey." (Heroine). " Do not ceaselessly speak about his cruelty. He who has bound my heart (with his love) is not one who will not be afraid of the evil conduct which other people shun."¹⁴

பாக்கவி செனும் பசும்தான் பயமலை வேத்தி
யக்கவினங்கம் பாடுவர எம்
• ஜம்பகத வக்கிர்த வம்பவீசாத் தட்டுமென்றோட்
ஓட்டுது சுதுப்பினு யாதுமென் சேத்துகு
கொந்தை விட்டா க் கொஞ்சது பாடுத்துக.

Kal. ii. 4. ll. 1-10.

The Bull-fight:

In the Mullaikkali by Śōjan Nalluruttiran, occurs an elaborate description of the ancient custom of the pastoral tracts called ēputaluvudal, 'embracing the bull,' and of the practice of choosing husbands from those who come out successful in this adventure. The following is a specimen of the several songs describing this:—

"The herdsman girls who had teeth like mullai buds and white quills arranged in a row, wide cool eyes, lovely speech and ears adorned with bright golden crocodile-shaped earrings, mounted the high platform to witness the capture of the bull by the owner of many

14 காணிய வரவழி தேறி வரத்தாம்பு
வாணிநால் கொண்— வருவித்தே கம்மகுளா
காணிலி காட்டு மலை
தூரவுந்துர் தென்ச மத்து விழொனே
வோரவுற் குருகுதிற மொல்காத கேக்கோ
வத்துபுரி தெஞ்சத் தவன்.
தன்னுநக் கோங்கமலர்க்க வகறயெல்லாம்
போன்னனி யானைபோற் கேருங்குமே கம்மகுளாக்
கொள்ளுள ஞாட்டு மலை,
வருகோ யேய்ப்ப விழொனே தன்மலை
கிரினுஞ் சாய துடைய எயக்தேர்க்குத்
தூத்துபும் வண்ணச யவன்.
வகறயினச மேந்தெருதித்த தெம்க்க வரிஞ்சுள்
குறைத்தவை திங்கக் போற் கேருங்கு விழைக்கெழு
யெவ்வ முறிவினுன் குள்ள.
என்சா தெல்லா கொடுமை துவவாதி
யஞ்சுசு தஞ்சா வறணிலி யல்லவென்ன
கெஞ்சும் பிளிரிக் கொண் டவன்.

cows who wore fragrant garlands of flowers which grow on rocks and in forests, such as the cassia which has soft clusters, the Kāyā (Memecylon Tinctorium) which has thin flowers, the Veṭoi (*Ixora coccinea*) which has small leaves, the Piḍava, the Kēḍal (white Gloriosa), and the Pāṅgar. They (the girls) reached their platforms. Then the black bull with white legs which, like the stream flowing down the side of the gem-filled hill, had reached the limit of beauty, the specked bull, with beautiful white spots on brown skin, looking like the red cloudy evening sky shining with bright stars, and the brown bull whose horns were bent like the young moon worn by the murderous God (Sivan) and other strong bulls which could fight (were driven into) the stall which was surrounded by fragrant creepers and resembled a large hill where lions, horses, elephants and alligators are assembled together and the rain is pouring. The bulls knew that the herdsmen had jumped into the stall with the desire to embrace them and pricked them with their horns. Then like the red garland around the crescent moon worn by the wielder of the battle-axe round which flames are burning, their horns were red with blood and had guts winding round them. Behold his greatness, dancing before the bull whose horns are wound round by his guts, he takes them with both hands and thrusts them into his stomach, just as when one holds in both hands a bundle of red thread, another parts it into three strands and takes it. O, young maid, see this (feat of strength), here. He, the son of the buffalo-herd, will not return without quelling its strength; he has sprung on the rough back of the fighting bull and embraced it like a garland. Maid, here (another), the son of the cowherd, will not cease to fight; he is

dancing on the (back of the) speckled bull looking like a man punting a canoe in the stream. In the sporting field to which many people have come, the herdsman has embraced the black bull which came like the wind and has crushed out its strength, thus appearing like the Lord when he broke with his foot the neck of Yaman who rides on a buffalo, and deprived him of life. To look at the fight strikes my mind with terror. O, young maid, see this feat of strength. Here he, the son of the shepherd, is lying on the side of the strong white bull, like the black spot on the moon. Behold the strength of the herdsman who is wearing the garland of Kāyi flowers, he has caught hold of the ears of the red bull that rushed on him with limitless speed, and quelled its strength, thus appearing like Māyōn when he caught the horse with a beautiful mane sent by his enemies, tore open its mouth and beat it with his fist. To behold it strikes my mind with terror."¹⁵

15 மென்னார்க் கொன்னறபு மென்மலர்க் காயரவும்
புள்ளிலை வெட்சியும் பிடிவுக் காவுக்
குல்லையும் குருத்துக் கோடறும் பாங்கருக்
கல்லவுக் கடத்தவுக் கமழுகண்ணி மலைக்தணர்
பல்லாங் பொதுவர் சதற்விலை கோட்காண்மார்
முஷ்லை முகைபு முகுக்கு சிரைத்தந்ன
பஸ்லர் பெருமலைக் கண்ணர் மட்டுச்சேர்க்க
சொல்வர் சட்டுக் கணக்குமூக் காநினர்
நல்லவர் கொண்டார் மிகை.
அவர் மிகை கொள
மணிவரை மருக்கி ணருவி போல
வணிவரம் பறத்த யெண்காற் காரிய
மீன்பூத் தவிர்வரு மக்திவான் விகம்புபோல்
வாங்பொறி பரஞ்ச புள்ளி வெள்ளையுக்

Age of the poems :

In three of the poems of the Kalittogai occur vague references to Koṅkai, Madura, and the Pāṇḍiyan (without specifying the name of any king). This, together with the fact that the Aryan allusions are so many, indicates that the Kali poems all belong to the VI century A.D. In that century, Aryan culture rapidly got the upper hand and the old landmarks of ancient Tamil life began to disappear from Tamil poetry or take a very secondary place in the life of the people. Aryan tales gathered round the Tamil gods, so far as they could be identified with Aryan gods of similar functions. Religious syncretism reached its climax. The Aryan customs, too, began to be mingled with Tamil customs and Aryan superstitions with Tamil ones. The Madura country was in a state of political anarchy, the Kalappāṭa and the Pāṇḍiya, constantly struggling for supremacy. Hence the poems vaguely refer to Pāṇḍiya kings without specifying any one royal patron of letters as do the earlier poems.

இஞ்சை விலீதோன்று கண்ணட விலீதோத்தன்
புள்ளினாத் தாயர் மகனங்களே புள்ளி
வெறுத்த வயிரெல்லேற் றம்புண்டத் திங்கண்
மறுப்போற் பொருஷ்தி யவன்
தூவர் வேங்கமோ இசூத்துத்தன் மேந்தென்ற
சேஷ செயிழுதற் கொண்டு பொய்த்தோற்றுத்
காயாம்பூக் எண்ணிப் பொதுவன் ராணுண்ண
மேஹர் விடுத்தக்க கட்டத் குதிரையை
வாஸ்பகுத் திட்டிப் புதைத்தனான் நின்னான்காரன்
மாயோனேன் நட்டுத்தென் வெஞ்சுக்.

Kal. iv. 3 II. 1-55.

CHAPTER XXIX

REMAINING LITERATURE OF THE AGE BEFORE 600 A. D.

The five Short Hundred :

This anthology contains 5 sets of a hundred stanzas each, one on each of the five tipais. Each hundred was composed by one poet and is subdivided into ten sets of ten odes each, each ten on one sub-incident of one of the tipais, more or less as defined by Tolkāppiyānār. As each poet definitely set about illustrating the categories of the grammarian, the anthology is not a collection of occasional poems. As they were composed after the Tolkāppiyam had become the supreme directing authority which poets were bound to follow, the odes are wanting in spontaneity and are useless for our purpose. Hence it is not proposed to translate any of these odes. None of the poems could have been composed earlier than the V century A. D..

The Paripāḍal Seventy :

Of the seventy poems of this collection, only twenty-two and a few fragments are available. Of these, six are about Visnu, 8 about Murugan, eight about the river Vaiyai (Vaigai). The shrines, Tirupparan-Sungam and Tirumāliruñijōlai are referred to in the songs about gods. The authors' names so far as known show that they belonged to the VI century. This is confirmed by the abundant Aryan allusions and Sanskrit words in the poems. They were set to music by later persons.

A description of the sky during an eclipse in poem 11 has been used in an attempt to fix the date of the composition of the poem by astronomical calculations, but it has proved a failure, because the information in the text is not enough for calculating the date without adventitious unwarranted assumptions and the information supplied by the annotator has made confusion worse confounded.

The poets of the Pāripādal belonged to the Madura district, as can be inferred from the subject-matter of their poems. They were apparently content with the blessings of the divine objects of their eulogy.

The Eighteen minor poems:

The Kikkānakku, eighteen in number, are contrasted with the mērkanakku, the name of the eight-fold anthology and the Ten Songs. These eighteen poems range in date from the VI to the VIII century A.D. In two stanzas of the Nāladiyār, usually counted as one of the eighteen minor poems, a chief of the Muttaraiyar clan who lived in the VIII century is referred to. These poems are of three classes. (1) One poem dealing with the victory on the field of battle of a Sōla king called Sēngānā, in which the author revels in images of slaughter and of the flow of blood on the battle-field. (2) Five poems dealing with the tīnais of Agam, like the Five Short hundred. These two represent the dying echoes of the vanishing tradition of old Tamil love and war poetry (Agam and Puram). (3) Twelve didactic poems, treating chiefly of ethics, and social conventions which two are sometimes inextricably bound with each other. These poems are imitations of the Sanskrit Nīti Śāstra poems, which

became very popular in this age throughout India. Hence these poems belong to the age when Aryan culture had become very firmly established in South India. Most of the poems of this class can be called poetry only because they are in metrical form. Absolutely devoid of the poetic fire of the earlier Tamil poetry, they are valuable only because, teaching morality of the highest order, such as has not been rivalled by the teachings of any other of the world's teachers, they are put in verse, which can be memorized and quoted when moral lessons are intended to be driven home into the minds of the young. As poetry, they are the dreariest imaginable.

The Tirukkural:

This poem is now well-known to the world, on account of the Latin and English translations of European scholars. These scholars, having been mainly Christian ecclesiastics, have been attracted by the excellent ethics taught in it in a special kind of short stanza, with very much meaning concentrated in very few words. Father Beschi, the greatest of European Tamil scholars, is said to have remarked that the tongue of Tiruvaluvār who sang the aphorisms of Kural could not have gone to Hell, even though, being Pagan, he must have gone there. It is not necessary to speak of the contents of this poem which has secured the admiration of the world, because translations have made it familiar to enquirers.

The 'short verse' (Kural) of this poem is a very successful imitation of the Sūtra style of Sanskrit writers on pseudo-scientific subjects; the Kural Venbā is superior to the Sūtra, because it is in poetic form

whereas the latter is in prose. The verse is firmly knit and the author, here and there, uses poetic images to relieve the dreariness of direct didactics. Artists have always refused to admit didactic poetry into the legitimate realms of the Muse, but if excellence of workmanship and the occasional illumination of moral teaching by flashes of true poetic fire can justify the acceptance of any didactic poem as true poetry, the Tirukkural is that poem. A few examples, chosen at random will prove this. "He who guards the five (senses) with the fence of strength is seed for the land of bliss."¹ "Those who lose wealth may blossom (again) in some (future) season (like a tree that has shed its flowers); those who have lost mercy have lost (everything), and can scarcely change (to a better state)."² "As gold shines (more and more) when it is burnt (more and more) in fire, so when pain burns more and more the (mind of the) ascetic, it becomes brighter (and brighter)."³ "As the bird flies away leaving the nest bare, so is the union of the body and the soul."⁴ "The life of the man who does not guard against it before (danger) comes, will be destroyed like straw before the flame."⁵ "The world flourishes,

1 வைத்துவிடுவது சேஷ்டமியர் கலைக்குத் தாப்பங்கள் வரவேனால்லும் அவப்பித்தோர் வித்து.

Kural, 24.

2 பொருள்திருப் பூப்ப செருவா வருள்ளு
ரத்திரும்மத் ருத ஸரித.

Kural, 248.

3 கடச் சுட்டும் பொன்பேர் வெளிவிடுக் குண்பஞ்
கடச்சட சேர்த்திற் பவர்க்கு.

Kural, 267.

4 குடம்பை தனித்துதாழியுப் புட்பந் தந்தே
யுட்பேர் உயிரினை எட்டு.

Kural, 338.

looking up to the sky (for rain); so subjects look up to the king's sceptre (for protection).⁵ "Like scentless flowers made into a garland are those who cannot clearly expound what they have learnt."⁶ "Love is an ocean of joy; but when obstructed it is bigger than the ocean".⁷

The Tirukkural is frequently called Muppāl, the Trivarga, the three objects of life; it is divided into three parts, respectively devoted to Agam, Poru], and Inbam, which are Tamil translations of Sanskrit Dharma, Artha and Kāma. In the treatment of the first two, the author borrows freely from Sanskrit Śāstras, for in the Tamil literature before Tiruvalluvar's time, didactic poetry did not exist. Agam, right conduct, such as the constancy of a maiden to her lover, was, if at all, indirectly taught and Poru], the science of politics, had not been developed at all. In the third part, Kamattuppāl, the part dealing with love, Tiruvalluvar recognized not only the old Tamil distinction between Kaļavu and Kaļpu, love before marriage and vice versa, but follows the Tamil poetic tradition of the course of love mainly as

⁵ அகுமங்கள் காவாதான் வாழ்க்கை யெரிமுன்ன
காத்தாற போலாக்கெடுக்.

Kural. 435.

⁶ வாணாக்கி வாழு முலகெல்வர மன்னாவன்
கேள்ளூக்கி வாழுக் குடு.

Kural. 542.

⁷ இன்றும்த்து சாலு மஹாவையர் கற்ற
தணர விரித்துமையா கார்.

Kural. 650.

⁸ இங்பக் கடன்மற்றுக் காம மலிதழிக்காற்
தன்ப மதனிற் பெரிது.

Kural. 1166

propounded by Tolkāppiyānār. But whether he borrows his material from Sanskrit or follows Tamil tradition, he displays an originality of treatment and a sequence of ideas entirely his own, which contributes much to the merit of the poem.

From the predominance of Aryan ideas and the free use of Sanskrit words, Tiruval̄luvar cannot be assigned to any century earlier than the VI. He was, according to tradition, born at Mylapore (Madras), an ancient seaport in the Pallava dominions. This may well be true for the extent to which Tiruval̄luvar's mind was soaked in Aryan culture could have been easily possible only in the Kāñcī district what had been Aryanized for a thousand years before the poet's time, whereas the rest of Tamil India had come under the spell of Aryan culture just before his time. Early in the VI century Aryan cults—Vais̄pava, Śaiva, Baudhā and Jaina, were fast displacing, or penetrating into, the older Tamil cults. In the beginning these cults were not much opposed to each other, because no one cult secured royal patronage to the exclusion of the rest. Hence moralists, like Tiruval̄luvar and the authors of other didactic poems of the Padinēkik̄kāpukku, were able to teach pure morality without associating it with the dogmas or the basic philosophical principles of any one of the Aryan cults. Hence Tiruval̄luvar shines forth as one of the world's greatest teachers of pure ethics, without discovering to his readers what particular shade of religion he favoured. Every caste from the Brāhmaṇa to the Paraiya, and every religious sect, Vaidika or Avaidika, has claimed the honour of including in its fold this great poet-moralist, but Tiruval̄luvar has during all these ages scornfully refused to be thus labelled.

Absurd legends have been invented about the birth of Tiruvaluvavar and about the publication of his poem. The latter legend says that when it was presented to the "Third Sangam," its members refused to admit its merit. They sat on a plank which floated on a tank and when the *Tirukkural* was placed on it, the plank shrank so small as to afford room only for the book. The members sank in the water and when they came to the bank, composed, each a song, in honour of the poem. These poems are collected in an anthology called *Tiruvaluvamālai*, 'the garland for Tiruvaluvavar' and are generally printed along with the *Tirukkural*. One absurdity of the legend consists in the fact that among the obtuse members of the Sangam was included the God Śivan. Among the men that composed these laudatory stanzas are men of different ages, e. g. Māngudi Marudanār, Uruttirāsanmā, Pāradam Pādiya Perundēvanār, Kavisāgara Ferundēvanār, Nariverittalaiyār, Kulapati Nāyanār, etc., men with Sanskrit names, men with Tamil names fifty-three in number. Perhaps the only kernel of truth in these legends is the jealousy felt by the poets who kept up the old tradition for a poet from the remote, Aryанизed Pallava country and for a poem based on Sanskrit culture, and introducing a novel tradition in Tamil literature.

The Indebtedness of the Kural to Sanskrit Literature : *

That the author of the *Kural* must have been a good Sanskrit scholar and must have made a special

* This paragraph has been furnished by V.R.R. Dikṣitar, Lecturer in Indian History, Madras University, who intends bringing out a brochure fully pointing all *Tiruvaluvavar's* Sanskrit sources.

study of the Nīti and Artha Śāstra literature is evident. A comparison of the stanzas of the Kūṭṭal with the Sanskrit literature on the subjects shows clearly how Tiruvalļuvar was influenced by the Sanskrit writers on the four objects of human life, the Puruṣārthas of the Aryan sacred books. Tiruvalļuvar has divided his book into three sections as if he were concerned only with the Trivarga. But in dealing with Aṛam or Dharma, he has devoted some sections to the value of renunciation, the means to the fourth Puruṣārtha viz., Mokṣa. Apparently Tiruvalļuvar thought that the Trivarga, if properly followed, would automatically lead to the realization of Mokṣa. Whatever this may be, the Kūṭṭal is a treatise on the three objects of human life.* It is reasonable to assume that Tiruvalļuvar follows mainly in his Aṛappāl the most popular Dharma Śāstra of Manu, and in his Poruttpāl the well-known Artha Śāstra of Kautilya. Though these works seem to be the main sources of information, it can be conclusively proved that the poet was familiar with the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa, the slokas included in the Śatakas of Bhartṛhari, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Kamandaki nītiśāra, and other allied literature. Many of these books range from the VI century B. C. to the IV century A. D. and Bhartṛhari's works (c. 650 A. D.) contain verses from the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa, the Mudrārāksasa of Viśākhadatta and other well-known works. The same is true of several stanzas occurring in the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa. These claim no originality. Apparently floating nīti verses have

* See Dīkṣitar, Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 35 ff.

been incorporated in these works, with a view to popularize them. Hence from the consideration of the obligations of Tiruval̄luvar to Sanskrit works, his date cannot be fixed.

The following among a host of examples will prove this indebtedness.

The Kural says:

'He is a householder who is actuated by the best of motives and who does good by maintaining the other three orders.'¹⁰ The Mānava Dharmasāstra rules to this effect: 'The householder's life is the best, as it is he who sustains daily the other three orders by means of virtuous deeds and the giving of alms.'¹¹

'He attains fame in the seven worlds, who, reduces the five into one, like a tortoise.'¹² The Bhagavad Gītā furnishes a parallel: 'Bliss comes to him who restrains the senses from objects of desire, as a tortoise withdraws all her limbs (into its shell).'¹³

¹⁰ இங்காற்வர சென்பர வியல்புடைய முயக்கு
உங்காற்றினி ஏற தடை,
Kural. 41.

¹¹ Yasmātrayo' thyāśramino jñānenānnena cānva-
ham | Gṛhasthenāiva dhāryante tasmājjyeṣṭhāramo
gṛhi || .

Man. 3. 78.

¹² ஒருவையு எதுவுமில்லை வைத்தத்தை வாற்றி
ஒன்றுவையு சொல்ல விடத்து. Kural. 126.

¹³ Yadā samharate cāyam kūrmongāviva sarvāśah |
Indriyāṇīndriyārthebhya stasya prajñā pratiṣṭitā || .

Ib. II. 58.

'Where can you find grace in him who feeds his flesh with the flesh of other creatures.'¹⁴ In Manu, 'He is devoid of virtue who desires to feed the flesh of his body with the flesh of other creatures, except as oblations to the manes and the deities.'¹⁵

'When one gets rid of lust, anger and delusion of all kinds, then shall perish all his troubles.'¹⁶ In the Gītā, 'That man who gives up all desires and leads a life bereft of lust anger and delusion shall attain bliss.'¹⁷

'He is a lion among kings who owns the following six requisites : an army, a territory of peoples, wealth, ministry, allies and fortresses.'¹⁸ The Arthasāstra mentions seven elements of a state¹⁹ including the king. Leaving out the king the other six are a ministry, a country, fortresses, an army, allies.

'There must be a well conceived plan of work before actually doing it lest the world will not approve'

¹⁴ தீர்மான பெருக்கற்குத் தங்கவிற் தங்கவொபா
கெஞ்வனமானு மருந். Kural, 251

¹⁵ Svamāksam paramāmsena vārdhayitumicchati
anabhyareya pitṛṇ devāstathonyo nāstyapunyakṛt. || .

Ib. v. 52.

¹⁶ சாமி வெகுளி மயக்க விவைழந்த
ஞகுக செடக்செட செல். Kural, 360

¹⁷ Vihāya kāmānyah sarvān pumāncarati nityasāḥ
Nirmamo nirahaṅkārah sa gāntimadhbigechati
Ib. II. 71.

¹⁸ பண்ட குடி கழுவைச் சுடபர ஞா
முண்டைய செஞ்சு செஞ். Kural 381

¹⁹ Svāmyamātyajana pada durga kośadāṇḍamitrāṇi.
Bk. VI Ch. I.

of it and even despise it.²⁰ The ruling of Parāśara is that the king must consult with the ministers as to the plan and execution of a work, before he launches on it,²¹ 'One should examine before he undertakes an expedition the force it would demand, his own force and that of his allies as well as the strength of his enemy.'²² Kauṭalya says, 'one undertakes an expedition if one thinks 'I have enough strength to vanquish the enemy by my own force or that of the allies,' and 'to the contrary is that of the enemy.'²³

Those will be appointed (to a Government job) who will fully satisfy the fourfold test of dharma, wealth, pleasure and fear.²⁴ The Artha Śāstra mentions similar tests before one is entertained for service—the test of dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya.²⁵

²⁰ வெள்ளத் தலைவரில் செயல் சென்றுக் கூடுமென
கொள்ளுத் தொள்ளாறுவது.

Kuṭj. 470.

²¹ Yadusya kāryamabhipretam tatpratirūpakam
mantrinīḥ prechet. | Kāryamidamevamāśidevam vā, adi
bhavetitā katham kartavyamiti te yathā brūyus tat
kuryāt. (Artha Śās. I, ch. 10).

²² விவரவீழ்ச் சம்மதியும் மாத்ராஞ்ச் சம்மதிக்
நோயாவீழ்ச் சாக்ஷிக் செயல்.

Kuṭj. 471.

²³ Yadi vā pasyet—"svadandair mitrājavidañdāir
vā samam jyūyamsam vā karsayitumutsahe" iti
....sampannā me vartā, vipannā parasya.....
(Artha Śās. Bk VII. 4).

²⁴ அதாம் பொருளாளர் பழங்குருச் சபைகளிட
த்ருக் குத்திக்கு செறப்படுகிற.

Kuṭj. 501.

²⁵ dharmopadhā, arthopadhā, kāmopadhā, bhayo-
padhā (see for details Arth. Śās. Bk. I, ch. 10)

Trivargabhayasamāudbhānamātyānsveṣu karmasu
adhikuryādyathāsaucamityākāryā vyavasthitāḥ

'Let the king watch the movements of his servants every day. If they do the right, the world goes undisturbed.'²⁶ 'Having appointed the servants in their places after the tests, the king must observe their conduct by means of secret officers.'²⁷

'The proper method of awarding justice is to fully examine everything, in an impartial spirit, and with due regard to dharma'.²⁸ 'It is danda that protects both this world and the other. In meting out justice the king must regard both sons and foes as equal. He who metes out punishment with proper regard to dharma and equity, he alone conquers the whole world.'²⁹

'If the king does not extend his hand of right protection, then cows will not yield milk, neither will the

²⁶ செல்லு காதி மன்னன் விளைசெய்யான
கோட்டை கொட்ட தலகு.

Kup]. 520

²⁷ tasmādbāhyamadhistānam kritvā kārye
caturvidhe
śaucāśaucamamāstyānām rāja mārgeta satribhib.
(Arth. Sās. Bk. I 10).

Cp. Rām. VII. 53-6.

²⁸ தாந்தாக்கேட்ட தீவிரபுரிக் திவார்மாட்டுக்
கோட்டை செய் வகிளே முனை. Kupal 541.

²⁹ Dāndo hi kevalo lokam param eemam rakṣati
Rājñā putrecaśatru ca yathāśosam samam dhṛtah
Anuśāsaddhi dharmena vyavahāreṇa samsthayā
Nyāyena ca caturthena caturantām mahim jayet
(Artha. Sās Bk. III. Ch. I).

Brāhmaṇas cultivate their sacred lore.³⁰ 'If dāṇḍanīti is not properly administered, the three vedas will vanish and with it all righteous deeds.' Again, 'the duties of āgrāmas again disappear when the kṣatrya dharma of the king becomes lost.'³¹

It can be called a land where there are unfailing crops, a company of righteous men, and ample wealth. It is a land which men desire to possess on account of its fertility, and undiminished yield, and which is free from calamities.³² 'That grāma must be chosen for dwelling by the righteous where fuel, water, food, sacred grass, and garlands and vast open spaces are in plenty, where there are many wealthy people, where there are many honourable people full of the quality of enthusiasm, and which affords defence from robbers.'³³

³⁰ தூபயார் குஞ்ச மதுகேஷபி தோர் அன்மதப்பார்
காவலந் தாங்களென்றிர்.

Kural, 560.

³¹ Mañcoetrayi dāṇḍanītanu hatāyām
Sarve dharmāḥ prakṣayeyuḥ viruddhāḥ
Sarve dharmāścāśramāścīm hatāsyuḥ
Kṣṭre naṣṭe rājadharme purāṇe ||

Mhb. Śānti, 112, 28.

³² தாங்கள் விழையுஞ் தாங்களுக் தாந்திலாக
கெங்களுஞ் கேங்கது காடி.
பெரும்பொருள்ளாற் பெட்டங்க தாழியருக்கேட்டா
காந்தர் விழைவது ஏது?

Kural, 731-732.

³³ Prabhūtaidhodakayavasasamitkuśamālyopaniśkra-
māṇamādhyajanākula manasasamplidhamāryajana-
bhūyiṣṭamada syupravesyam gṝhamāvasitum
yateta dhārmikah | . Baudhāyana dharma sūtra
Praśna II ; adhyāya III, sūtra 51.

The Silappadigāram :

This is the first great epic poem in Tamil. The Epic form was borrowed from Sanskrit, but with respect of the subject-matter it is entirely original. The poem as we now have it is interspersed with a number of prologues, and epilogues, apparently by later hands than those of the author. It has already been pointed out that one of the prologues contradicts the statements in third canto.³⁴ The poem itself does not name the Pāndiyan whose foolish behaviour brought about the destruction of Madura which is the final catastrophe of the poem; but the epilogue to the second canto identifies him with the Nedūñjiliyan who defeated the army of the Āryas and who composed Pupām 183. It says, "He conquered the army of the Northern Āryas and saw the Southern Tamil country united. Along with his queen of incomparable chastity, on his royal throne, he died, the Pāndiyan Nedūñjiliyan."³⁵

Thus the writer of the epilogue interprets the phrase துவியப் படை எட்டு as "having defeated the Northern Aryans" whereas it may also mean, having crossed the place called Āryappadai, an ancient battle-field near Kumbhakōṇam.

³⁴ Vide p. 380, supra.

³⁵ வடவர்மியர் படைகட்டு

தென்றமிழர தெரகுங்குகாணப்
புராதி ஏற்பின் தேவி தங்குட
ஏங்கா கட்டிலிற் தஞ்சிய பாண்டிய
கொட்டு செழியன்

Sil. Epil. to canto II, ll. 14-18.

Cantos I and II :

The poem is divided into three cantos, the scenes being laid respectively at Pugār, Madura and Vañji. But cantos I and II constitute a finished poem. *Silappadigāram* means 'the Book of the Anklet' and relates the story of a reformed prodigal, Kōvalan, who proposed to sell his wife's anklets for setting up business, but was executed, on a false charge of theft by the orders of the king of Madurai, whereupon the infuriated wife, Kannagi, cursed the king and screwed out one of her breasts and threw it at the town, and a fire springing from it burnt down the city. The husband and wife thereon ascended to heaven. This story is narrated in the first two cantos, which therefore constitute a complete poem. At the end of the II canto the hero and heroine depart from the earth and the story of the anklet ends and we hear no more of the jewel. So the name *Silappadigāram* can apply only to the first two cantos. The two cantos form one of the greatest epic poems of the world. The story is exceedingly well told. The descriptions of natural scenery and of the manners and customs of people are splendid. The dialogues that occur often are very spirited. And above all, thanks to the Tamil poetic tradition which the Sanskrit models the had author before him could not suppress, the *deus ex machina* is kept practically out of sight and the tendency of epic poets to indulge in the marvellous is well held under control, though the legends about kings current in the author's time are not excluded from the poem. The persons of the narrative are all ordinary human beings and the human interest of the poem is not eclipsed by the intrusion of the preternatural. Henceo this epic

poem is in certain respects superior to the Rāmayaṇam, or the Iliad, the Aeneid or the Paradise Lost.

Canto III :

The third canto has a Śera king, Senguttuvan, as its hero and it deals with the greatness of this monarch and his victorious expedition to Northern India. The connection with the first two cantos is kept up by making out the object of the expedition to be to fetch a piece of stone from the Himalayas and by describing, in the manner prescribed in the *Poruladigāram*^{**} of *Tolkāppiyam*, how the stone was set up in honour of **Kaṇṇagi**, accompanied with Aryan and Tamil rites. Hence the third canto cannot with any appropriateness be called *Śilappadigāram*, the Book of the Anklet. It is a question worth investigation, whether the author of the complete poem i. e., the first and second cantos, after dismissing the anklet from his purview and despatching

^{**} காட்சி என்கேள் வீதிப்பகுட எதுகல்
கீத்தகு திருப்பிழ் பெரும்பகுட வாழ்த்தல்.

Poruladigāram, 60, 19-20.

The different incidents of this ceremony are 'Getting the stone, outlining the figure on it, washing it, fixing it in the ground, making offerings to it and blessing it.' In accordance with this the chapters of canto III dealing with this subject are called respectively காட்சிக்காலை, என்கேள்காலை, வீதிப்பகுட்காலை, எதுக்காலை, which includes the offering, திருப்பிழ் பெரும்பகுட, and வாழ்த்தக்காலை. Thus the third canto belongs to the age when the *Tolkāppiyam* had changed from a descriptive grammar to a prescriptive one.

his hero and heroine to heaven, deliberately ruined the unity of his Epic by adding a third canto, whose chief object was to glorify a Śenguttuvan. I do not think such a great artist would have thus spoilt his own poem. Moreover the supernatural, so much in the background in the first two cantos, is very prominent in the third. Again in the first two cantos, the country through which Kōvalan and Kannagi travelled, from Pugār to Madura, via Śrīrangam, is minutely and beautifully described in several chapters, whereas in Canto III. Śenguttuvan leaves the Nilagiris and then immediately appears on the banks of the Ganges, and vice versa on the return journey ; thus the author avoids the splendid opportunities of describing the scenery of the Deccan, the Vindhya, and the Gangetic valley through which Śenguttuvan ought to have passed. In addition, tales of past lives, such as were popularized by the Bauddhas, abound in this canto. Hence I suggest that some qualified Tamil scholars will investigate by means of metrical tests, and, by examining the diction and imagery employed, find out whether the third canto is by the same author as the first two.

Śenguttuvan :

Śenguttuvan is the hero of the third canto. The author identifies him with Kadāl Piṇakkottiya Vēlkelu Kuṭṭuvan, the hero of Parāpar's poem, the fifth ode in the Padippattu, and attributes the latter's exploits mentioned in that ode to Śenguttuvan. But neither the name Śenguttuvan nor his expedition to North India is mentioned in the ode. Kuṭṭuvan, Śeral, etc. were the general titles of all Śera kings, as Killi, Valavan, etc., of Śēha kings and Śeliyan, Vsjudi, etc., of Pāṇḍiya kings.

When a specific name had to be given to any one of these kings (and this was not always necessary, because for ordinary purposes the mere dynastic title was enough, and there was a general sentiment against the use of personal names of kings), an epithet was prefixed to the family name, e.g., Peruñjēral, Kadāl Piṇakkōṭhiya Vēlkelū Kuṭṭuvan, Peruṇarkilli, Karikāl Valavan, Nedūñjeliyan, Ukkirapperuvaludi, etc. This was the only kind of personal names used by Tamil kings till, after the spread of the Āryan cults, they took to Sanskrit titles, and Sankrit names of gods. Hence as Kadāl Piṇakkōṭhiya Vēl Kelū Kuṭṭuvan and Šeṅguṭṭuvan were both personal names, if they were the same person, it would be a case of one man having two names, which was not usual in old times. The exploits of Šeṅguṭṭuvan described in the third canto of Śilappadigāram are as incredible as those of the hero of Paranar's ode are credible. He marches from the Nilagiris to the banks of the Ganges without any trouble. The poem makes Nūḍuvvar Kannar, whose sway extended from the Nilagiris in the Northern boundary of the Śēra country to the Gangetic region offer rather humbly to help Šeṅguṭṭuvan to reach his destination. The phrase Nūḍuvvar Kannar cannot be anything other than a bad translation of Śātakani. The Śātakani sway extended upto the Ganges region only before 77 A. D., from whence it gradually shrank before the increasing power of the Śaka-Pallavas. Canto III then makes Šeṅguṭṭuvan defeat a number of Trans-Gangetic monarchs, for whose existence there is no other evidence, literary or epigraphical, and makes two of the kings carry on their heads the stone which was to represent the deceased lady Kappagi. All these must be

fables, because the transport of an army of the size necessary for the purpose of fighting with the Trans-Gangetic monarchs is a thing that can be imagined only by a Tamil poet ignorant of the geography of India. Indian history affords only one instance of a Tamil army marching up to the banks of the Ganges, and that was the army of Rajendra Śolidevar, whose sway already extended to the Mahanādi and from that river to the Ganges it is but a short step. The only other instance of the march of an army from Delhi to Ramēgvaram is that of the expedition of Matik Kāfur, but right up to the heart of Telingānā i. e. more than half the distance was already a part of the Delhi Sultanate. We are thus forced to conclude that Śenguttuvan's northern expedition was invented by a poet ignorant of Indian Geography, and could appear credible only to those ignorant of Indian History. This is another reason why the third canto of Śilappadigaram, even though it be conceded to be a genuine part, and not a supplement, of the poem, ought not to be used as a reliable source of ancient South Indian history.

The Kannagi cult:

The third canto is mainly concerned with the Kannagi-cult, supposed to have been established by Śenguttuvan and adopted by the kings of Mālva, Uraiūr and Ceylon. There is no trace of that cult anywhere in India; it is still to some extent prevalent in Ceylon, the Buddhism of that island having given it some kind of shelter. In South India, on the contrary, the only Pattini cult that is universally spread is not the worship of Kannagi, but is a modification of the ancient worship of the village guardian-goddess regarded as an aspect of Kālī and syncretized with

Draupadi, the pattini par excellence, though the common wife of five brothers. Hence it is probable that the third canto of *Silappadigaram* represents an abortive attempt to introduce the Kannagi-cult as the rival of the Draupadi-cult.

Need for further investigation :

All this may appear as a piece of hypercriticism, especially to those who have regarded every statement in the *Silappadigaram*, including the Prologues and Epilogues and commentaries which certainly belong to comparatively recent times, as gospel truth. But I hope that my tentative suggestion will at least lead to a study of the poem according to modern methods of criticism. By mixing up all these statements and those in the prologue to the *Magimēgalai*, the theory has arisen that the former poem was composed by Ilangoadigal, a Jaina Sanyāsi and brother of Senguttuvan, on information supplied by Śātanār, who claims to have been in Madura when the final catastrophe of *Silappadigaram* took place and who is believed to have composed the *Magimēgalai*. But this theory cannot be accepted because an examination of "the twin-epics" shows that the *Silappadigaram* refers to a period when the Tamil concepts and practices were just blending with each other, each being as important as the other in the life of the Tamil people: not so the *Magimēgalai*, which portrays the life in the Tamil country when the (Aryan) Baudha cult had displaced the ancient Tamil cults, and Aryan culture had so dominated the Tamil land that the characters of *Magimēgalai* have all Sanskrit names. The discussions on logic and metaphysics contained in this poem distinctly point to the VII century as the age before

which it could not have been composed.³⁷ The former poem on the other hand belongs to the age (VI century A. D.) when the Aryan culture and the Aryan religious cults had just made headway and the ancient Tamil culture and Tamil religious cults had not yet been driven down to the lowest strata of society and thus made to disappear from the purview of poets. The Maṇimēgalai is the Baudha rival of the Jaina epic, Śivakazindāmaṇi and not the companion-epic of Śilappadigāram, notwithstanding the relationship of the girl Maṇimēgalai to the courtesan Mādavi. The tales of reincarnations and the philosophical disputes in the Maṇimēgalai, form a sharp contrast to the proclamation of the priestess of Kōppavai and the consequent worship of the goddess in the Vēṭṭuvavari and the dance of the cowherdesses to avert evil in the Āyodhiyar Kuravai, in canto II of Silappadigāram, where the reader can see the actual process of the syncretization of Aryan and Tamil divinities which was then going on. The Śilappadigāram is certainly later than the poems in the early anthologies, for in Agam, Vēṅgadām is described as belonging partly to Tiraiyar and partly to Kallar and the famous temple on its top is not at all mentioned; but the Śilappadigāram describes two Viṣṇu shrines as existing in the period when it was written. It refers to "the beautiful sight of Him on whose breast resides Śrī, and who lies, while many hymn him, in the broad island of the Kāviri beaten by the waves, on the serpent-couch, strong so as to be inaccessible, looking like the blue cloud lying so as to fit closely on to a gold coloured

³⁷ Vide an exhaustive study of the subject by S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī, pp. 192-201, Journal of Oriental Research, Madras I. ii.

hill; and the beautiful sight of the tall, red-eyed God (Viṣṇu) standing on the top of the high hill of Vēṅgadām, from which streamlets take their rise, while He shines with a garment made of gold flowers and wears a beautiful garland on His breast, and holds in His magnificent lotus hands the discus that kills enemies and the chank-shell white like milk, as stands the beautiful-hued cloud in the space between the sun and the moon which shine with rays that spread all round, being clothed in the creeper (called) the lightning and holding (in its hand) the bright bow.”³⁸

The description of the idols of Śrīraṅgam and Vēṅgadām in the Śilappadigāram disproves once for all the theory of its contemporaneity with the later odes in

38 கூ மேக வெறும்போது குஞ்சத்துப்
 பால்விரி தகவாது பாட்டத்து பீபால
 வாயிரம் வீரித்தெழு தண்ணுக்கட யஞ்சிதந
 பாயற் பன்னிப் பன்றெளாறு பேதத்
 விசிதியைக் காவிரி விவங்கிபெருக் குருத்திர
 கிருவர்ம் மார்பன் கிட்டத் வண்ணாயும்
 ஏங்கும் ரகுவி யேங்கட மென்று
 மோக்குவர் மலையுத் துச்சி ரீ விசா
 விசிகதிர் துவிதூர் திக்கலும் வீளங்க
 விரும்புக் கோங்கிய விலைட்சிலைத் தானத்து
 தண்ணுக் கொடி பதித்து விளங்குவிற் புண்³⁹
 சன்னிர மேக சின்றது போலப்
 பாகவண்ண் காறியும் பால்வெண் கங்கமு
 தணக்கெப்பது தாமரைக் கையில் ஜோக்தி
 சலக்கிழ ராக மார்பிற் புண்டு
 பொலம்பு வாண்டயிற் பொலிக்கு தோன்றிய
 செங்க ஜெந்தயேங் சின்ற வண்ணாயும்.

Sil. vi. II. 35-51.

the early four anthologies. This contemporaneity rests on the fact that Parānar sang of Kuṭṭivan who drove back the sea with his spear, and Ilāṅgōvadīgal, the supposed author of canto III, among others, of the epic, sang of the great hero, Śeṅguttuvan, believed to be the same person. But neither Parānar, nor others of his real contemporaries describe Vēngadām as having the famous temple on its top, a fact which no one singing of Vēngadām after the temple had become famous could omit to mention. Hence the author of Śilappadigāram, whoever he was, must have been a much later person than Parānar and lived when temples of the Aryan Viṣṇu cult had not only risen in the Tamil Country, but had acquired a very wide reputation for supreme holiness.

The argument from silence is of course a weak one; but, when taken into consideration along with others, it may be given some weight. The Vēngadām shrine had become so famous in the age of Śilappadigāram that the author when speaking of the northern boundary of the Tamil Country, calls it nediyōn kungam, 'the hill of Viṣṇu.'²⁹ The phrase comes so naturally that it is difficult to believe that such a description could have escaped the minds of the Agam poets if the temple had reached in their time the eminence it did in the age of Śilappadigāram.

It may, also be remarked that the style of the Śilappadigāram strikes one as relatively more modern, and less charged with old words, than that of the odes of the early anthologies. It is certain that the modern man can follow the epic with much less difficulty than the old odes. The Maṇimēgalai looks still more recent

²⁹ Sil. viii. L. 1.

in vocabulary and even more easy to the modern man than the *Śilappadigāram*.

Before closing this section I wish to reiterate the conclusion, which I offer as a tentative hypothesis, that the *Śilappadigāram* is a double poem, each poem by a different author, cantos I and II being a splendid romantic poem and canto III being a legend about a mythical hero's exploits. To use it as a source of history would be like using Shakespeare as an authority on the geography of Bohemia or the Mid-summer Night's Dream as a historical poem. I request Tamil scholars acquainted with the principles of modern literary and historical criticism to further investigate the question and either confirm or disprove the hypothesis. The prologues and the epilogues and, to invent a term, the interlogues, being composed by later writers can, of course, be of little use in solving the problem.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WELDING OF THE OLD AND THE NEW.

The Pāndiyas in the VI century:

Notwithstanding the 'Kājabhra interregnum,' a bad phrase invented by the epigraphists, because it suggests the wrong notion that the Pāndiya power disappeared till it was restored at the end of the VI century by Kadūngōn, Pāndiya chieftains must have flourished in the period. The colophons to the Puram odes mention seven Pāndiyas chiefs; the poets that sang of them were late ones, from whose other works it may be shown that they belonged to the VI century. Moreover the Kalittogai and other poems discussed in the immediately preceding chapters refer to Pāndiyas generally without naming the kings: hence it may be inferred that they were kings whose power scarcely extended beyond their capitals. This made it possible for the Kājabhras to be soon driven off from the Madura district, a little before 600 A. D. and for the Pāndiya power to be re-established throughout the Madura country. In the VI century, the Jainas and the Śaivs and Vaisṇavas were struggling to gain popularity with the common people. In that century Śiva-worship gained so much popularity that numerous tales of miracles performed by the Sivan enshrined at Madura, including His formation of the Tamil Saṅgam in that city, were evolved, for we find one of the Tales, viz. that the story of His entering the Saṅgam and helping a poor Brāhmaṇa

Tarumi, to gain a purse of gold,¹ is referred to by Tirunāvukkurasūnāyanār,² very early in the VII century. In the Sixth century must have lived at Madura Mūrttināyanār, who, according to the Periyapurāṇam legend was persecuted by a Karnāṭirāja and who overthrew that Rāja and became king of Madura and re-established Śiva worship there.

The Śōla Country in the VI century :

The Jaina and the Saiva, and the Vaiṣṇava cults spread largely in the Śōla territories in this epoch. It has been already pointed out that Śrīraṅgam had attained popularity before the Śilappadigāram was written. The Kōyiloḷugu, a legendary history of the Śrīraṅgam temple preserved in the temple records, speaks of an early Śōla king, who first unearthed the temple which had been (originally built by the gods?) and buried in the Kāviri alluvium. It also narrates the story of a Śōla king of Uṛaiyūr, whose daughter dedicated herself to the Śrīraṅgam deity, married him according to the Ārya ritual and then vanished, having attained union (Sāyujya) with the God. An idol of her is still worshipped in the temple of Uṛaiyūr. Whether there is any foundation in fact for these legends, they were certainly evolved in the VI century B. C., for after that century the Śōlas disappeared from history for more than two centuries.

Śeṅganān :

A Śōla king of this period was Śeṅganān. He is the hero of a poem by Poygaiyār (perhaps the same

¹ See Tiruvālavāyudaiyār Tiruvilaiyūḍar purāṇam 16, for the story.

² Vide p. 245 supra.

person as Poygaiyājvār, one of the earliest of the Vaisnava hymnists). The poem is called Kaṭavali Nāṭpadu, and contains forty stanzas describing in a very bloodthirsty vein, the Śōla king's battle with Śēran Kaṇaikkāl Irumborai.² The Periyapurānam has a legend that before being born as a Śōla king, he was a spider full of devotion to Śivan. Pārvati, in one of her mortal lives had worshipped a Śivalingam in the bed of the Kāviri and the spider daily wove a web on the top of the lingam to protect it from the heat of the sun; but an elephant, also a devotee of that Śivan, brought water daily from the Kāviri in its trunk and washed the lingam and incidentally destroyed the spider's web. The spider, filled with religious fury, flew into the nose of the big beast, which, being suffocated, died. In its dying pangs, it beat its proboscis on the earth and the spider also died and was reborn as Śenganān.

Though the hero of a legend, Śenganān was a historic person. Tirumangai Ājvār, the Vaisnava hymnist of the VIII century A. D., says Śenganān built seventy beautiful temples to the " eight-shouldered Lord " (Śivan) * and repeats in every stanza of the Tirumāraiyūr decade that he worshipped Viṣṇu enshrined in the temple of that village. The Saiva hymnists, Tiruñānasambandar and Sundaramūrti, refer to Śenganān's building Śiva-temples in very

* Vide p. 411 supra for a legend about these two kings.

திருக்கிலக்கு திருமொழியா மயோடூர் வீசுற்று
எழில்மாட மெழுபதுகிளம் துவக்காமல்
திருக்குவத்து வளச்சோதன் சேந்துகொயில்
திருஞெறும் மணிமாடம் பூர்மிக்காகே.

many poems of theirs*. When the Śaiva hagiology was finally made up in the IX century, Śeṅganān was included in the list of the Sixty three Śaiva Saints (*nāyanmār*). But he was, as has been pointed out, also, a Vaiśnava devotee. He belonged to the end of the VI century A. D., when the Śaivas and the Vaiśnavas were combining together in the common cause of the so-called Vedic orthodoxy as against the Bauddhas and the Jainas.

Köpperūñjōlan.

This Śōja monarch lived also in the VI century. In his ode (*Puram*, 914) the Ārya doctrine of reincarnation is discussed. He also underwent, along with some courtier bards, the Jaina ceremony of *Sallekhana*, called in Tamil, 'Sitting in the north.' Whereas other kings killed themselves to wipe out the disgrace of defeat, he did it for the purpose of release from embodied existence, and therefore he must have been a Jaina.

In the Sēra country.

The Sēra country, called *Damirike* by the Greeks, came earlier under Aryan influence than the rest of South India. Therefore we find in the odes dedicated to the Sēra kings and in the *Padippattu* plenty of

* Go to the ornamented temple of Tirumaraiyur, which was resorted to by the Śōja of the fortunate family, who ruled the earth and built seventy beautiful temples to the eight-shouldered Isvara whose mouth shines with the holy words of the Rg Veda.

* For instance, Tirukānasambandar's decade on Tiruyaiganmāḍakkoil, st. 1, 4, 5, and on Tiruvambar, st. 1, Sundaramūrti's on Tirunannilam, st. 10, and on Tirunṣaiyūr, st. 1,

evidence of the fact that that country was more completely Aryanized than the Pāṇḍiya and the Śōla lands.

Temples :

Before the IV century A. D., of Arya temples there were few or none in the Tamil country. In the VI century, we learn that Kāñcī, Vēnsaṭam, Śrirangam, and Madura temples had become famous. From the VII century onwards, the hymnists sang in praise of numerous temples in the Pallava, Śōla, Pāṇḍiya and Śera provinces. Therefore all these, which are the living temples of South India, i.e., those which are renowned for their holiness ever since the hymnists sang of them and where pūja is still being daily performed, must have arisen in the VI century A. D. Śengāṇ's was only one specimen of the extensive temple-building activities of this century. These temples were of timber and brick, the latter being used chiefly for the foundation. The old Indian forests had not yet been entirely destroyed and so there was plenty of timber available for building temples. As in Travancore to-day, the timber-roof was probably covered with copper-sheets and rarely with plates of gold, as Karikāl "renewed the temple of Kāñcī with gold." Ma-hendra Pallava (c. 600-625 A.D.) first started the fashion of stone temples, by excavating them from the sides of hills. His successor, Narasimha, carved whole rocks into temples. Structural temples then began to appear and the early Tanjoro Śōla kings (IX and X centuries A. D.) pulled down and rebuilt in stone the garbhagṛhas (small inner shrines) of all these temples. These early Śōla structures consisted but of a small shrine and a 'half-maṇṭapa' in front and no more. In later times were added more maṇṭapas, and procession paths walled in and numerous additional shrines, and

the temple became so complex in structure that it offends against the taste of the foreign art-critic who looks for unity of design and finds none. A few of these Śōja shrines were pulled down in later times, and rebuilt on a larger scale. This process is going on in our own times, so that when we say that a certain temple is ancient, we mean that the temple sites as well as possibly the original stone or brick or wooden idol, and not the building, belongs to old times.

The Gods. With the rise to popularity of Śivan and Viṣṇu, the old Tamil Gods were either amalgamated with the newer ones or otherwise assimilated with them or practically died out. Thus Māyōn easily became Krīṣṇa specifically as in the Malabar country or Viṣṇu generally in other places. Sāyōn coalesced with Subrahmanyā; the sky-god and the sea-god practically disappeared, for it is in the rich valleys or the richer seaports that Śivan and Viṣṇu have triumphed. The tree-gods have become one with Śiva, and animal totems like the kite, the ape, the elephant, the bull, the rat, the peacock and the serpent have become vehicles or ornaments or parts of the bodies of the major gods. Sakti, whose worship became popular late even in Northern India and that as the rival of the Bauddha worship of Tārā, became generally in South India, Lakṣmi, wife of Viṣṇu or Pārvati, wife of Śiva, who shine in the reflected glory of their husbands, where they are given a place in temples. The boundary and other petty spirits still claim the allegiance of the less advanced people and proved too insignificant to be absorbed.

The Bhakti cult:

It has been often pointed out in this book that the concrete appealed to the Tamil mind much more than

the abstract, that the Tamils were incurable optimists in that they did not regard the joys that Providence has provided for men in this world as sinful in themselves, and they did not consider that the "objects of the senses", as the Aryas called them, existed only to be renounced; hence developed amongst them poetry of the most realistic type. It is therefore but to be expected that when to the Tamils were presented numerous marvellous stories of Visnu and Šivan appearing frequently in human bodies for the purpose of helping men in their material and spiritual difficulties, they became passionately attached to one or the other of these Gods. The Bauddha and the Jaina cults, when they first appeared in Northern India, depended for their popularity on the personal devotion of their adherents to their human founders, the Siddhatta and the Jina. But very soon this personal devotion vanished from their minds and was succeeded by the endless verbiage of metaphysical subtleties. This, and not persecution by men, was the real cause of the decline of those cults within a few centuries of their birth. Not logical word-chopping, but rich emotional experience, can alone be the proper pabulum for the religiously inclined mind. When these two cults competed with the Saiva and Vaisnava cults in South India, they were overlaid with the metaphysical outgrowth which choked out all mystic experience and hence they collapsed before the worship of Šivan or Visnu, which enabled the devotees to feel the flow of the fertilizing stream of what they felt to be God's grace into their souls. So the Saiva and the Vaisnava cults spread to the exclusion of the Bauddha and Jaina cults and have produced an endless stream of devotional literature, whereas Tamil Bauddha and Jaina literature dried up in a few centuries.

No doubt the metaphysics of the Sāṅkhyā and the Vedānta did enter into the cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu in course of time, and produce an outcrop of philosophical books in Tamil, but the essential nature of these religions has not been affected by these philosophies; Viṣṇu and Śivan have continued to hold the imagination of the masses as foci of devotion "unbroken as the flow of oil" to a Personal Lord, and the inspiring aim of these cults has continued to be to seek personal salvation by the means of the voluntary flow of Divine Grace.

This unbounded devotion to a Personal God has found concrete expression in the numerous temples that raise their lofty heads in every mile of the Tamil land. But, what is more, it has led to an extraordinary development of devotional singing and devotional dancing, which constitute the outward expression of the Bhakti Mārga. Singing and dancing always formed the essential feature of religion in Tamil India from the earliest times, and when Śivan or Viṣṇu became the Nāyakan, the Lord, these Gods became not only the objects towards whom these activities were directed but Themselves became the exponents of these arts, Śiva of dancing and Kṛṣṇa of singing. One result of this is that Art never became secular and will continue to be religious, so long as Tamil civilization endures.

The outward expression of Bhakti to Viṣṇu or Śivan by means of singing and dancing was very much developed in the Tamil country during the glorious days of the Tamil Empire (IX to XIII cent. A. D.) In this period of Tamil expansion, the specific Tamil forms of the Bhakti Mārga spread to Telengāna and the Seūna dēśam; and

the famous Pandharpur school of Bhakti arose. Thence were developed other North Indian schools of Bhakti, like the Kabir Panthā, and the Caitanya Matam, which latter, though in its philosophical aspect affiliated to the teachings of Rāmānuja and Madhvā, is yet in its actual practice, an extreme form of singing and dancing Bhakti.

The Jnāna Mārga:

From early times, Brāhmaṇas of South India, took a prominent part in the development of Āryan thought of all forms. Nāgārjuna, the great Ācārya of one of the later developments of the Baudhā doctrine was a Southerner and probably a native of Kāñcīl.

"As a sorcerer he (i.e. Nāgārjuna) is glorified in the text Grub-thob brgyad-cu-rtsa-bshihi rnam-thar . . . which refers back to an unknown Sanskrit original. In the same sense and in similar connection he is mentioned in the Pag-bsam-ljon-bzañ of Sum-pa m̄khan-po ye-ces dpal-hbyor p. 121 et seq. According to this, Nāgārjuna who had sprung from a Brahmin caste is said to have received the magic powers (siddhi) from Tārā during his stay at Kahora, a part of Kāñcī in Eastern India, thereupon to have gone away at a time of general distress, after having surrendered all his possessions in favour of the Brahmins of Kahora and to have proceeded over the Śitavana (near Rājagṛha) to Nālandā where he became a monk and attained the zenith of his knowledge in the five sciences. Hereupon, from aversion to preaching he enchanted the Tārā and beheld her countenance. When also here accommodation and food became short, he returned to his native soil, went later again to Rājagṛha where he remained twelve years, then to Mount

Ghaṇṭāśaila and hencefrom to the Śriparvata in the south where he spent the rest of his long life.⁶

Dinnāga, Buddhadatta, and Dharmakirti, were other Southerners who wrote on Buddhistic logic or doctrines.

A Baudhāyana wrote a *vṛtti* on the *Mīnāmsā*, both *pūrva* and *uttara*, called *Kṛtakēśi*.⁷ It has been recently discovered by S. Kuppuswāmi Śāstri that Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya was the person whose *vārttika* was quoted by Śāṅkarācārya in his commentaries on *Vedānta Sūtra* I. i. 4.⁸ A book on Ethics, called *Nīti dvīsaṣṭika*, attributed to Sundara Pāṇḍya, has been very recently discovered and printed;⁹ as quotations from it occur in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Janāśraya*, it appears that Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya must have lived before the VI century A. D.¹⁰ Sundara Pāṇḍya being a well-known name of several kings, there is a temptation to identify this Ācārya with a king of Madura. I cannot think of any Pāṇḍya king capable of writing such works. I think Sundara Pandya merely means Sundara of the Pāṇḍya country.

From the VIII century onwards upto our own days have risen a series of intellectual giants in Southern India, who have shaped the philosophical thought of the whole of the country. The first of these was Śāṅkarācārya, whose advaita exposition of the *Vedānta*

⁶ M. Walleser, *The life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources*, p. 3.

⁷ *Journal of Indian History*, I. xiii. pp. 107-113.

⁸ *Journal of Oriental Research* I. i. pp. 5-15.

⁹ By V. Prabhākara Śāstri.

¹⁰ M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in the preface to *Nitidvīsaṣṭika*.

is the highwater mark of philosophical thinking, which is not mere speculation but the achievement of mystic experience in which is realized the identity of the life of the individual and that of the cosmos, or, to be more accurate, the ātmā knows itself to exist and nothing else. The pursuit of this has to be conducted on a path keen as a razor's edge, and is associated with supreme difficulty (*klesodhikara*). The next was Rāmānuja who brought about a compromise between the stern Vedānta and the facile (*Vaiṣṇava*) Āgama paths. Ānandatīrtha emphasised the Āgama factor a little more than Rāmānuja. Thence were developed the religio-philosophical systems, usually called *Baishṇav* in Northern India. Other South Indian ācāryas, like Nilakanṭha Śivācārya, have blended the Vedānta and Śaiva and Śūkta Āgama teachings and practices and these have influenced the growth of the Śaiva and Śūkta disciplines of North India.

Thus as it was in the very remote past, so it has been in the comparatively recent past, South India has acted as the heart of India throughout the ages. In the very early Stone Age, South India alone was inhabited by man, for relics of primitive human workmanship have been found only on the low hills born from the break-up of the Deccan plateau. Then man migrated to the river-valleys of South as well as North India. Iron was discovered and saddled to the service of man in South India; it spread thence to the North, before 3000 B. C., to serve the needs of the Saindhava culture, evidence of whose existence in the remote past has been wrenched recently from the jealous bosom of the earth. Some time after arose in North India, the culture called Ārya, which from its inception was associated with literature and has hence claimed the devotion of scholars.

This Arya culture ultimately led to the development of various schools of philosophy and methods of divine worship and spiritual discipline in North India in historic times. When this highly complicated Aryan culture fertilized the Tamil genius which till then concerned itself only with realistic literature and the arts of religious singing and dancing, there arose a sudden upheaval of the spirit in the artistic and religious aspects of its life, what one might call a conflagration of artistic and religious fire, with two brilliant flames-tongues—that called Bhakti and that called Jñāna, the lights of which have been directing the foot-steps of all Hindus in the search for spirituality. Hence South India has been the source of most things characteristically Hindu, in the present as in the remote past, and the orientation of Indian history will be correct only if the important part played in its unbroken development by the Tamils is correctly apprehended and it is realized that South India did not plough a lonely furrow during the ages but acted as the perpetual spring whence the life-giving waters of science, art, and religion have been steadily flowing especially in recent times to the rest of this vast country of Bhāratavarṣa.

GENERAL INDEX.

A	PAGE	PAGE	
Abiria	318	Agniādhāna	103
Acārya Sundara Pāṇḍya	616	Ahidiipa	126
Accuda Kalappālan	532	Aīgurūnūru	159
Accuta Vikkanta	530	Aioi	318
Adam's Bridge	370	Aivanam	73
Adangottu Āsān	238	Aiyār Muḍavanār	476
Ādanjēral	486	Ajas	29, 75
Addok	208	Akitthi	126
Aden	40, 133	Akkāram	102
Adhisimakṛṣṇa	86	Ālambēri Śāttanār	446
Ādi Mandi	379	Ālāngānam, battle of	446
Ādiyamān Neḍumān Anji	480	Ālarkkuṭṭam	483
Ādiyārkkunallar	241, 371	Ālattūr Kijār	428
Adu	483, 539	Alexandria	193, 194, 301
ĀEneid	598	Alpine culture	4
Africa	412	Ālumbil	449
African marts	133	Ālvār	243
Āgamas, the	45, 48 87, 88, 103, 107, 108, 160, 242, 328, 394, 450, 496	Amarāvatī	329
Āgama prāmāṇya	45	Āmbal	547
Āgamikas	76, 104, 109	Āmon	97
Agaru	130	Ānandatirtha	29, 327, 617
Agastya	54, 55, 95	Anantasāyi	392
Agastyas, the	94, 95	Anariyakoi	37
Agattiyam	211, 224	Anārya customs	57
Aguttiyānār	162, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 224, 230 545	Anaryas	49, 50, 51
Agil	73	Andāl	249
Agni	28	Andanājar	536
		Āndhras	52, 89, 324
		Āṅgula	326
		Antoch	192
		Anurādhā	483
		Anurādhapura	332
		Āpastamba	57, 116, 117

	PAGE		PAGE
Apologus	137	Augustus	195, 301, 308
Appar	245	Auvaiyār	480, 481
Arabia	12, 129, 133	Avantī	123, 316
Arabian merchants	40, 98	Āyar	72, 96, 318
	10, 321	Ayeciyar Kuraval	603
Areot (S)	394	Ayodhyā	31, 33, 51, 387
Do. (N)	5, 359, 398	Āyutāyus	33
Argaru (Uṛaiyūr)	310	B	
Argument from silence	124, 605	Bactria	193
Ariake	318	Bādarāyana	114
Aries	539	Bādhūlaka	94
Arikēsari Parāgusan	229,	Baladeva	203, 204, 205,
	230	Balarūma	464
Aristophanes	194	Balijs	12
Aristotle	537	Banavāse	532
Āpivuḍaiyaranār	231	Bāpatla	385
Arjuna	30, 31	Bappa	330
Armenia, Indian cult in	202	Barter	13, 43
Āṇuppadai	396	Basarnagos	319
Arsa	319	Batoi	318
Artha	161, 212	Bāvāri	18
Artizan	316	Beschi	585
Aruvā	151, 324	Benares	126
Aruvāvadatalai	323	Beryllos	194
Arvarnoi	318	Bhadanta Buddhadatta	529
Āryappadai Kadanda	510	Bhadra Bāhu	142, 143
Nedūñjeliyan	510	Bharata	47, 48
Aryāvarita	56, 85, 118	Bhārgavas	56
	122, 152, 340	Bhāśā	44, 45, 47, 105
Asin	4	Bhāṣa	213
Asoka	146, 147	Bhutamaṅgala	529
Aspis	198	Brahmacarya	560
Assyria	193	Brahmagiri	140
Āstūdhyayī	124, 135	Brahmarākṣas	56
Āgvatthāmā	90	Brahma	215
Āthan II	373	Brāhma	2, 37
Āttanatti	379	Bṛhadbala	33
Ātti	73	Bṛhaspati	29

	PAGE		PAGE
Būdalūr	531	Cocoanuts	201
Būdapurānam	231	Cōda	137, 397
Buddha	76	Coimbatore	129, 194, 493,
Buddhadatta	527, 528		526
Buddhaghosa	528	Colas	52, 89, 90, 123, 328
Buddhasimha	530	Colandia	311
Bull fight	578	Colony, Roman in Madura	311
Burial	475	Colophons, occasional unreliability of	410
Burma	205, 206	Comari	309
C		Comorin	241, 502
Caitanya mata		Constantius	331
Cālukyas	535	Corinth	308
Cānakya	325	Cranganore	320
Camara	202	Ctesias	199
Candas	44, 45, 105	Cudappah	5, 310, 346, 359
Candragupta	142	Culture Aryan	324, 325,
Cape Guardafui	133		481
Cape of Spices	133	Culture Tamil	63, 71, 434
Carthage	308	Cūraṇa	142
Carving	27	D	
Cāturvarṇya	122	Daksina	34
Cedi	34	Daksināpatha	15, 18, 19,
Cellūr plates	385		21, 26, 30, 31, 35, 140,
Central Provinces	58		141, 324
Cerapādas	29	Damascus	308
Cēras	29, 328	Damila	120
Ceylon	54, 370, 601	Damirike	311, 318
Chalco-lithic period	38	Dandaka	5, 13, 53, 60
Chenkudduva Chera	373	Darius	6, 192, 193, 200
Chidambaram	534	Dāru	59
China	12	Daryavusht Vishtaspha	329
Chingleput	5, 359, 398	Daśagrīva	61, 62
Chu-li-ye	359	Daśāñana	61
Cicerō	199	Daśārṇa	34
Cīnas	96	Daśaratha	47
Citrāṅgada	90, 461	Daśūsi	62
Citravāhana	90	Daśāsyā	61, 62
Claudius	302, 304		
Cleopatra	399		

	PAGE		PAGE
Dasyns	20, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 50, 56, 57, 58, 60, 83, 84, 110, 112, 113, 118, 153, 324	Epies, Homer's	536
Datura	365	Epiphanius	98
Deccan	5, 17, 37, 41	Epiros	136
Dedan	130, 131	Eragam	560
Delhi	601	Eriescalur	406
Demeter (Baladeva)	202	Erumaiyür	445
Devabhāṣā	150	Europe	4
Devas, the	467	F	
Devasena	247	Feed, the Big	492
Dhanakada	329	Fights of Tamil Kings with Aryas	507
Dhanakaṭaka	329, 363	Fire-cult in North India	83, 84
Dharma	161, 212, 571	G	
Dharmapāla	327	Gaius	196
Dharmaśāstra	88, 481, 545	Gāndhāra	134, 216, 482
Dharmavijaya	145, 146	Gangai	240
Dinnāga	327	Ganges, the	518, 399, 601
Diocletian	309	Gajabāhu	370, 375, 381
Diοseorides	201	Garudas	75
Domitian	302	Gaudian dialects	2
Donda	401	Gautama	48
Drain of Roman gold	304	Gāyatrī	19
Dramila	326	Gebbanite	99
Dravupadi	602	Ghaṇṭasaila	615
Drāviḍa Jaina Sangam	534	Gisani (Kṛṣṇa)	202
Dropa	90	Godīvari	45, 51, 53, 55
Duh	208	Gods, Aryan in the Tamil Land	565
Durgā	59, 84	Gold	24, 25, 53, 97
Duryodhana	492	Goloka	441, 458
Duttāgāmīni	322	Greeks, the	193
E		Guntūr	359
Ebony	40, 97, 100	H	
Ekāntis	87, 109	Hadrian	303
Elagabalus	309, 312	Harappa Excavations at	38, 152
Eljinj	445	Hariscandra	30
Ellaiyamman	59	Harkhuf	40
Empire, connotation of	146		

	PAGE		PAGE
Harrowry	81, 288	Irāśāñnam	388
Hasdrubal	197	Irāśāśūyam Vēṭṭa	358, 460,
Hāthigumpha inscription	148		526
Hatshepsust's expedition	98, 100	Irrigation	13
Hellenes, the	194	Irular	75
Herakles	138	Irumborai	413, 484
Himalayas, the	242, 490	Do, Lord of Tondi	428
	502, 506, 598,	Irūṅgēvēl family of	345,
Hippocrates	201		445
Hiram, Navy of	129	Iruppai tree	74
Hiranya pindā	24	Ikainuṇukkam	231
Hiung Nu	206	Ivory carving	27
Horā (ōrai)	216	Ivory	40, 41, 97, 199
Hormus	195	J	
I		Jagadēkabhuṣana	359
Ibhadanta	130	Jaghūna	208
Idaiyar	13, 72	Jamadagni	31
Ikṣvāku	33	Jambudvīpa	395, 505
Ilaiyōn	338	Janasthāna	49, 55, 85
Ilambūraṇa Adigal	229	Jātaka Tales	127
Ilāndiraiyan	308	Jatinga Ramēśvara	140
Ilango Adigal	242, 374	Jayanta	221
Iliad	598, 605	Jews, the	192
Ilvala	51	Jyāmagha	34
Images, allegorization of	568	K	
Imaiyan	505	Kabādapuram	231, 242
Imaiyavaramban Neḍuṇ-		Kabilar	121, 544,
jeral Ādan	500, 503	Kabīr Panthā	572, 575
Indigo, trade in	133	Kacci	322
Indra	29, 84	Kachcha	18
Indrasena	34	Kaḍaḷēn	83
Indrīvēr	194	Kaḍaikkuṭam	483
Iraiyanār	226, 227, 229, 230	Kedal	599, 600
Iraiyanār Agapporuḷ	166	Kadalur Maynda Ilamburu	
Irāman of the sharp spear	533	valudi	235
		Kadal Mallai	389
		Kāḍambas of Goa, the	364
		Kaḍambu	501
		Kadamba kings, the	501

	PAGE		PAGE
Kaderah	137	Kāneipura,	323, 324, 325.
Kadiyalür	343		329, 534
Kadūngō	230, 571	Kāndaman	222, 223
Kadūngōn	535	Kāndal	74,
Kādu	477	Kaudamanār	165
Kāfu	130	Kanda (flower)	501
Kaidai	74	Kandu	73
Kākusta varmā	333	Kanhadāsa	356
Kalabba	536	Kāñjiyūr	528, 531
Kalabhra dynasty, the	532	Kāñji	323, 328
Kajabhra Interregnum		Kathakali	74
Kalabhras	438, 535	Kēṭṭur	492
Kāla	468	Kannadas the	398
Kālāhasti	108	Kānnagi	524
Kalaikkuttu	492	Kānnagi	510, 597, 598,
Kalamba	532		599, 601
Kalandai	536	Kannanār	394
Kalappa clan	532	Kannappānāyanar	108
Kalappäl	536	Kānyakubja	31
Kalappälär		Kapi	130
Kalaviyal	227	Kapilar	215
Kalavar	66	Karadipa	216
Kāllar	603	Kārālar	126
Kalyāni, the	125	Kareci	13
Kalinga	140	Kāri	318
Kalligikon	319	Karigiri	288, 470, 508
Kallar	190, 535	Karikāt	347
Kāli	231	Karikāla Cōla	317, 334
Kalvar	8, 536	Karikāla Cōla	386, 505
Kāmakkāni Naçīngān,	439		630, 611
Kāma	212	Karikālan	160
Kāmaram a tune	556	Karikālavan	488
Kambangüttu	492	Kāriyāru	415
Kambasērvai	492	Kārkā	539
Kambala īetti	92	Kārkavi	151
Kambalī weaving	9	Kārkotaka Nāgas	539
Kāmbhoja	136	Karma, Law of	30
Kānaikkāl Irumborai	609	Karoura	468
Kānappēreyil	460	Karpion	319
		Karpas	194
		Karpa	130
		Karpa	9, 10, 67

PAGE	PAGE		
Karuāgoli	231	Kōdal	526
Karūr	189, 281	Kōdi	467
Kātyāyana	125, 135, 137	Kōdikkarai	311
Kauravas, the	489	Kodugūr	518
Kausītaki Upaniṣad	21	Kodumbälur	345
Kauṭilya	593	Kolkhoi	319
Kāval	381	Kollam	241
Kāvarkūdu	68	Kolli	508
Kavāṭapuram	53	Kōn	10
Kāvēri, the	222, 529	Kōnādu	407
Kāvēripatṭanā	126	Kōṇa inscriptions	386
Kaviri, the	2, 349, 353, 361, 603	Kēḍapadmati	384
Kavirippattinam	92, 189, 203, 223, 363, 528	Kēṇkānam	521
Kāvirippūmbattiṇam	449, 531, 347	Kōpperuñjōlan	469, 610
Kavuriyan	461	Konkan	31, 503
Kayavāgu	372, 380	Kōpkai	189, 242, 296, 556, 582
Kāysinavaludi	230	Kōppavan	82
Kelalaputo	145	Kosala	34
Kēlvi	496	Kēsar	521, 525
Kers̄ah	137	Kōppambalam	493
Kerala	123	Kotiara	319
Keralas, the	52, 89, 90	Kōvai	565
Ketu	483	Kōvalan	510, 597
Khara	49	Kōvūr Kōlār	415, 468
Kharavēla	148	Koilveṇi	335
Khaberis	319	Kṛṣṇa	23
Killi	599	Kṛṣṇa	171, 84, 89, 465
Kirandai	231	Kṣemarājā	228
Kiñkkānakku	584	Kudagu	583
Killi, Irāśāsūyam Vēṭta	432, 434	Kudahkō	507
Pesunāp	432, 434	Kudam	151
Killiivalavan	421, 426	Kudanādu	345
Kings, function of	190	Kūi	58, 60, 60
Kingship, tribal	9, 72	Kulumūr	493
Kiśkindhā	52	Kulamūram	421, 430, 476
Kūruva Nāyanār	536	Kūdāgāram	511
		Kumāra	564

	PAGE	M	PAGE
Kumāra Visnu	405	Mädalān	222, 406
Kumāritirtha	95	Madarata	202
Kumari river	241	Madhavācārya	326
Kumāṭṭar Kannanāṭṭar	503	Mādhava	327
Kurā	74	Madura 127, 147, 150, 189,	
Kuralvenbā	585	204, 221, 227, 230, 231,	
Kurāpalli	407	281, 311, 323, 453, 592,	
Kuṭavas 6, 7, 9, 13, 66, 72,	77, 139	597	
Kuṭavas girls, the	576	Madurai	239, 242
Kuriñji 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 14, 67,	73, 82, 150, 157, 165,	Marudakkali	566
	188	Madurai Pērālavāyar	227
Kuriñji, food in	5	Magadha 123, 141, 316	
Kuriñjittinai	66,	Magour (Mōhur)	319
Kurinjítine	563	Mahābali	542
Kurnool	346	Mahābalipuram	293
Kuru	85, 86	Mahābhāṣya	125
Kurugu	231	Mahāmahopādhyāyā V. S.	
Kurukṣētra	85, 492	Iyer	221
Kuṭumbādu	11	Mahānadi	601
Kuṭumbas	11, 346	Mahāvīra	246
Kunndogai	10, 155, 156,	Mahāpadmananda 140, 141	
	159, 218, 322	Mahendra Vikrama	534
Kuṭuvaludi	235	Mahinda	145
Kuṭila	326	Mihissati	18
Kuṭjam	150	Makeir	306
Kuṭjanādu	449	Mākiritti	238
Kūtu	231	Māl	542
Kuṭjavān	449, 512, 526	Malabar 31, 93, 305, 612	
Kuvanna	128	Malabār Coast	53, 134
L		Mālai	235
Lakkhana	47, 48	Malanga	319
Lāla	127	Malla I	386
Limyrics	318	Mallanāga	326
Lēpāmudrā	54	Malaya	101
Love, stages of	66, 67	Malaya hill	55
Lucius	196	Malayamānādu	151
Madal	171	Malaiyan	526
		Malaipadukadām	548

PAGE	PAGE
Malik Kūfr	601
Mālva	329
Manipura	90
Māmūlanār	488, 501
Manakkili	512
Manalūr	90
Māngudi Kijār	447
Māngudi Marudan	220, 238, 459
Manpam	182
Māpurānam, the	231
Māpan	461
Mārā (flower)	74
Māpan vajudi	511
Māpavar	81, 82, 190
Marcellus	196
Mārcia	49
Māri vinkē	461
Marrige among the ancient Tamilis	78—80
Marriage between cousins	119
Mārōkkattu Nappasanjanār	422
Martabān	205
Marudam	3, 4, 12, 13, 68 71, 74, 82, 150, 157
Marudan Ijanāganār	231, 511, 574
Marudakkali	511
Marudattinai	67
Marumakkattāyam	512
Maski	140
Matri-prebate	7
Matsyas, the	29, 75
Māvilāngam	293
Mayan	265
Māyōn	77, 82, 202, 465, 542
Mayura sarmā	393, 382
Meat-eating of early Brāh- māpas	121
Mediterranean culture	4
Memphis	200
Mēpkṣṇakku	584
Meygandadēvar	532, 536
Migrants, Bauddha	143
Milalai	448
Milalaikkūppam	448
Military Eng'nes, Roman	313
Mimāmsā	214
Military engines in South India	313
Minavan	461
Mithridates	201
Mleechas, e m p l o y e d as body-guards	544
Modours	319
Mögür	516, 596
Moheñjō Dārē, Excavation at	38, 152
Möksa	219
Möksa Sāstras	88
Mōriyar	520
Mōsi	231
Müdattanak Kāṇṇiyār	336
Mudattirumāpan	231
Mudappanai	483
Mudgalai	34
Mudināgarāyar	234, 489
Mudukudumi Peruvaludi	436 et. seq.
Mudu Vellilai	449
Mukkanṭi	363
Mukkanṭi Kāduvetti	364
Do. Pallava	382
Mukta	23, 24

PAGE	PAGE
Mullai 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 71, 77, 82, 157, 165, 188, 202, 264, 346, 402 Do. foodstuffs of 73 Do. poems 66	Nallanduvanār 231, 575 Nallini 500 Nalliyakkōdān 555 Nāmagal 531 Nandivarman 158 Nannan 555 Nansey 188 Nappaśalaiyār 425 Nappūdanār 541 Narbaān 17, 34 Nāreēṇai 373 Nāritirtha 95 Napkōrgān 437 Nāṭṭam 496 Nāīr for Nāgar 93 Nediyōn Kunṭam 605 Nedumudikkilji 92, 430 Nedundogai 155 Nedungillī 419 Neduñjādaiyan 438 et seq. Neduñjeļiyan 181, 220, 221, 443 et seq. Neduñjeļiyan (Āryappadai) 237, 596, 600
Muttaraiyar 509 Muttūṛgūkkūṛam 448 Muttūru 448 Mylapore 588 Mysore 129 Myths, Karikēl 366 et seq. Do. Kuttūvan 518 Do. Nedūñjēral 505	Negapatam 311 Neleyndā 307 Nellore 5, 318, 359, 450 Neolithic culture 12, 13 Nēṛkunṭam Kilān 536, Nero 305, 307, 320 Neydal 3, 4, 11, 12, 14, 36, 68, 71, 82, 166, 402 Neydal, foodcrops of 74 do. poems of 67 Nicomēdia 309 Nikama 319 Nilgiris 599, 600 Nilakandānār 239
Nāgalokam 399 Naimisāranya 86 Nakkiranār 228, 229, 231, 244, 460, 538, 557 Nālađi Nārpadu 409 Nālađiyar 587 Nālandā 615 Nalañgillī 415, 417	

	PAGE		PAGE
Nīlakantha Śivācārya	617	Pallavabhogga, monastery of	932
Nilandaru Tiruvippāndiyān	237, 241	Palyāgaśalai	497
Nippur	192	Palestine (and India)	129
Nirppoyattu	389	et. seq.	
Nirvāna	215	Palyānai sel keļu kuttuvan	357
Nisāda	34	Panambāranār	284
Niśka	24	Pāṇar	16
Nīti	56	Pāñcavatī	55, 95
Nojambas, the	364	Pāñcarātra, the	111, 114
Nordic culture	4	Pāñceajanāh	84
Northern circars	58	Pāñcālah	136
Nūruvar Kannar	600	Pandanus	348
Nyāya, the	88	Pāñdavas	90, 489
O		Pandionoi	318
Oannes	37	Pāñdu	137
Olivađivejuttu	214	Pandyakavāṭa	142, 242
Oliya chiefs	345	Pāñduranganār	231
Ollaiyür tanda Pūḍap-	Pūḍap-	Pāñgar	217
pāndiyān	235	Pānguni	483
Ommana	131	Pāṇini	114, 116, 118, 123,
Ophir	129	124, 125, 135, 136, 209	
Ori	288, 508	Pāṇis	27, 28, 29
Orthoura	319	Pāñjavar	461, 462
P		Pannan	416
Padinenkil kaṇakku	151	Panormos	197
Pāganürkküppam	437, 439	Pāṇinādu	151
Pahṛuli	241	Pānnādu tanda Māpan	
Pakṣila Svāmi	326	Vaṭudi	158
Palaeolithic culture	3, 5,	Pāpanāsam Falls, the	95
	6, 7	Papyrus Harris	97
Pālaikkali	566	Pēradampadiya Perundē-	
Pālai 67, 68, 71, 82, 168,	175, 177, 377, 566	vānar	158, 486
Do. foodstuffs of	74	Paradavar	12, 13, 36, 40,
Pālaikkaudamanār	357		72, 139
Pālaipādiya Perum kaṇḍungo	566	Paradise Lost	598
Pālaiyan	518	Parāṇar	245, 365, 504, 512
			515, 605

	PAGE		PAGE
Paralia	311	Pleiades, the	483, 573
Parīśara	593	Plicy	307
Parasurāma	29, 31, 94, 153, 466	Podiya Hill, the	95, 206, 220, 490
Parittamai	81	Podiyil	180, 525
Parodhānam	56	Podiyal Hill, the	525
Parthia	193	Poduka	311
Paryusita Bhojanam	119	Poetry, Beginnings of	149
Pāśupatam, the	111, 114	Pompey	201
Pātāla	91, 92	Poraiyan	526
Patañjali	125, 135, 137, 322	Porunan	446
Patiññāna	18	Post Marital love	9
Pattinidēvi	370, 380	Pottāppi	347
Pattavar Kuri	492	Föttaraiyar	401
Pavasta	56	Potter woman of Venni	335
Poygaiyār	114	Private property	9
Pearls	53, 84, 199	Pseudostomos	320
Peddamudiyam	364, 385	Pugār	294, 376, 498, 597
Pekin	505	Pūjyapāda	247
Penaiyāru, the	283	Pulipparrālī	66
Penner	320	Pūjī	154
Peutingerian Tables	313	Pundras, the	52
Peperi	191	Punnai	74
Pepe II	41	Punniyarāsan	431
Periyālvār	249	Punsey	188
Periyapurāṇam	609	Punt	97, 98, 100
Periyāru	320	Pūgaiyāru	295
Peri'sai	231	Pūgandai	296
Persian Gulf	196, 203	Putūravas	33
Perunaṛkilli	432, 461, 600	Pūvikkō	158
Peruṅgōppendu	235	Puṣpaka	55
Peruñjērūl Adan	337, 524 600	Pyrrhus	R
Perundiñai	171	Rāhu	183
Peruṅgunrūt Kijār	231	Rādhā	127
Peruṅgandūra	334	Rājasūya, the	89, 433, 460
Peruñdōl Adan	489	Rājēndra Soladēvar	60
Philon of Alexandria	304	Rāksasas	t0
Pidavu	73, 265	Rāma	30, 33, 44, 45, 46, 47 48, 49 51, 55, 235,

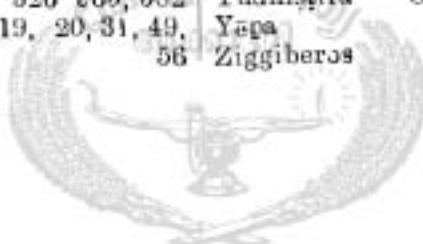
	PAGE		PAGE
Rāmacandra Kavi	616	Śāṅkhamāṇī Sūkta	22, 23
Rāmaṇuja	326, 327, 617	Śāṅkarācārya	114, 327, 616
Bāmāyana	63, 598	Śāṅkhyā	88
Rāmēsos, III	97	Śāmukha	559
Rāmēsvaram	601	Śāŋgrōr Śeyyu	225
Rapia, battle of	197	Śāṅskrit culture, intrusion of, into Tamil	211
Rāvaṇa	30, 49, 51, 53, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 153, 220,	Sanyāsa among Vaidikas	154
	466	Sapphira	98
Rēnādu	347, 359, 417	Śāraṇā dhvaja	89
Rivalry between Vaidika and Āgamika	109	Śārkkarai	102
Roman Coins in S. India	305	Śātakani	600
Route of the Āryas to S. India	18	Satiyaputo	145
Rtuparna	34	Śāttanār	481, 602
Rudradāman	332	Satyavrata Ksetra	327
Rudrabhaṭṭa	386	Śaunaka	86
S		Saurāṣṭra	329
Sadin	130	Śāyana	19, 20, 29, 327
Śādjuvan	93	Sebni	41
Sahadeva	89	Śekkilār	536
Saubhadrā	95	Śeliyan	443, 444, 445, 599
Śaka Pallavas	600	Śenāvaraiyar	151
Śālagrāma	106	Śēndan būdanār	231
Salem	139, 310	Śēngānān	414, 584, 608 et seq.
Śaliyūr	450	Śēnguttuvan	372, 373, 381, 599 er. seg.
Sallekhana	143, 610	Sennacherib	132
Śāṅgaceyyu	225	Śēpōn	83
Śāṅgakālam	249	Septimus Severus	309
Śāngam	225, 226	Śērala	136
Śāngam, legend of three	230 et. seq.	Śēral Ādam	337, 504
" Second legend	243, 245	Śēramān	493
" of	243, 245	Do. Perūñjerāl Ādan	488
" Poetry	225	Seres	303
" Baudhma	247	Seri	126
Śāṅgha, Jaina	247, 528	Serivan	126

	PAGE		PAGE
Setu, the	505	Śri Bhāṣya	326
Śeyāṇ, Valley of the	555	Statius	312
Śeyōn	76, 82	St. Gregory	205
Shalmeneser III	131	Strī Rājya	142
Shen habbin	130	Subāhu	49
Śida nādu	151	Subrahmanya	76, 84, 464, 612
Siddapurra	140	Subrahmōye Sāstri, P. S.	46, 135
Śihabūhn	127	Śuez canal, the	193
Silpaśāstra	538	Sugrīva	52, 53, 55, 113
Śimuka	325	Sumerian culture	37
Sindi	33	Śunaikkuvajai	73
Śindu	33	Suppārka (sopara)	127
Sindhu, valley of the	482	Surai	74
Śīru mēdāviyār	231	Suttanipāta	18
Śīrisivattu nagara	125	Sūtrakāras	57
Śīrgīai	231	Suvannabhūmi	311
Śitā	52	Svarga	467
Śivakasindāmani	315	Svayamvara of Draupadi	89
Sivi	424	Syncretism	76, 601, 642
Siva khanda Vamma	330	T	
Sivansādiyār, legends of	108	Tables of the Law	98
Sivayōgis	87, 109	Taittirīya Śūkhā	117
Śōlān Manakkilli	512	Takkola	205
Śōlān Nalluruttiran	578	Takṣaśilā	91
Śōlān Vērpahraṇḍakkai Peruvīpaṭ killi	507	Tajai U dai	66
Śōliyas	319	Talaiyālengānam	238, 443
Soma	28	Tāli	66
Somali land	133	Talopila (Drāviḍa)	328
Sopatma	311	Tambapanni	127, 145
Sophocles	194	Tambapanni dīpa	126
Sorae	317	Tāmraparī	142
Sorettoi	318	Tarentum, sack of	308
Sorietae	317	Tarumi	245, 608
Soringoi	317	Tāṭakā	49
Sornagos	317	Telingana	611
Śrūvaka	246, 452	Telliāru, battle of	158
Śravava Belgola	143		
Śrāvikā	246		

	PAGE		PAGE
Tembali	241	Tongi flower	73
Tennavan	221, 461	Towns, growth of	282
Tharshish, navy of	130	Trade with China	100
Theophrastus	201		et. seq.
Thukki	130	do. Egypt	97 et. seq.
Tiberius	304	do. Magadha	141
Tidiyan	445	do. Palestine	101 et. seq.
Tiglath—Pileser III	131	Trajan	309
Tillai, Southern	533	Travancore	202, 242, 305
Timisi	73	Trayyārūpa	30
Tinai (panicum)	73	Trilocana	363, 382, 383
Tiraiyan	398, 400, 603		et. seq.
Tiraiyan mājan	231	Trilocanapura	364
Tiruccīralavāy	557	Trimūrti	113, 534
Tirumāliruñjēlai	204, 583	Trisayana	363, 386
Tirumārvan	231	Trinetra	363, 386
Tirumudikkāri	518	Tṛṇadhūmāgni	211, 224
Tirupparśingungam	557, 583	Tulus, the	524
Tiruvālēnāḍu plate	360	Tumbai	68
Tiruvālluvār	585, 588	Tunangai	395, 498, 558
Tiruvāvinangādi	557	Tungabhadrā	17
Tiruvēhkā	391	Turvasu	425
Tiruvēragam	557	Tavarai, king of	231
Tiruvippēr Vāṇ killi	425	Tyndis	319
Tittiris	117	Tyrus	131, 132, 491
Tolkāppiyam	69, 70, 229, 314, 598	U	
Tolkāppiyānār	70, 71, 72, 82, 83, 162, 209, 210, 212, 213, 214, 216, 217, 218, 545, 565, 566, 583	Udiyan of the Big Feed	
Tondagam	561		489, 492
Tondai	400	Ukkirapperuvaludi	156, 244, 460, 461, 526, 600
Tondamana	397	Ulavar	12
Tondaimēḍalan	323	Ulīñai	68, 74, 314
Tondaināḍu	151, 401	Ulūpi	90, 94, 128
Tondaiyōr, (-ar)	397, 398, 401	Upaniṣads	58, 107, 111, 112
Tondi	189, 309	Ur	38
		Uragapura	310
		Uräiyür,	189, 306, 304, 318,
			319, 323, 336, 340, 343, 347,
			420, 423, 424, 601, 608

	PAGE		PAGE
Urobinī	539	Varnāśrama Dharmā	108
Uruttura Śanman	156, 228	Vārtika	125
Uśinara	425	Vartanā	82, 84
Uttaram	539	Vāsandavai	480
V		Vāsiṣṭhas	56
Vaccira country	367	Vasugupta	228
Vadavar	345	Vātsyāyana	326
Vadimbalamba nīṅga pāṇḍīyan	515	Vavri, a cloth	56
Vedugar	529	Vāyasa	29
Vāgai battle of	366	Vāyil (Neri)	519
Vaidarbha	33, 34	Vedānta, the	88, 106, 108, 114, 115
Vaidurya	54	Vedaśiras	616, 617
Vaigai, the	21, 63, 159, 224, 453, 583	Vedavyāsa	88
Vaikhapṭa	104	Vēlān	117
Vaisampāyana	117	Velanāndu	76
Vaiśeṣika, the	88	Veliyan Venman	384
Vajra nandi	247	Vellaiyon	500
Vajarshak	202	Vellelar	202
Vajavan	423, 599	Vellore	72
Vajavan kili	429	Vellūrkkāppiyanār	557
Vāliyōn	232	Vēlakkudi grant	231
Vallaippāṭṭu	675	Vēlakkudi	535
Vālmiki	44, 45, 46, 48	Vēnādu	439
Vallam the forest of	609	Vendan	151
Valudi	559	Vendrēceciyan	538
Vānares	53, 75	Vēngādām	231
Vānavar	526	Vēngāi	397, 605
Vāṅga	93	Vēngāi Mārban	73
Vāṅgāvaghadas	29	Vēphudāsa	529
Vāṇigya sēgaram	244	Vēppi(I). battle of	335, 339,
Vāñji garlands	68		486
Vāñji	74, 323, 421, 597	Vennubhatta	386
Vānoliyar	75	Vēriyāṭṭam	77
Varāha mihira	138	Verrilai	101
Vararuci	135	Vespasian	320
Vari	231	Vēṭei	68
Vāravadiivelittu	214	Vēttuvavar	72
		Vēttuvavari	603

PAGE		PAGE	
Vidarbhā	54	Viyālamālai	231
Vijaya	127, 128	Vṛṣnis	75
Vijayāditya	382	Wankanaśikatissa	370
Village administration	180 et seq.	War, beginning of	64
Villavan	526	Wu ti	206
Vimuktā	23	Xerxes	6
Vinaya, Principles of	530	Yajñas, Patronage of	470
Vindhya	17, 18, 19, 20, 30, 31, 33, 35, 49, 52, 54, 85, 117, 324	Yakin	131
Viraśarmā	333	Yakkinis	125
Vīraśha	51	Yakṣini	49
Virgil	40	Yāmunācārya	45, 110, 114
Vishasp	203	Yaśavati	126
Viṣṇugopa	326, 363, 382	Yavanes	96, 192, 298, 305, 315, 390, 542
Visvāmitra	19, 20, 31, 49, 56	Yoga	88
		Yudhiṣṭhīra	89, 328, 492
		Yēpa	389, 470
		Ziggiberos	194



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